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THE HISTORY OF WORLD CIVILIZATION

VOLUME TWO

THE HISTORY OF WORLD CIVILIZATION

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

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BOOK III

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EARLIEST PEOPLE'S TO BORROW AND PERFECT WRITING

(*Continued*)

C. GREEK CIVILIZATION

Racial Formation and Political History

Greek civilization was no more than any other the outcome of a single racial mixture but of two processes of racial formation succeeding one another at a short interval and therefore partly overlapping. The earlier interbreeding produced the Homeric culture, the second that of the great tragedians; the first centred in Ionia, that is in Asia Minor (Miletus, Ephesus, Smyrna) and upon Chios, Samos, and the other Aegaean Islands, the second upon the European mainland and especially in Athens.

The older Greek civilization was almost contemporaneous with that of Judah. Homer cannot have been much later than Amos, Hesiod was doubtless a contemporary of Isaiah, whilst Xenophanes and Pythagoras lived at the same time as the authors of the Torah. The later Greek civilization was about seventy years younger than that of Persia; Zoroaster must just have died when Aeschylus and Parmenides were born. Like Jewish and Persian civilization, that of the Greeks was based upon the older civilizations endowed with writing; consciously and unconsciously the Greeks borrowed and adapted the constituents of Egyptian and Babylonian civilization, as well as Cretan elements; for materially at least Cretan civilization must long have survived the thoroughgoing devastations of the invading Achaeans, Danaoi, and Dorians. But curiously enough these peoples did not receive the alphabet by direct transference, though it was the most important heritage of Cretan science and commerce. The Judaeans and Phoenicians wrote with the alphabet earlier than the Greeks. Phoenicians brought alphabetical writing to the Greeks, after receiving it themselves through the medium of the Philistines. So absolute was the cultural breach caused in Crete by the Dorian invasion.

The yearly list of names of Spartan ephors goes back to 757 B.C., and that of the Athenian archons to 682 B.C. The Greeks themselves had no documents till about 700 B.C. The earliest inscriptions that can be dated with certainty are of the sixth century. First it was the Greek merchants and city magistrates who wrote, then a law-giver (Solon) and a philosopher (Anaximander, 600 B.C.). The Sophists (about 400 B.C.) were the first to make reading and writing universal amongst educated people.

But although the culture of Homer's and Hesiod's era, like that of Zoroaster in Persia, was handed down entirely by verbal tradition and long remained dominant, even the first phase of Greek civilization outstripped that of Crete which preceded it, just as the civilization of Judah with its system of writing outstripped that of Babylon. The Greeks became monotheists, nay almost monists, in their religious speculations and so prepared the way for complete emancipation of art and science, individuality and natural humanity, which was to be the achievement of the second Greek race.

It was in Greece that free individuality and natural reason first held unbounded sway. In all the fields of art and science vital and creative personalities emerge with individual names and lives. History was written scientifically. Nevertheless, the earlier history of Greece is veiled in obscurity like early Jewish history, and is dominated by imagination. The rationalist ideology of the logographers and Sophists was just as prone to do violence to fact and turn myths into history, and history into proofs of their theories of Nature, as the prophetic ideology of Judaism. The absence of written records of all the early centuries after the Dorian immigration favoured this tendency and even challenged it. And the difficulty of surveying as a whole a history that ran its course scattered over countless national and personal units positively invited the thoroughly unhistorical interpretations offered by the timeless monistic theory of the natural man. The Greeks, like the Jews, knew everything of importance exactly. Where they saw a product they supplied the generative, creative, or inventive personality and the circumstances of its creation; indeed they were such full-blooded individualists that they could not imagine the existence of anything without a particular person, divine or human, who had breathed his personality into it or created it. Around the personality they invented or gathered personal experiences; and in the last resort everything had its source in speculation concerning the inner essence of the world and man, concerning Nature. Here Greek speculation was superior to that of the Jews in that no dogma circumscribed the subject matter or consecrated a theory which blotted out contradictory facts. A free critical spirit criticized results again and again, maintained the facts, pointed to contradictions, if only in the form of spiteful scholars' feuds, and so enables us to correct the theories with our superior historical abilities and our wider sweep of vision.

The two phases of Greek civilization had their origin in a great migration of peoples of which the first traces appear about 1400 B.C. and which lasted at least three centuries. It brought the pre-Indo-Germans (Pelasgo-Philistines, Etruscans, Siculi, Sardinians, Lycians) and the Indo-Germans (Dorians) to the Balkans and Asia Minor; they were solar peoples and came as barbarian destroyers. The Cretan and Hittite empires fell before their assault. The wave broke against Egyptian resistance (1230 and 1180 B.C.), but it established new ruling races in command of the whole eastern Mediterranean. The Balkan Peninsula, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the Aegaean Islands came under the sway of Illyrian, Thracian, Achaean, Danaoan, Dorian, and Lycian masters. Finally, Palestine, Etruria, Sardinia, and Sicily received enduring names from the Philistines, Etruscans, Shardina, and Siculi.

Since the invading barbarians had no system of writing, or at any rate no recorded history as far as we are concerned, we must look for information about them to the civilized peoples whom they attacked. These are supplied by the Hittites and Egyptians. Up to the present the Cretan monuments are silent on the subject.

In the archives of the great Hittite King Mursil (about 1330 B.C.) documents have been preserved telling of two kings of Achaea and Lesbos "Antaravas" and "Tavagalavas". Tavagalavas occupied Pamphylia in Asia Minor from the sea and held it as a Hittite fief which, however, was plainly conferred unwillingly. About seventy years later the Achaean king Atarissiya, also appeared in Pamphylia with a hundred ships (1260 B.C.) and in another twenty-five years he was pushing on victoriously to Cyprus.

These are the first records of an Achaean people and kingdom in what was later to be the home of Greek civilization. Clearly it was of considerable size. If the identification of the kings' names with the heroes of Greek legend are correct, the capital of the kingdom about 1330 B.C. must have been Orchomenus in Boeotia, but about 1250 it must have been Mycenae in Argos (Atreus). It was certainly a large kingdom exercising wide maritime power, and it embraced Lesbos, then Pamphylia, and finally Cyprus. The kings of this realm owned the fortresses and cupola tombs in Orchomenus and Mycenae. For the present we cannot ascertain whether they built the tombs themselves or had them overlaid anew. I think it possible that the Achaeans on the mainland, like the Philistines in Crete, absorbed Cretan civilization (but in that case we should have to reckon that the civilization of the Keftians persisted down to

1200 B.C.). It is equally possible, however, that the Achaeans were essentially mere usurpers of older monuments, mere destroyers.

For wherever we get a sight of them—in the Egyptian monuments of Mer-en-Ptah (1230 B.C.) and Rameses III (1180)—they and the Danaoi and Philistines are barbarians, not civilized people. We might perhaps assume that the " Akaiwasha " of the Egyptians were uncivilized Achaeans, just as, when barbarians invade a civilized country (for instance Elam) and then adopt and defend the alien culture, masses of their kin remain uncivilized, waiting in adjoining areas. But Atarissiya's push forward to Cyprus was almost simultaneous with the wave of Achaeans that flooded the Delta in 1230 B.C., and can hardly have been unconnected with it.

The Akaiwasha (1230 B.C.) of the Egyptian monuments, like the Danaoi (1180 B.C.) do not look at all like Indo-Germans. The Akaiwasha are even circumcised in the Egyptian fashion. But that does not exclude the possibility of a dominant Indo-Germanic element in the race and an Indo-Germanic language. No people could look less Indo-Germanic than the Hittites, and yet a principal element in their blood and speech was Indo-Germanic. And circumcision was an Egyptian custom which mercenaries in Egypt adopted, like the Jews of the Egyptian province, and brought home with them like the orders and distinctions of the Pharaohs (scarabs) and the alluring accounts of a rich and civilized land. The Sardinians (Shardina) were the typical Egyptian mercenaries from 1400 B.C. onwards, and like them the Achaeans doubtless served as mercenaries before they flooded the land (with Sardinians) in the migration of peoples. Homer's legend of the lotus-eaters (*lotophagi*) who forgot their homes in Egypt may date back to these early days.

The Achaean kings of Mycenae and Orchomenus were the oldest kin in speech and race of the eighth century Greeks (Homer), who counted these kings' deeds and possessions (fortresses and tombs) as belonging to their own history. The capture of Troy became the central theme of the knightly school of poetry, like the fall of the Burgundian empire with the Germans. And just as the German poet of the Niebelungs knows for certain that the Burgundians were Germanic stock, but the Huns non-German, so the poet of the *Iliad* was doubtless sure that the Achaeans and Danaoi were akin to the Aeolians and Ionians, whilst the Trojans and Pelasgo-Philistines were not.

In a migration of peoples beginning about 1400 B.C. the Achaeans came as the first distinctively Indo-Germanic group into what was later to be the home of Greek civilization. They pushed from the north into the Balkan Peninsula, on to Peloponnesus and Asia Minor. They were checked by the empire of the Cretans and Hittites and waited their opportunity, living as a nation of mercenaries and seafarers. Their lot was shared by pre-Indo-Germanic peoples, who were thrust onward in the same direction by the pressure of the Indo-Germans from the north. Later, the Greeks remembered that the Pelasgians had occupied the land before the Achaeans, and in fact it seems that the Achaeans pushed these people before them out of Thessaly into Crete. Etruscans, Sardinians, Lycians, and Sicilians streamed southwards, perhaps across Asia Minor, and were checked by the Hittite empire in the south of Asia Minor.

The great Achaean empire of sea-kings in Orchomenus and Mycenae gained mastery over these waiting peoples. The Islands became Achaean, as well as Pamphylia and Cyprus. It seems that Crete remained Pelasgo-Philistine. At last, about 1230, the Hittite empire collapsed under the pressure of the waiting peoples and this set the whole mass in motion; Achaeans, Etruscans, Silicians, and Lycians tried to force the entry to the Delta; but Mer-en-Ptah repulsed them. Once more the mass of waiting peoples came to a standstill.

But meanwhile the masses in their rear, now predominantly Indo-Germanic, had been set in motion. Pressure increased in Thessaly and Asia Minor. About 1200 B.C. the Achaean empire and Crete must have been overrun; about 1180 B.C. the Philistines (Pelasgians), driven out of Crete, appeared in the Delta, besides the Danaoi "of the Islands" and once again Etruscans, Sardinians, and Sicilians. Rameses III repulsed them, and the vanquished peoples colonized Palestine, Etruria, Sardinia, and Sicily, giving their own tribal names to those lands. Clearly a return to the countries whence they came was impossible.

Tavagalavas is called "the Aeolian"; he ruled Lesbos and probably also the adjacent coast of Asia Minor where afterwards the Aeolian dialect was spoken. Achaeans, therefore were Aeolians, or one of their chief tribes bore this future Greek tribal name. The first Achaean-Hellenic mixed race emerged from Achaean-Aeolians and older inhabitants of the islands and seaboard of Asia Minor occupied by Achaeans; intermarriage began about 1300 B.C. and the mixed race produced Homer and Hesiod in the eighth century; the seventh century was its revolutionary period, the sixth the beginning of its second prime.

On the European mainland the Dorians were masters from 1100 B.C. onwards; they came from Boeotia to Attica and Peloponnesus and pushed on to Crete; they were of purer Indo-Germanic blood than the Achaeans. They were utter barbarians and absolutely destroyed Cretan civilization. The second, Doric-Hellenic, racial mixture sprang from their intermarriage with the earlier inhabitants of Attica, Boeotia, and the eastern Peloponnesus. At the end of the sixth century it produced Aeschylus and Parmenides, as well as Socrates; in the fifth century it entered the revolutionary phase (whilst the older mixed race was in its second prime), and developed its second prime with Alexander (330-130 B.C.).

Only part of this mixed race spoke a Doric dialect at a later date and was considered to be of Doric blood. In Attica and on the adjacent islands the Ionic dialect was spoken, and the Athenians claimed that they sprang from a common ancestor, Ion, with the Ionians of Asia Minor and the Aegaean, but that they were the elder branch. The origin of a new dialect is doubtless almost always the adoption of language by an alien population resulting in a medley. If the unity of the subsequent Ionian lingual area from Attica to Miletus was the result of an Ionian tribe coming to Attica, the immigrants must have proved culturally barren for the time being in Attica, whilst in Ionia proper (Miletus, Samos) they gave birth to the first Homeric culture. It would be the immigration and intermarriage of the Dorians in Attica, two centuries later, that initiated and produced the second phase of Greek culture, but the dialect adopted by the new mixed race in Attica would not be that of the incoming Dorians but of the older Ionians.[1] It seems to me that the Achaean migration offers an adequate physiological explanation of the first phase of Greek culture and the Dorian migration for the second, especially in Attica. It does not seem to me necessary to interpose an Ionian migration between the two.[2]

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[1] It must be remembered that until nearly 600 B.C. a Doric dialect is said to have been spoken in Attica, and that the Ionic dialect, as the first universal Greek language (Homer), is said to have attained its predominant position in Athens and Attica by a conscious process of borrowing for cultural reasons after the time of Solon.

[2] This would cause no difficulties. It is true that the "Javans" mentioned by Ezekiel and the second Isaiah were not a tribe, but the twelve cities of the Ionian League in Asia Minor and the Aegean; but the Danaoi (Danavan), whom Rameses III repulsed in 1180 B.C., or another tribe of the same group, may have spread over the subsequently Ionian province of Attica because the Achaeans blocked the way to Peloponnesus and Crete. The chief argument against the unity of Ionians from Attica to Miletus is the geographical and chronological break in the culture of that region. There is a space of two

At any rate, what is known as the Aeolian, Ionian, Dorian colonization of primeval days was the outcome of the migration of peoples between 1400 and 1000 B.C. The Aeolians (Achaeans), Ionians (Danaoi ?), and Dorians gave their names and a proportion of Indo-Germanic blood and speech to a mixture which produced the Greeks and three different principal dialects. But the " tribes " of the historical era, like those in Germany from A.D. 1000 till the present day, are the figments and illusions of memory turned to romantic account.

Between 1100 and 750 B.C. we have no records of the history of the Greeks. But we can tell with some certainty what was done in that period; just as the Germans in the regions which they conquered and held in their migrations intermarried with the subjugated peoples, adopted the more advanced civilization that they had partially destroyed, and then became a constituent part in the new nations of France, Germany, and Italy, so the Achaean-Aeolians and Dorians intermarried with the subjugated peoples, adopted their civilization, and in this new union became " Greek tribes " with three new dialects that sprang from fusion with various alien dialects. Tavagalavas and Atarissiya might be regarded as the exact parallels of Clovis and Theoderic; but Greek development on the mainland was interrupted by a flood of migrating peoples (the Dorians) passing over the land about 150 years after its inception; the beginnings of a new Achaean-Minoan civilization were wiped out and its creators were enslaved. This may explain why civilization on the mainland came to flower later than on the Islands and the seaboard of Asia Minor. But it may be that in the central region of Boeotia, Attica, and Peloponnesus the ruling caste of Achaeans (like the Lombards in northern Italy) remained pure longer than in the provinces. Only after the Dorians had overthrown them did the process of intermarriage set in more vigorously, just as happened in the case of the Lombards after Charlemagne defeated them.

We know no details, of course, of the process of interbreeding and cultural assimilation. The Greeks themselves knew nothing, and invented fables. Even the genealogies of the Spartan kings and the oldest noble families of Miletus (Hecataeus) and the Islands

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centuries between the beginning of the two racial mixtures that produced Homeric and Athenian culture. And it was to the interest of the Athenians, politically and culturally, to be " Ionians " and stress the oneness of Homeric culture with their city; they had, moreover, the power to establish the legend of their origin in literature.

(Hippocrates of Cos) lead back to divine ancestors (Hercules, Aesculapius) in the ninth century or later still. Everywhere, alike on the European and Asiatic mainland and on the Islands, the conquering Achaeans, Danaoi, and Dorians must have settled as masters and lost their migratory constitutions. They became landowners, and so changed their social character. Migratory bands established national States which rapidly disintegrated into the tiniest fragments, not only because geographically the land was broken up into small areas, but primarily because the phase of evolution towards which they were working was individualist. Whilst these changes were going on they intermarried with the older inhabitants, who had long been settled and civilized, were superior to their conquerors, and exercised secret, intimate power over the local sanctuaries. This applies equally to the Dorians in Crete and Sparta, and to Attica and Miletus. The people who subsequently called themselves Dorians in Sparta and kept themselves apart as a ruling caste, were a recent land-owning aristocracy, of quite mixed blood, with romantic, primitive ideals that were exploited for thoroughly material ends; they were by no means the pure offspring of primitive Dorians.

About 750 B.C. the mist disperses and what we see is a state of affairs closely resembling Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Countless small territories existed side by side—cities, nobles, free peasant communities. They were held together by tribal memories of the remote past and by their common cults and common customs. But these memories were transmuted and dimmed. Moreover, the communities bound together by a common cult were dependent upon political alliances of later origin and had adopted Minoan sanctuaries; the "tribes" were those who spoke a common dialect, seen through the medium of romance. But each separate part carried on an independent struggle against rivals, and each fought all. Overpopulation made its appearance and caused overcrowding everywhere, both in the cities and in the country. At the same time the period of cultural borrowing came to an end and the new Achaean-Hellenic mixed race was ripe for its first flowering-time. The outcome of this fermentation was the classics of Homer and Hesiod, the knightly culture of the courts and cities, the great colonial expansion of the Greeks, and Sparta's endeavour to establish a Peloponnesian empire; all had their roots in the same new Greek national idea.

For the first time in human history a great poet arose as the first classic at the threshold of a new national civilization. The Greeks themselves realized that the seeds of their great civilization in all its aspects were enshrined in Homer. The civilization of the Egyptians and Babylonians had no such unified beginning ; likewise they were strangers to monotheism and personality. The Jews and Persians had it, but embodied in prophets. Homer, too, was the mouthpiece of God and the founder of a religion ; only what he offered was not visionary utterances, but a song telling of Achilles' wrath, an ideal image of knightly humanity in this world destined to be the seed not only of metaphysics, ethics, and political science, but of physics and psychology, poetry, and art. He was the father, too, of the idea of Greek national and cultural unity in contrast to the barbarians, for he made the Achaean kings of the migratory period lead all the Greeks against Troy.

Homer, the Aeolian or Asiatic Ionian, was the child of a social movement by which a knightly class of vassals sprang up under a seignorial system of land-ownership. The primitive Akaiwasha and Danavan knew nothing of chariots of war when they surged into Egypt. Even the sons of Hercules, the Dorians, doubtless fought on foot like their ancestor. It was in the eighth century that the use of chariots of war was adopted in Greece. The heavily armed warrior drove to battle in his chariot, then leapt out and fought his compeers on foot. Together with the new type of armour and manner of fighting which brought a new class of trained warriors into existence, there arose a new notion of honour and duty, as happened in Germany in the thirteenth century, a new, ideal bond with God and the king, the nation and the community, but on a higher plane. Homer's heroes are freer, more natural, more individual, than those of the German mediaeval epics, in spite of the pre-ripening of German religion and learning due to antique culture. That is why the eighteenth century regarded Homer's heroes as natural models of the noblest humanity and was able to overlook their limitations as courtiers and men of the world. Bearing in mind the Renaissance ideal of the knight, the citizen, the cultured prince, we can understand this world of courts and knighthood (only it was not burdened with traditions of antiquity), with its material and natural disintegration and its religious and social idealism striving for unity.

Homer, the poet of the Wrath, must have lived about 750 B.C. He was probably contemporaneous with the first Messenian war (743–724 B.C.) in which the Spartans, under their first definitely historical kings, Theopompus and Polydorus, used the united force of their knighthood in order to compass the overthrow of Messenia, a State inhabited by kindred tribes of mixed Dorian blood like themselves, and enslaved them ruthlessly. At a later date this was justified on the assumption of original Dorian rule and national distinctions ; in fact it was a first attempt on the part of the youthful, vigorous, knightly class to break violently through the cramping limitations of the small State organization, an attempt to carry out the capitalist, nationalist (Dorian) policy of an aristocracy under leaders who knew their own minds. The reaction of external success upon Sparta seems to have brought about the development of the Spartan aristocratic republic in its classical form amidst severe internal struggles which led to the emigration of part of the population.

In the second Messenian war (685—668 B.C.) the new conditions were permanently established in Sparta, together with Spartan domination of Messenia. Sparta became the leading Greek power on the mainland and a centre of Homeric philosophy ; knightly lyric poets (Tyrtaeus and Alcman) visited it long and frequently. The first use to which Sparta put her ascendancy was the forcible extension of her frontiers at the expense of the second Dorian leading Power, Argos, and then Arcadia ; but these attempts were frustrated by the resistance of Tegea. Under the influence of the seventh century religious movement, with its gospel of peace and humanity, the policy of force was therefore abandoned in favour of a peaceful extension of Sparta's political sphere of influence through the Spartan League (Symmachy). In this way Sparta made herself the guardian of Dorian romanticism and of the neighbouring aristocracies. In the Olympian sanctuary of Zeus she sought to establish a religious centre for Greece in her own spirit. From 550 B.C. onwards she had isolated Argos and Achaea, and was the undisputed mistress of Peloponnesus.

Thus in the backward mainland provinces forcible attempts to expand and unify resulted not in an empire but in a League of aristocracies whose religious influence was powerful all over Greece, and their military influence still more so; but everywhere else in the realm of Greek civilization political disunity persisted. There were religious leagues, like that of the Ionians, rooted in tribal memories (Delos ?), or the powerful Delphic Amphictyony, the first to embrace all Greece, which sprang from the religious movement of the seventh century ; but in spite of their powerful influence even in the political field these alliances did not put an end to the disunity, though they did establish a certain political habit of cohesion of one tribal league against another, and to a growing extent in particular of all Greek tribes against the barbarians.

Amongst these political units the cities grew more and more powerful, especially those on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, Miletus, and Ephesus, and then certain Aeolian and Ionian islands, particularly Lesbos, but also certain cities on the mainland such as Corinth and Megara. From the eighth to the sixth century the nursery and centre of culture were the Aeolian and Ionian islands and seaboard of Asia Minor. This was Homer's native land, it was here (in Cyme) that Hesiod had his origin. Here the great lyric poets of chivalry were born, Archilichus of Paros (about 650 B.C.) and Callinus of Ephesus (about 660 B.C.), Alcaeus and Sappho from the island of Lesbos (about 600 B.C.) and Anacreon of Teos (about 550 B.C.). Here Thales and Anaximander of Miletus (about 600 B.C.) laid the foundations of philosophy, and here it reached its first consummation in the life-work of Xenophanes of Colophon and Pythagoras of Samos (before 500 B.C.). Here overland trade developed and made its way to Asia Minor where the Lydian empire, the hinterland of Miletus and Ephesus, had already assimilated Greek civilization at the beginning of the seventh century. The first great musician of the Greeks, Terpander, came from Sardes. Here, too, maritime trade developed, penetrating to the shores of the Black Sea, of Thrace, Egypt, and Italy. In competition with the Phoenicians, the city-dwellers of the eighth and seventh centuries learnt writing and arithmetic and established trading stations ; they soon became as wealthy and self-assertive as the Italian and Hanseatic merchants at the end of the Middle Ages. It was here that political freedom first arose. The citizen masses, landless men and manual workers, rose against the aristocratic merchants with their knightly culture and enlightenment. The century of revolution which always follows upon a nation's first prime (in this case upon that of the Achaean-Hellenic racial mixture) was felt with peculiar force in the cities. From the middle of the seventh century onwards two parties, the aristocrats and democratics, opposed one another in all the cities of Greece. Amidst violent civic strife first one and then the other party came into power, supported by alien partisans, and banished their opponents from the city. " Tyrants " appeared, almost invariably supported by the popular party, relying upon soldiery, or money, or alliances, or the general longing for peace and order ;

for the most part they were realists (like the Medici), but sometimes idealists. Such were Thrasybulus of Miletus and Cypselus of Corinth in the seventh century, Pittacus of Mytilene (Lesbos), Periander of Corinth, and Cleisthenes of Sicyonia at the beginning of the sixth, and later (533–522 B.C.) Polycrates of Samos.

In spite of this disintegration into small units which were further broken up into parties, in spite of endless disturbances and feuds past telling, the Greek people as a whole were nevertheless in the full swing of prosperous development during this period from the eighth to the sixth century, like the German people from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth. The new-born culture of Homer and Hesiod spread and developed. Religious and national ideals and a new conception of humanity united all varieties of Greeks against the barbarians. The population increased, agriculture and trade improved and extended and brought wealth into the land. And though all this gave rise to no politically united realm, nevertheless a great work of unification was accomplished during this period; the Greek colonization of the Black Sea coast and Thrace and southern Italy in the seventh and sixth centuries. This time it was genuine colonization, unlike the primitive migration of peoples; it may be compared with European colonization in the East during the Middle Ages, but it was a more commercial type, corresponding to the higher level of civilization; like European colonization, however, it provided a permanent outlet for a growing population.

The cities founded by the Greek colonists grew from their participation in world commerce; the Phoenicians, too, sometimes established trading stations which developed into cities (such as Carthage). The over-population of the Greek provinces (especially in the towns, as a result of the influx from the country), the city feuds, and further the people's youthful love of adventure and desire for gain, and the delight in methodically building up new and rational and useful knowledge—all these motives soon made the despatch of entire colonies overseas a Greek passion, and the establishment of daughter cities a business that was carried on with great skill. All the advantages and drawbacks of Greek individualism were of service in these undertakings. The independence which gave rise to disintegration and strife at home caused new colonies to spring up simultaneously in the most scattered spots, as if in rivalry, and flourish gaily. The surplus population or the opposition party, intolerable at home, were not lost to the home city overseas, but enlarged its territory, its wealth, and its influence without resort to force. And although native enmities due to tribal romanticism and party strife were not left behind, yet pride in a common civilization, religion, and nationality, all springing from their Homeric heritage (the *Odyssey*), maintained the outward union of the overseas Greeks against the barbarians, whilst common enemies soon provided an additional incentive. This common antagonism made them conscious of their unity and gave them strength.

The oldest colonies of which the date of origin is recorded sprang from the commercial city of Corinth and from Chalcis in Euboea. Syracuse in Sicily (734 B.C. ?) and Corcyra were founded by Corinthians, Leontini, and Catania in Sicily (before 700 B.C.) and Cumae (Naples) in Southern Italy (700 B.C.) by Chalcidians, who also established thirty-two cities in the peninsula of Chalcidice. The foundation of Tarentum about 700 B.C. is said to have been the result of domestic quarrels in Lacedaemon. Miletus colonized the shores of the Hellespont and the Black Sea (Abydos, Cyzicus, and Sigeum) in rivalry with Megara (seventh and sixth century). In Egypt, too, she enjoyed the favour of the Saïte kings and established a new trading settlement, Naucratis, which afterwards became a common Greek colony (sixth century). Cyrene in Africa was an offshoot of Thera, and Marseilles of Phocaea. Quite at the end of this period, in 544 B.C., the Phocaeans founded Elea in southern Italy, wishing to escape from Persian servitude. A last echo a hundred years later was the establishment by Pericles in 444 B.C. of Thurii as a model State according to a scheme worked out by the philosopher Protagoras.

The disintegration of the Phoenicians, the chief cosmopolitan commercial power, assisted the Greeks in their great colonizing enterprise. The Phoenician cities were disunited, estranged by commercial jealousy, and, moreover, enfeebled by the defensive struggle of the small Syrian and Palestinian States against the great Assyrian kings of the eighth century, and by the collapse of Assyria and the assault of the Cimmerians at the end of the seventh. In Italy the Etruscans were hard pressed by the Latins and other barbarians ; their sea power was directed against Carthage. The opponents would soon have joined hands against a united and powerful Greek State, but the separate Greek cities did not seem dangerous enough to overcome the older hatred. The Greeks stepped in, took sides in the struggles of the others, got a foothold, and extended their colonies once more, until in the end they wielded a terrible power.

At last, after 550 B.C., the Carthaginians and Etruscans joined in a common endeavour to check Greek westward expansion. The naval battle off Corsica in 534 B.C. checked their advance beyond Sicily into the actual sphere of Carthaginian interest and into the Tyrrhene Sea of the Etruscans. Almost simultaneously Cyrus was extending the Persian Empire over the whole of Asia Minor; in 546 he conquered Lydia (Crœsus), and in the following years all the Greek cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, besides Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, were made to pay tribute and render service to Persia and were governed by tyrants in Persian pay. Henceforward the fleets of the Phoenicians served Persian schemes of world conquest; Egypt and Cyrene became Persian provinces. This was the end of Greek "mediaeval" colonization and of Ionia's cultural predominance. A new era was dawning in which Greece had to fight for her life and repulse Persian attacks on the continent of Europe, and Carthaginian attacks in Sicily. Therewith the centre of gravity of civilization shifted to Athens.

Athens must have become an aristocratic republic and have won her dominant position in Attica about 700 B.C., at the same time as Sparta and as the result of a similar emergence of a new knightly class. The lists of archons begin in 682 and an older monarchy was then abolished. In Athens as in Sparta the new aristocracy, a close hereditary caste, profited by their judicial and military power, and more especially by the new money economy, in order to enslave the free peasants and keep the landless townspeople devoid of rights. Solon (died before 560 B.C.), who was chosen archon by agreement between the two parties in 594 and called "the peace-maker", saved the State from the resultant serious conflicts. Supported by the religious movement which began all over Greece after 650 B.C. and found its chief expression in the worship of Apollo, he sought to reconcile the conflicting interests justly and peacefully, as the tyrants Pittacus and Periander were attempting elsewhere at the same time. He endowed Athens with her first written constitution and with a new economic organization which set her whole energy free for exercise abroad. At the same time he established close relations with the sanctuary at Delphi which was just rising to a position of importance throughout Greece in association with a new idea of divinity and humanity. And he captured Salamis from the Megarians. Thus he pointed the way for his city towards a Pan-Hellenic policy as Sparta's rival and towards free trading activities overseas. What he began was carried on with clear-sighted resolution by the tyrant Pisistratus (about 560 to 528 B.C.), assisted by the vigour of the democracy and supported by a bodyguard and by alliances with other tyrants. He built the first temple to Athena in place of the aristocratic sanctuaries of Hercules on the fortified Acropolis. He had the Homeric and Orphic poems collected and made of them a completed canon; in the process " Pallas " became " Pallas Athena ", the Athenian city goddess, a great goddess, and the divine heroine in the national poem of all the Greeks which was the chief source of their culture. He developed the city's trade so successfully, moreover, that it outstripped its chief rivals, Chalcis and Megara. Athens now began to intervene in colonial affairs. Pisistratus secured a strong position for her on the Hellespont and in Thrace, so that she not only acquired Sigeum and Amphipolis and a share in the gold mines of Pangaeus, but also commanded the entrance to the Black Sea.

The Pisistratidae were overthrown with the aid of Sparta, who was beginning to be jealous. But a third great statesman, Cleisthenes of the house of the Alcmaeonidae (about 510 B.C.) completed the democratic constitution and defended it in 508 and 506 against the attacks of the nobility and a league of the Spartans, Thebans, and Chalcidians. The upshot was that Chalcis came under Athenian influence.

Meanwhile Darius had set out upon his great Scythian enterprise which cost Athens her colonies on the Hellespont and in Thrace (Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, ruled in Sigeum as a Persian prince). It was evident that the Persian colossus was now becoming a menace to the Greek mainland. Then the tyrant of Miletus, Aristagoras, seceded from Persia, and with him the whole of Ionia. Cyprus and Caria also seceded (after 500 B.C.). Sparta refused her aid to her kindred; Athens sent twenty ships to their assistance. For the moment it was only a grand gesture and could not prevent the crushing of the insurrection nor save Miletus and the sanctuary of Didyma from annihilation (495 B.C.). But it was a proud gesture, visible from afar, and capable of leading Athens to a great national policy; indeed it led directly to the Persian attack on the mainland. And therewith the great period of Athens and the Greeks began.

The great defensive war of the Greeks against the Persians is the first war of liberation in world history. A full-grown nation was fighting as a confederacy of free, independent communities, consciously fighting for its freedom as a human right and human treasure, fighting for its beloved homeland and its proud civilization. All the principal notions in this struggle were new and created by the Greeks; " fatherland " and " human right ", " freedom " and " honour ", together with their opposities : " dishonourable servitude without fatherland or rights, tyranny unworthy of human beings." Hitherto there had been stubborn savages who fought for their familiar strip of land, and pious, wealthy citizens who fought for their gods and their wealth. The most exalted gods (Yahu) were themselves conquerors who sought to dominate the whole world and then rule it peaceably; the Persians themselves came as a chosen people in the name of Ahura-Mazda. Reason commanded submission to their superior power and to the strong and righteous god of light who so closely resembled Zeus and Apollo (he even carried a bow!), the payment of a reasonable tribute and a peaceful existence in a world empire under indigenous laws, undisturbed in all cultural activities. The Greeks were the first to deny the right of conquest even to an Ahura-Mazda or a Yahu, even though a peaceful empire and a prosperous life were promised. They rejected the reasonable counsel coming from Delphi to submit to the will of God and make terms with the stronger power. The world conqueror was hateful to them in a new sense as one addicted to brute force. God and reason alike strive for justice and not force, freedom and not slavery. In face of coercion the only course is resistance to the uttermost, not, however, by blind persistence in the homeland or dogged defence of the city temples and treasures, but by pledging everything—city and temples, property and life—for human justice and honour and freedom. The Greeks relied upon the power of these in every heart and gained in consequence such moral ascendency that even the Deity was obliged to prove his divinity by driving back the all-powerful barbarians.

Athens was the spiritual leader in this " true war " in Fichte's sense. She was ripe for leadership in the Greek world, politically because she claimed the leadership as a considerable spiritual force (Homer, Pallas Athena) and asserted her political and commercial power beside Sparta and Corinth, culturally because she had just produced Aeschylus (born 525 B.C.), the first great classic of the second, rising, Doric-Hellenic phase of civilization, to be followed by Sophocles and Euripides, Phidias, Socrates, and Plato.

The great statesman of the first Persian period, Themistocles (525 till after 470 B.C.), was born in the same year as Aeschylus. He was archon in 493 and began to fortify the harbour of Athens as a step in the land defence of the city against every enemy, including Sparta, and in the development of her maritime power. He was the first who clearly envisaged the possibility of profiting by the Persian menace to make Athens the dominant power in Greece (it was situated in the geographical centre of the Hellenic world) and the capital of a Greek empire.

In 490 a Persian fleet descended upon Attica from overseas to punish Athens, whereby Athens was acknowledged to be Persia's chief antagonist. She was victorious under Miltiades at Marathon alone, and so not only averted the immediate danger but stood crowned with victory for the first time before all the world as the opponent of the common enemy of all the Greeks. Themistocles used the ten years' interval before the Persians' main attack under Xerxes in order to establish a great fleet and to assemble and train the crews by extending civic rights and duties to a wider circle.

In 480 Xerxes appeared in Europe with vast military and naval forces. Thessalia and Boeotia (Thebes) and even Delphi submitted. Sparta would have preferred to defend only Peloponnesus on the Straits of Corinth. Athens won consent for an attempt to check the Persian advance further north, at Thermopylae, and meantime to strike a blow at the Persian fleet off Artemisium in order to prevent reinforcements reaching the army. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans died for his country and the attack upon the Persian fleet failed.

The enemy was close upon Athens. Themistocles prevailed upon his countrymen to abandon the city, the temples, and the gods to destruction. The sacrifice proved worth while, for everyone in Greece understood its immensity and accorded the crown to Athens for patriotic self-sacrifice, and Xerxes, eager to prevent the escape of the retreating enemy, exposed his fleet to the blow that Themistocles had long been planning. It was defeated and annihilated at Salamis. Themistocles wanted to attack the bridges across the Hellespont and cut off alike the retreat and the supplies of the gigantic army. He did not prevail in the Council, but Xerxes retreated. An army that he left behind him was defeated by the Greeks at Plataea in 479 under Spartan leadership. Greece had been freed by Sparta and Athens. To Athens fell the chief glory of the " great Pan-Hellenic feat " and all the political advantage.

For now the liberation of the Greek towns began, on the Hellespont and the Islands, and here Athens, as the chief naval power, played a dominant part, though for a time she conceded the leadership to Sparta as a point of honour. Whilst Themistocles fortified the rebuilt city of Athens against Sparta, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, took charge of the work of liberation on the seas, and in ten years (culminating in the battle of the Eurymedon in 467 B.C.) he had confined the Persians to the coast of Asia Minor and the Phoenicians to Syria and the open sea adjacent to it.

The liberated cities and islands almost without exception joined the Confederacy of Delos which Aristides (476 A.D.) endowed with his system of federal contributions, famed for its fairness to the separate members. Its centre was the ancient Ionian sanctuary of Delos; the Council of the Confederacy, a permanent authority, had its seat at Delos; there the federal treasury was situated, thither the contributions were sent. But it was Athens that directed policy, so that she now possessed a symmachy like that of Sparta in Peloponnesus. It is true that Aristides and Cimon, the leaders of the aristocratic party in Athens, made every effort to prevent the antagonism to Sparta from growing more acute once the aim of Themistocles had been reached, with and in opposition to Sparta. After 472 B.C. Themistocles fell a victim to this policy of conciliation. He was driven into exile and died as the tyrant of Magnesia in the service of the Persian king.

Simultaneously with the army of Xerxes the Carthaginian and Etruscan armies attacked the Greeks in Sicily and southern Italy in 480 B.C. Here the tyrants of Syracuse and Agrigentum offered resistance; in 480 the Carthagians suffered a decisive defeat at Himera in Sicily and only retained three cities. In 477 Hieron of Syracuse destroyed the Etruscans' sea power at Cyrene, and in the following years he secured personal power in the chief cities of Sicily. Thus Hellenism was victorious in the west, too, and capable for a time of imperial organization, for the Greeks commanded the sea. But their imperial glory came to an end with Hieron's death in 466 and Sicilian sea power did not ally itself with that of Athens, although Syracuse became a democracy. The Italian Greeks asserted themselves in their former disintegration, and the lasting benefit of their victories fell to the Romans.

Since 480 Sparta had been continually losing influence in comparison with Athens. In 465 a revolt broke out in Messenia that was to last ten years and threatened to annihilate Sparta. This seemed to Pericles (493–429 B.C.) the moment to complete the establishment of the united realm of Greece with Athens as its capital and to add to the maritime confederacy an equally important confederacy on land. In 461 Cimon was banished and the alliance with Sparta denounced. In the succeeding years Athens was made an impregnable fortress by the long walls that connected her with her seaport. Thessalia and Boeotia joined her symmachy, Megara was won in Peloponnesus, Argos, and Achaea, the ancient enemies of Sparta, joined too. But an attempt to win Egypt likewise, which was in revolt against Persia, dissipated the forces of the confederacy and ended in 454 in a severe defeat, whilst Sparta assumed an aggressive attitude, having recovered her mastery over Messenia in 455. In order to assert her authority Athens was obliged to bring the treasure of the Confederacy from Delos to within her own walls and make severer demands on the Confederates, who had long been contributing money instead of men for the fleet. Bled white, she recalled Cimon in 450, and he negotiated an armistice with Sparta, defeated the Persians once more at Salamis, in Cyprus, in 449, and died. In 445, after the Attic League on land had been broken up by secessions, there ensued thirty years of peace with Sparta on the basis of equal rights. Athens used the time in order to establish stringent central authority in the maritime Confederacy and to recover her ascendancy at sea. The Confederacy now consisted of five regions. Its members took their constitution, laws, and currency from Athens, and served the interests of Attic industry ; the people of Athens controlled the revenue. Pericles, now a strategist in all things, used it to make Athens the most magnificent city in the world ; she had long been the most active intellectually and the freest politically. If she could not dominate politically, at least she would do so intellectually and economically ; to that end a Pan-Hellenic Congress was to establish peace.

But the break with Sparta was inevitable and bound to come once the antagonists had recovered strength. Trade and colonial rivalry between Athens and the penned-in city of Corinth set ablaze the twenty-seven year war of annihilation (431–404 B.C.). Pericles had been fiercely attacked in 431 by the aristocratic party (silenced by law in 442) which took political proceedings against his mistress Aspasia and his friends Anaxagoras (accused of impiety) and Phidias ; he was deposed from his position as *strategus*, then reinstated, and died of the plague in 429. After his death Athens was caught in the whirlpool of the first revolution that always follows the period of first prime. All Doric-Grecian civilization stood at the threshold of a revolutionary period and its earliest effects were felt at the centre. Cleon, the bold radical, the unreflecting, gifted, but unreliable Alcibiades, and Nicias, the narrow conservative, took turns as leaders of the people and obstructed one another's action. An expedition against Syracuse which dissipated Athenian energies decided the outcome of the war in 413: Athens collapsed under the weight of her domestic disorders. She was besieged, captured, deprived of her allies, her overseas possessions, her fleet, and her walls, and became an aristocratically governed member of the Spartan Confederacy. The Persians, in alliance with Sparta, recovered their sea power. In Sicily the Carthaginians pushed forward again, but were repulsed by Dionysius the Elder (405–367 B.C.). In 421 Cumae had been captured by the Samnites.

There was an end to the dream of a united empire under Athenian leadership. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and the Persian king allied themselves with the defeated Athens to resist Sparta's like ambition (Lysander). In 401 the Persian king had seen a Greek mercenary army in the service of a claimant to the throne in the heart of his empire and had been forced to let it retire undefeated (Xenophon) after a lucky accident had deprived it of its leader (Cyrus). Athens was able to re-erect her walls and build a fleet. When Sparta was sufficiently weakened the Persian king went over to her side and mediated the "king's peace" of 386, which dissolved all alliances, including the Spartan Confederacy, and perpetuated the state of disintegration on principle. This was in Persia's interest, for she was herself in process of dissolution and no longer equal to resisting a Greek attack. But to many people it also seemed to be in the interests of Greece, in harmony with the old ideals of freedom, and a means of satisfying the need of peace that was felt by all, and especially by the trading cities.

And now the city of Thebes rose up, led by the two gifted friends Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and unified Boeotia; by means of new army tactics (the oblique order) they founded an empire in accordance with Sophist doctrine, like the small tyrants, but with the larger aim of unifying Greece. Covered by them against Spartan attack, Athens was able to establish a new maritime league and partly assert herself against them, Peleponnesus was democratized, Messenia restored, Argos and Arcadia strengthened to resist Sparta; Theban garrisons were quartered everywhere. But Pelopidas fell in the attempt to establish order in Thessalia and Macedonia, Epaminondas was killed in battle at Mantinea in 362, and all was at an end. And now Sparta was eliminated, too, and the process of disintegration complete.

One thing at least was clear meanwhile ; in the universal process of revolution and radical change that had been going on since 430 not one of the old city States was able to establish a new order ; they lacked the necessary vigour of mind and body. Further, the way to establish a new order was obvious : it could only be achieved by military force against the refractory small States and must take the form of police control and no more. There were ideals that the future creator of such a new order could use to serve his ends—old ideals like the liberation of all Greeks from the Persian yoke (though that was no longer oppressive), and new, philosophical ideals of a great empire of peace and Greek civilization in which the educated upper class could devote themselves to the task of artistic and moral self-perfection instead of to politics. In Athens Eubulus had been at the helm since 354 B.C., a man whose whole aim was peace and prosperity in the commercial spirit of the world's greatest banking and trading centre.

In the course of the fourth century the most backward part of the Greek mainland had slowly been approaching something like cultural maturity. In Peloponnesus the Arcadians had united in an alliance and established the new capital of Megalopolis. At the same time Thessalia had accepted a tyrant for a short time and had even admitted experiments in democracy. In Macedon the royal house still exercised its ancient priestly and patriarchal authority in full, controlling the nobility and peasantry throughout the broad land ; its martial character was preserved by the necessity of repelling barbarian attacks from the north, and it had long enjoyed the benefits of Greek civilization. It now interposed with genius and superior national force in the confused disorder of Greek politics. Philip of Macedon put an end to revolution in Greece and his son Alexander founded the world empire of Greek civilization.

In the first instance Philip of Macedon (359–336 B.C.) refashioned the army with creative genius (the Macedonian phalanx) as the chief weapon for the accomplishment of his plans. Then he extended his hereditary kingdom by skilful diplomacy and the ruthless use of force. He made himself appear on all sides as the defender of Greek civilization, especially of Delphi and Athens, as the liberator of small peoples, and the future saviour from the Persian yoke. By slow steps he extended his eastern frontier to the sea (357–348 B.C.). The colonies in Thrace, including the possessions of Athens, became Macedonian and formed a bridge to Persia. In the Sacred War of 352 B.C. he freed Delphi from the rule of Phocian mercenaries and laid hand upon Thessalia and Phocis. In this enterprise he was allied with Thebes, and immediately halted when Athens and Sparta protested. Skilful propaganda directed from Athens (Aeschines) accustomed the educated classes to the idea that Philip would protect Greek civilization and the merchants and would conquer Persia for them. It was in vain that Demosthenes called for resistance to the tyrant. In 342 B.C. Thessalia became a Macedonian province. Then Philip's brother-in-law Alexander was made king of Epirus and an alliance was formed with Aetolia; the most important lands for purposes of recruiting had been won for the army. As the general of Delphi, Philip occupied the passes leading to Boeotia in 339. And now Thebes allied herself with Athens, Corinth, and other cities that Demosthenes had already brought together. In 338 the League was defeated at Chaeronea, Thebes was occupied, Boeotia "liberated", and Athens (without the invasion of Attica) compelled to abandon her alliance with Corinth and surrender the Chersonesus. In 337 an "Eternal Hellenic Confederacy" was founded at Corinth with Philip as its protector; he was to maintain peace and order in Greece and to lead a great national campaign against Persia. His position as police authority was assured by Macedonian garrisons in the capitals, but not in Athens and Sparta. Contingents from all the cities were to join the Macedonian army which crossed the Hellespont in 336 B.C. At this juncture Philip was killed by an act of personal vengeance.

Alexander the Great (born 356; 336–323 B.C.) had first to establish the tottering foundations of the empire. He compelled the Amphictyons in Thermopylae and the government of the Confederacy in Corinth to accord him the position of *strategus* and protector; in 335 he crushed Thracian and Illyrian attacks and then a Greek revolt, appointed Antipater Regent (he had to subdue King Agis III of Sparta, in 330), and in 334 attacked the Persian empire without Greek auxiliary troops. In the battle on the Granicus in 334 he won Asia Minor; Syria, the sea, and Egypt at Issus in 333; and Nineveh, Babylon, and Persepolis (which he destroyed) at Gaugamela in 331. Then he conquered Persia and Bactria in person and pressed onwards to India. In 325 the East was his. He returned to Babylon by a difficult march through the desert, whilst the fleet, under Nearchus, took a parallel course. And now he resolved to consolidate what he had won.

Alexander was not blind to the weakness of the foundations on which his empire was based. It was the greatest world empire that had yet been successfully established—greater than the Persian empire by the annexation of Greece in the west and of Indian provinces in the east. And all that held this vast dominion together was one man and his army of less than 30,000 men. It is true that the Greek genius for war and organization were great assets, and Alexander made brilliant use of them at many key points, especially in the foundation of cities. And the Greeks were ready to follow him in masses from the overpopulated homeland and fill the new cities and the royal capital, the whereabouts of which was still undecided; they were ready to form a ruling race in the cities, whence the countryside could be Hellenized. But all this was not enough. Alexander deliberately sought to associate himself with the principles of government observed by the Persian kings. Like them he was tolerant in religion and politics; everywhere he paid homage to the national gods and left the existing order intact; he took over the machinery of administration as it was; indeed he endeavoured to fuse the Persian and Greek ruling races in blood and culture, and his marriage at Susa in 324 B.C. initiated a rationalist biological and cultural experiment on a grand scale. Moreover he changed his symbolism, the chief means of propaganda; instead of being Achilles, the victor of Troy, he aspired now to be Hercules, the heroic bringer of culture, and Dionysus, the god of peace. The hereditary king of Macedon, a general and a man of Greek education, became a divine king, the son of Amen, to whom his subjects paid homage by prostrating themselves. He had envisaged the undertaking clearly. If he had lived longer he would have evolved a monarchy by divine right supported by a ruling race in possession of the capitals and fortresses of the empire; the dominant upper class would have consisted of the army and officials on the one hand, and a mass of scholars, merchants, and handicraftsmen on the other, and would have admitted non-Greeks to its ranks if they were willing to receive education and submit to a process of Hellenization. The Persians were few beyond the confines of Iran, they were bound by religious commandments and were sensitive of their position as a vanquished people; they would doubtless have disappointed Alexander's hopes. Nevertheless, the empire would have survived for a time; it might even have extended in the Hellenic west, so that Alexandria could have been its capital.

But Alexander died in 323 B.C. at the age of thirty-three. His generals divided the empire and soon broke it up into kingdoms. The principal heirs were Egypt under the Ptolemies and Syria (the former realm of Babylonian civilization as far as Parthia) under the Seleucids. In Macedon, Antigonus founded a dynasty which reigned for some time. Greece proper, which was perpetually extending further in the direction of Asia Minor, was still disunited ; sometimes it came under the influence of larger empires, sometimes it was free. The traditional, natural boundaries, which separated civilizations and nations and were based on geographical features, determined the frontiers of the new empires (Egypt, Babylonia-Elam, the Aegaean region).

But all the east was infused with Greek blood and permeated with Greek cities and Greek cultural influence. For centuries a stream of Greeks flowed from the European mainland and the Islands to this strange colonial region consisting of new cities in an ancient, foreign, civilized country. Intermarriage in these cities produced a distinct race which exercised its influence from A.D. 200 onwards and gave birth to the whole Eastern civilization in the Roman empire up to the time of Justinian and afterwards. The fusion of culture was scientifically fostered at court. New divine figures like Serapis were created by Greek and Oriental priests in co-operation, and Oriental mysteries spread into Greek society. Manetho and Berosus wrote Greek histories of their countries. The Ptolemies married their own sisters like the ancient Pharaohs and the " primeval wisdom " of the Egyptian and Babylonian priests found religious advocates in Greece who regarded Pythagoras and Plato as disciples of the East.

But in the main Greek culture reached its consummation in the new and larger world. A single Greek world empire of culture extended from distant India in the east to Sicily, where the mercenary general, Agathocles of Syracuse, drove the Carthaginians from Sicily once more between 317 and 289 B.C. and defeated them in Africa. On the other hand the attempt of Pyrrhus of Epirus in 281–274 B.C. to establish a great empire in southern Italy and Sicily as a counterpoise to Rome and Carthage was a failure.

The centre of gravity of this cultural empire lay in the cosmopolitan cities of Alexandria and Seleucia, further south than hitherto, that is, on the open Mediterranean. Politically, the two great empires of the Ptolemies and Seleucids were dominant. In them the ideals of a cultural monarchy reigning over a dominant, educated, upper class and a contented populace found realization. The king by divine right ruled through his army and officials and ensured peace and order for trade, and so enabled his more thoughtful subjects to perfect their humanity and the native populace to go on vegetating according to their ancient habits and customs. The king, the court, the administrators and officers were educated like the scholars, the well-to-do, and the merchants. This whole ruling class consisted of Greeks or those who desired to be like Greeks, and amongst them there was freedom and humanity and a public opinion on cultural questions. But the ruling class also included Greek mercenaries, craftsmen, and small farmers in the cities, and within limits even Jews and other taxpayers.

The service rendered to Hellenism by the Seleucids was rather the establishment of countless cities as far afield as Parthia than any cultural achievements. The Ptolemies raised Alexandria to be the new centre of Greek culture. In their capital the Museum sprang up, the earliest university under royal patronage ; at their court flourished the new literary school of poetry of Callimachus and Theocritus. Here in its second prime the second Doric-Hellenic civilization produced the great separate exact sciences, besides a courtly literature and art. Other cities, as well, in the new colonial region became centres where artists and scholars gathered ; in particular Pergamum in Asia Minor under the dynasty of Attalus deserves mention in this connection.

The Greek motherland, on the contrary, was slowly depopulated by this process of emigration, and a process of petrefaction set in. Athens lost her importance in trade and banking, world commerce followed other routes, and yet she remained an educational centre of ancient fame, the glorious museum of a great past. Thebes was destroyed by Alexander. Sparta won a certain fame for a time after 250 B.C. because of the idealistic experiments of her kings, Agis IV and Cleomenes III. The chief sanctuaries, Olympia, Delphi, Samothrace, and Delos, were still held sacred. There was a certain political life in the Confederacies of the Aetolians and Achaeans (Aratus, 245 B.C.). Since the Macedonian period the chief centres to transit trade were Corinth and the free port of Rhodes.

In a general way the Greek motherland was past its prime and half dead. In 278 B.C., in consequence of Macedonian weakness, Gallic barbarians had penetrated to Delphi and beyond without meeting resistance. Then Macedon recovered strength and the process of mortification continued under the protection of the Macedonian king; the land was torn by internal conflicts and convulsions, the cities degenerated, and the countryside was reduced to a proletarian condition. The attempt of Phillip V of Macedon to attack Rome in the rear during the second Punic War brought the Romans on the scene as "liberators". The immediate result was that the Achaean Confederacy, Rhodes, and Pergamum gained strength as the allies of Rome. Macedon was wiped out in 168 B.C., but in the same year Rhodes was reduced to dependence and insignificance; in 146 Corinth was destroyed for reasons of commercial jealousy and avarice, all alliances were dissolved, and all States proclaimed to be free but required to pay tribute to the Roman empire. Pergamum became a Roman province by inheritance in 133. In the wars of Mithradates, Asia Minor became a Roman possession. The kingdom of the Seleucids fell a prey to the Parthians in 130 and to the Romans in 64. Finally, under Augustus, Egypt (30 B.C.) and Achaea (the whole of Hellas without Thessalia, 27 B.C.) became Roman provinces. In 167 B.C. Polybius had been brought to Rome as a hostage from Megalopolis and had come to admire her power; as he predicted in his history, the political collapse of Hellenism went hand in hand with a cultural conquest of Rome. Not only did the Greek cultural empire maintain its lingual and intellectual dominion in the East, it actually spread to Rome. The culture of the Roman empire became bilingual, and the ruling race was Romano-Hellenistic in character. Alexander's dream of a fusion of Greeks and Persians to form the mainstay of his world empire was realized in a sense by the fusion of Romans and Greeks as a ruling race in the greater world empire of Rome. And when Rome's vigour was spent (about A.D. 200), the "Alexandrian race", the outcome of a fusion of Greeks and Orientals, appeared in its maturity on the eastern stage and carried on the work of the Romans and Greeks. Constantine the Great shifted the centre of gravity of the Christian Roman empire eastwards to Constantinople-Byzantium in A.D. 330.

Constitution and Growth of Social Classes

The Greeks were the first people in the history of mankind who entirely superseded monarchy as a constitutional form during their prime, founded free States, and then exhausted their vitality. With them personality was very highly developed. Like the Babylonians, they recognized none but the Deity as king and ruler over small political units, or like the Jews over a number of separate families; at best they would tolerate unwillingly a powerful ruler in the capacity of policeman. But they went further; within the small political units themselves princes became impossible and everyone demanded his share of political power; a king set over them was felt to be intolerable. The authority of the Deity in the small units and the large whole was not thereby affected; but no class could embody the authority of the city god (no priests), and the universal gods came to be super-national and unpolitical. The Jewish-Persian phase of development was altogether a thing of the past; it was impossible to fight for the universal God, either on behalf of his oneness or his moral authority. The nation was not welded into a community, but remained a sum of political units; indeed, the people only became conscious of their political character, their rights and duties in the small State, their national unity and characteristics, when they came to be conscious of this province in the philosophy of life as something distinct. Babylonia, Judah, and Persia had bred religious characters (in spite of strong material interests); the Greeks were political characters (in spite of strong religious interests). In the realm of Greek civilization every form of political individualism was anticipated and tried out. It was here that the first free knights appeared and the first free citizens, the first defenders of their country and the first traitors to it. Here the first political parties were formed, good and bad, aristocrats and oligarchs, democrats and ochlocrats (mob rule). Here the tyrant—personal rule based on force—rose to power above the parties as the result of their dissensions. In the two Greek revolutionary periods, about 680–580 B.C. and 430–330 B.C. (and in the intervening period) all constitutional types and class structures developed in the free state and were superseded. But ultimately they were all thrust aside by a new type of monarchy, established by a military king who reigned over world citizens of Greek civilization and speech, and based upon the army and officials and a large upper class of well-to-do and educated people. For politically and in every other field the whole cultural movement was created and therefore ultimately brought to fruition by personalities who were, indeed, free and independent as never before, but who were also proud of their natural reason. They were brought to the uttermost disintegration by following nature and reason as the sources of the ideals of freedom and patriotism, culture and natural right (as antithesis and theory) but—and this was unheard of hitherto—they illuminated the road that had led to this disintegration by forming clear conceptions of their aims, mistakes, and motives. And so they came to construct ideal States and define possible constitutional forms, with their advantages and drawbacks and their order of succession. And finally they overcame the disintegration in a workable unified State, an enlightened monarchy.

If the Egyptians were the first to experience our constitutional forms of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, the Babylonians of the fourteenth and fifteenth, and the Jews and Persians down to the sixteenth and seventeenth (Reformation and patriarchal, religious monarchy), the Greeks went further than all of them. We must look for what corresponds to their constitutional forms in modern Europe, especially in England, Holland, and the Prussia of Frederick the Great.

The Achaeans, Danaoi, and Dorians entered the field of history as monarchical tribes under archaic divine kings and leaders. The Dorians retained memories of their immigration under the leadership of the Heraclids, although even in Sparta the kings could not trace their descent back to the period of migration. We have chance knowledge of powerful Achaean rulers in extensive kingdoms on land and sea, Tavagalavas and Atarissiya, possibly in Orchomenus and Mycenae, of whom echoes survived in the eighth century in the myths of Atreus and Agamemnon. We know nothing of the constitution of these primitive kingdoms. The accounts given by Homer and the supposed survivals in Sparta were invented four or five hundred years afterwards, if not later still, idealizing the conditions of 750–600 B.C., though they may contain fragments of truth. In the long, obscure period from 1200 to 800 B.C. the emigrant tribes settled and re-sorted themselves and inter-married with the older inhabitants. They became one with the soil and the remnants of an older civilization, with sanctuaries, cities, institutions and technical methods, and finally broke up into a thousand small units—principalities, cities, feudal lords, and free peasant communities. Then the religious and social movement set in which produced Homer and Hesiod in the eighth century, the great classics of the first phase of Greek culture. The poet of the Wrath (Homer) and Hesiod probably followed one another about as closely as Amos and Isaiah in Judah or Shakespeare and Milton in England (1564 and 1608).

The poems that have survived under Homer's name were collections completed in Athens about 550 B.C. The separate parts probably date from between 750 and 650 B.C. in the main, but they must have undergone considerable alterations before 550 in the process of adaptation to the conditions and needs of later audiences, and these of course involve distortions. From the outset an idealized primitive era had been imagined. If, therefore, we look in Homer for indications of political conditions, it can only be those of his own day, about 750 B.C., just as we can only deduce conditions round about A.D. 1200 from the *Song of the Niebelungs.*

The constitutional form prevalent among Homer's Greeks was monarchy by divine right. The princes were actually the descendants and sons of the gods. They all enjoyed equal rights as neighbours in their small States ; only Agamemnon of Mycenae, the ruler and shepherd of the nations, was exalted above the others as *primus inter pares* and led the war against Troy, because of the ancient hereditary authority of his house and his wealth and power. This imaginary war was waged as a national affair by all the Greek princes. The honour of the Atridae was at stake, outraged by Paris. A ruling race fought for an idea (like the Persians), but no prophet proclaimed it ; it was not the universal reign of a god but something new : national honour. The wickedness of adultery is not stressed at all. The monarchy of the Atridae and the princes was patriarchal, of divine origin, but at the same time it served a worldly idea ; its " divine mission " to mankind was the aristocratic notion of honour, a notion belonging to the natural world, embodied in a royal caste and a nation. If we look more closely it appears that the monarchy of the Atridae was a memory of an earlier age. It echoed the power of the Achaeans (Argos) and the Dorians (Sparta and Crete), and exalted them through new ideas inspiring an aristocracy of knightly feudal lords (the princes). Already the process of dissolution of the monarchy had set in. The aristocracy consisted of heroes (and also "divine ancestors") who were knights. They fought in a new manner, heavily armed on foot (the chariot of war only bore them to and from battle), in single combat against their peers. They stood for an ideal of pure blood (the offspring of gods) and training (temperance, discipline, courage, strength, virtue, and beauty) and consequently of noble bearing, besides reason and obedience to the gods (who, however, were still the kindred of the heroes, in part their equals, for these ancestors were divine), but first and foremost of personality and readiness to stake all for power and glory. The natural desire to be strong and rich through force and cunning was exalted to an idea and raised above the blind fury of the savage and the clever bargaining of those who calculated advantage, above the fanaticism of the soldier of God; it meant that a man's whole strength and life itself was pledged to win honour and lasting fame, within the nation one against another, in the national life against the barbarians, but always in the form of rivalry. And like the heroes, the gods whom they served sought power and glory by warfare and struggle with hand and brain. In addition to the heroes there are their companions in house and board, friends and charioteers, the swineherd Eumaeus, and the heralds and minstrels who bear their messages and proclaim their glory. Their proximity to full-blooded human beings makes them almost human. But the people are of no account; they fall nameless victims of Apollo's arrows or the hero's spear; the masses throng to battle or to the popular assembly, their minds made up or made to veer round by every speaker, incapable of doing anything alone, either defending the ships or supporting Telemachus or controlling their desire for meat (the oxen of Helios). In later poems the populace gained in importance, but was more maligned than ever; Thersites, who led the people astray, had his calumnious mouth knocked black and blue, and the instability of the popular assembly, blown hither and thither by every sort of plea put forward by the princes, are made the subject of jest as clumsy dolts. The struggle of the masses against the princes, of democrats against aristocrats, had begun.

It would be vain to search in the *Song of the Niebelungs* or the works of the courtly epic poets like Hartman of Wolfram, who were themselves vassals, for traces of the rise of the vassal class which was the actual source of chivalrous culture. A similar social revolution among the flower of knighthood is the groundwork of the Homeric poems. Hesiod tells how his brother changed from a free peasant to a knight at court, the prince's servant and so a noble in the social sense and a member of the upper class. Homer's heroes were ancestors to whom a rising knightly class traced their own and their feudal lord's descent; they were local dying gods, divine appellations that had acquired a separate personality, or ancient kings' names. An older class of feudal lords provided points of crystallization, and a new type of armour and manner of fighting (professional and unsuited to peasants) offered the means of rising. Homer (the poet of the Wrath in the first instance) gave this class a new, knightly philosophy of life, with freedom, honour, and patriotism as ideals and models for the individual and society. Then the new

" hereditary aristocracy " in town and country closed its ranks to aspirants from below and became a ruling class. Those who still wished to rise had to go forth across the seas. But the heralds and ministrels maintained the forms and the glory of knightly society even when it began to degenerate. The product of the earliest class structure in Greece was an aristocratic society with new and more personal ideals of natural striving for power and caste striving for honour—ideals valid for every individual, for only the knight was accounted a human being—and further the local and national community. The peasants and handicraftsman were left below the level of society and were soon not only excluded, but oppressed by the ruling class. But its influence on those above was likewise powerful; like the city aristocracies in Babylonia and Syria, it depressed the standing of the kings, and that even more forcibly than in the east where, though they were made dependent, they were maintained on the throne. With the Greeks monarchy vanished except in a few reactionary States; it became a religious office conferred in rotation, or was regarded with contempt and hatred as " tyranny ".

Hesiod (about 700 B.C.) gives us the first intimation of the imminent closing of the ranks to those below and the consolidation of the new class ; he complains of the injustice done to him, a free man, by his brother who has sold himself to the court and uses its influence and judicial authority in order to deflect justice on questions of inheritance. The era of glory and generosity and the consciousness of new human values was nearing its end. The poet does not sing of blissful heroes and heroic gods but of selfish, grasping men in narrow everyday life, of peasant labours, and the Unseen Powers who take up the cudgels against the encroachments of the mighty. The spirit of knighthood still prevailed, eager for battle and rivalry, but the fight was for material power rather than honour ; the defeated party and, indeed, before long even the bold were expelled. The era of colonization had begun in which the *Odyssey* counted for more than the *Iliad,* and the golden lands overseas were more alluring than an honourable fight for Helen. As in the inland towns so in the seaports, the aristocracy were closely welded together. Here, where the population was denser and others besides the nobility—handicraftsmen and the landless—grew rich by trade, the first parties and party conflicts arose ; political parties came into being as something new in the history of the human race. The popular party raised its head in opposition to the aristocratic party, men like Thersites began to annoy the nobility (and were therefore represented as altogether ugly and evil by the minstrels); the people were contemptibly unstable, but they must be handled and guided with politic skill. These struggles favoured colonization. Not only a noble bastard like Archilochus (about 650 B.C.) wandered as a mercenary in foreign lands, cast out by his family, but Alcaeus (about 600 B.C.) in Mytilene murdered a tyrant (with Pittacus), yet was afterwards banished by that very Pittacus and forced to render military service in Egypt, as his brother did in Babylonia. The tyrants were the product of unceasing party conflicts; they were strong personalities, usually of noble birth, who made use of the people to win power and glory for themselves. Not a few of them were men of genius, born rulers who rose from obscurity and won their dominant position by quite modern methods of party policy and the struggle for power, were guided by moral and patriotic principles, established order, and fostered industry and art in their native cities. Pittacus and Periander were held in after days to be " wise men ". The free personality, the hero, emerged as a statesman, the knight became a practical politician who rose by reason of his clear-sighted and purposeful endeavours and staked his life in order to exalt his city; for his life was always in danger from tyrannicides, generally men of his own class, who, however, justified their action by the principles of freedom and equality. If the tyrant were killed, the party game dragged on for ever. In the course of Greek history this course from aristocracy to democracy, then to the tyrant and fresh party conflicts, was everywhere followed, and often it ran in a circle. In the fourth century Aristotle could compile constitutional records of Greek cities and other small units where every kind of individualist constitution appeared again and again, each phase superseding the last. For our purpose it is enough to examine more closely two Greek constitutional forms before 300 B.C., the most important and most celebrated. Sparta and Athens shall stand for the highest Greek achievements in this field.

Even in antiquity people took delight in diffuse discussions on Sparta's constitution. But unluckily the accounts that have come down are almost exclusively the work of admirers who do not distinguish accurately between what seemed desirable to their imagination as aristocratic reactionaries of a later period and what actually existed. The Spartans themselves were deliberately hostile to exact knowledge and probably had no written constitution (*rhetra,* custom) before the fifth century. In rivalry with Athens they only strove to win for their country primacy in the age and character of their political institutions, if necessary by means of "pious" forgeries. Even Lycurgus was only set up in imitation of Solon's example (as the author of a rival achievement); originally he was probably the god of light as the primeval lawgiver who established order everywhere on earth (and perhaps first created the world) after his victory over the wicked enemy. Even Tyrtaeus in 650 B.C. knew of none but Apollo as the author of the Spartan constitution.

The history of Sparta begins with Kings Theopompus and Polydorus who brutally subjected Messenia (" the second Dorian share in Peloponnesus ") and reduced it to servitude (743–724 B.C.). At the same time (about 755) the lists of ephors seem to have begun. That would be the age of Homer, the poet of the Wrath, who takes for granted the predominance of the Kings of Argos and Sparta above all the Greek princes as an ancient tradition, but knows nothing of two ruling houses in Sparta. This was the period when the new vassal class was everywhere making its appearance. It seems very probable, therefore, that the Spartan kings took advantage of this augmentation of their country's power and of the new method of fighting in order to secure by force a dominant position among the Dorian States. Messenia was subjugated and divided among the army of knights, and the knights ruled over a population of serfs as their feudal lords. At the same time a new era began (it was the time of Nabonassar) and, with the reform of the calendar, the successive years were named after the ephors.

This would be the beginning of the Spartan aristocratic constitution, which it is quite a mistake to trace back to the period of immigration and to relations between the Proto-Dorians and the Achaeans (Helots) and others, although it is true that the new, enlarged aristocracy, swayed by Homeric ideals of blood and breeding, sought out and fostered Doric memories in a romantic spirit.

After the conquest of Messenia the new distribution of power there reacted upon the victorious country, where an older landed aristocracy must have existed ; its ranks were enlarged by the new vassal nobility, and now the rising courtier-warrior class swallowed up a section of the free peasantry (who had long been of mixed race) and reduced the remainder to serfdom. This involved prolonged struggles ; the " conspiracy " of the Partheniae and *Epeunactoi*[1] directly after the first Messenian War may have been the beginning; it is said to have led to emigration and the foundation of Tarentum. The end must have come during the second Messenian War (685–668 B.C.) in which the dispossessed in Messenia and Sparta rose against their masters. Tyrtaeus is said to have acted as mediator in Sparta, which means that the ruling class once again admitted a depressed section of the nobility and then closed its ranks as a warrior caste. For the aristocracy did become a caste here, bound by birth and profession, severely isolated on principle like the Indian castes. Indeed, the Greek stage of civilization is fairly closely akin to the Indian.

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[1] The offspring of unions between Spartan women and Helots.—*Translator's note.*

About 650 B.C. development had progressed so far that Sparta could resume the task of extending the landed possessions of her nobility by conquest; they were now a widespread hereditary class, "the people," beside whom the Outlanders, the merchants, and the handful of free peasants counted little and the helots or serfs not at all. But this forcible expansion was checked by the resistance of Arcadia; newer ideals of a Pan-Hellenic religious and peace movement exercised influence and were used by Spartan statesmen to promote the establishment of the Peloponnesian Confederacy and thereby to ensure Sparta's ascendency on the mainland. Olympia (in Elis) now became a sanctuary for all Greece and was protected likewise by Sparta's treaties with her allies. The most important of these treaties was signed on Sparta's behalf by one Lycurgus; it is possible that he played a part in determining the earliest form of the Spartan constitution,[1] and was later merged in the god. In that case this Lycurgus would have been active about 600 B.C.

At this period Sparta's constitution was aristocratic: "the people" meant the warrior caste which only concerned itself with affairs of State and war. The kings had been deprived of their sovereignty. Trade counted for nothing, but did not absolutely exclude those who carried it on from transference to the warrior caste. The "State" was maintained by the agricultural labour of serfs on land owned by the warriors. The kings were hereditary; they assumed the leadership in war, exercised certain religious and judicial functions in matters of family right, and enjoyed many honours and large revenues. All the other offices were filled by popular election. There was the Council of twenty-eight Gerontes, which discussed laws and acted in a judicial capacity in criminal affairs, and the five ephors who regularly decreed mobilization, negotiated with foreign States, administered finance, acted in a judicial capacity in civil actions, supervised the kings, the officials, and the whole people, and enjoyed the right to intervene at any moment with decisive authority. But the final decision in everything lay with the popular assembly which settled all questions of foreign policy and conducted all elections by acclamation after exposition by the officials, but neither judged nor spoke; or rather these matters were settled by the common messes, which were likewise sworn brotherhoods and the smallest divisions of the army, as well as a means of educating the young who were present at their councils and merry-makings and learned knightly discipline and manners, courage and politics, by example and exhortation. It can hardly be accidental that the part played by the Gerontes and the popular assembly corresponds externally to that of the same bodies in Homer; Homer stood godfather when the Spartan institutions were established, as the principal teacher of noble manners and culture. But his ideal of the hero had become that of every soldier, just as the champion in his chariot had become the hoplite on foot in the battle ranks of full citizens. Every warrior-citizen was a " prince " with knightly honour and landed property; every one was trained in the ideal of beauty and goodness, every one learned to be an expert in war and statecraft, thinking for his own glory only how he might increase his country's power and glory (Sparta's! not always Greece's!). Even the women, free and equal as they are in Homer, served their country by training their bodies and choosing a husband in accordance with the knightly ideal of discipline and ability. It is true that the interest of the State was identical with that of the ruling warrior caste, and all the controls and division of powers were designed to make revolution for ever impossible by keeping the ruling class vigorous, devoted to duty, and clear-sighted, and preventing any kind of tyranny. The reasoned and even hair-splitting development of this constitution to a masterpiece of purposeful logic doubtless dates from the fifth and fourth centuries, the period of rivalry with Athenian democracy; in part it doubtless originates in the imagination of literary Athens. But as early as 600 B.C. a republic of aristocratic citizens must have sprung from the soil of Homeric tradition in Sparta, with the idea of knightly training and devotion to the State as the guiding ideal of each individual citizen, though embodied in a purely class State. At Thermopylae these narrowly aristocratic Greeks proved at their zenith that they knew how to die for a wider fatherland, to the honour of Sparta and her warrior caste. In Sparta the new ideal of humanity which the Greeks gave to the world in Homer was still a class ideal, but widened to the civic ideal (of a caste) and rationalized accordingly. "Man" means "citizen", one who fights and dies for the State as the possession of his class, and for the power and glory of the State as for his own. Individuals were not divided by property and ambition to the detriment of the State, but neither was there any development, only rigid immobility in class possessions and a class ideal, or else ruin. And Sparta did retain her vigour for a marvellous length of time, thanks to her system of education and supervision; even Lysander, who conquered Athens, was no tyrant. It was after Athens that she crumbled and collapsed before Thebes, but when ruin came it was absolute and left no surviving relic of beauty.

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[1] Thenceforward "the people" elected the ephors, who had hitherto been appointed by the king.

The Spartan constitution must have been practically complete about 600 B.C.; about 550 it bore fruit in Sparta's acknowledged predominance on the Greek mainland. About this time the problem of the State was first made the subject of philosophical theory, and that from the point of view of metaphysics and natural philosophy. Pythagoras of Samos, who may have been expelled from his home as an aristocrat by the tyranny of Polycrates, visualized the universe as "beautiful order" (cosmos) and "definite numerical relations" (harmony), and proceeded thence to advocate a type of public life which should be the free realization of harmony and cosmos in human relations. He conceived the first rational State, governed by an aristocracy of the ablest men picked by careful selection and prepared by a long period of education; and through his Brotherhood he endeavoured to breathe life into it. At the same time Xenophones of Colophon, driven from his home by the Persians, proclaimed his gospel of the blessed life in the One, in Divine Nature, and called upon man as a rational and moral natural being to exercise reason and morality in all things, especially in the development of the State as a national democracy. Pythagoras adopted the traditional forms (the common mess and community of possessions) and aspired to refashion the aristocracy; Xenophanes sought to overthrow and supplant it. One feared the masses, the other believed in their mission; but both superseded Homer and the class aristocracy and favoured the universal rule of reason and morality as indicated by Nature. Man is the rational and moral individual resolved to educate himself and promote the welfare of the whole, called upon to rule, noble, beautiful, and good, the ideal citizen of the ideal city State (*polis*). From the co-operation of these rational and moral individuals springs the order and harmony of the cities, and ultimately of the Greek world and of all the world. Both these thinkers of the first Greek cultural phase exercised a strong influence upon Athens in her prime, Xenophanes by his religious belief in natural reason and morality and the national-democratic and rationalist deductions therefrom, Pythagoras by his ideal of harmony (as the harmony of body and soul) and a free and beautiful order (cosmos) as the ideal aim of universal civic education.

But even before Pythagoras and Xenophones Athens had begun to develop in practice, and soon of necessity, on lines which rendered her, unlike Sparta, accessible to the influence of the philosophers. To Athens likewise, a new ruling race came during the Dorian migration. On into the sixth century her chief city divinity was Hercules, the leader of the Dorians, and his great civilization rose up and flourished five or six centuries after that migration. From the period of inter-marriage and social readjustment she emerged as the dominant city in the land of Attica (as Sparta was in Lacedaemon); she was, therefore, a political organization of considerable size, ruled by kings of the house of Medon. In the eighth century a vassal aristocracy arose in Athens, as everywhere else, and soon closed its ranks as a knightly caste of Homeric culture; it extended its power ruthlessly upwards, against the king, and downwards, against the free peasantry, and might have continued to be a ruling class like that of Sparta. In 682 B.C. the lists of archons begin; thenceforward at least the kings were ousted. Affairs of State were conducted by an official body chosen and directed by the Council of Gerontes and the "people", that is the aristocratic common messes. The subjugation of the peasants and handicraft workers by the landed nobility resident in Athens was in progress. But time had advanced and Athens was already a commercial city; some of the Athenian aristocracy carried on trade and money economy penetrated. This made the peasants' position worse, for now they were evicted on grounds of money economy, and debtors' legislation; on the other hand, it improved their position by dividing the nobility; the merchant lords obtained revenues from abroad greater than the proceeds of land ownership, and they had need of domestic peace. And side by side with them a new class of handicraft workers and traders arose in the town, consisting of immigrant peasants who were hostile to the nobility. Lastly, a great wave of religious sentiment swept over Greece from the middle of the seventh century onwards and everywhere checked the forcible oppression of the weak. After the middle of the seventh century the struggle between the noble caste and the people raged fiercely. It may be that Draco's codification of established law in 621 B.C. was secured by the city population in league with the merchant lords, who, like their Babylonian counterparts, were glad to have written laws. The code included criminal legislation, but also laws regulating commerce, debt, and inheritance in the manner of Khammurabi's. If, however, it was won by the city population, its effect was not what they desired; for now city and rural debtors fell victims to mortgage and peonage in masses. And Cylon, an aristocrat, made the first attempt to erect a tyranny; his attempt was crushed with bloody severity and a deep stain was left upon the city's record.

Under the influence of religious fears and dissensions among the aristocracy, besides a commercial war with Megara, a reconciliation was attempted. Solon (born about 630 B.C., died about 560) was placed at the head of the State in 594 as a peacemaker; he endowed it with a new constitution and made it economically powerful. He was of noble birth, but a merchant; he had grown up under the influence of the religious movement and was an enthusiastic believer in the new popular ideals of humanity (Delphi), yet at the same time a political realist. He was the first great personality in the history of Athens, the great legislator who served as a model for all who came after him, including the imaginary figure of Lycurgus. He devised the first State constitution to revolutionize a given situation by a process of creative, conscious transformation, aiming at something rational, moral, fair, and capable of survival. Previously there had only existed civic legislation, like Khammurabi's code, drafts of religious constitutions for a divine State like Josiah's (in 621 B.C.), but no political constitution in the form of law. Indeed, there hardly existed any records of constitutional custom; there, too, Solon set the example.

By the remission of debts Solon freed the country from the burden of the "mortgage pillars" and his new debtors' legislation altogether liberated freemen from the menace of peonage. Even under Josiah a Jew might become a slave, though only for a certain time, until the next year of release; but the Athenian in Attica could not sink so low; as a human being and a citizen he was fundamentally free, and needed no divine commandment to liberate him. Every free man was as much a human being as the nobility.

But the political rights and duties of the free citizens varied. Solon regulated them according to wealth, and so abolished the privilege of birth. Every man could acquire wealth through ability and energy and lose it by incapacity and idleness. Competition was stimulated, and everybody had the opportunity to rise. Wealth conferred honour, position, and political rights, for the man of wealth had a corresponding interest in the prosperity of the State; but naturally it also imposed burdens: equipment for war which involved varying degrees of expenditure, military service which demanded varying degrees of training and skill, public services, the more honourable the greater they were. The State no longer recognized an aristocratic class, but only "five hundred bushel men" and "three hundred bushel men" class, who served on horseback, "Zeugites" (two hundred bushel men) who cultivated their own land and fought as heavy infantry in close formation, and "day labourers", the landless and town-dwellers who went to the battle lightly armed; all handicraft workers belonged to this last-named class. Only those who were eligible for service as horsemen could be archons (the highest officials and judges, and generals) and enter the Areopagus, now the supreme controlling authority in the State. The Zeugites formed the great Council of Four Hundred which provided the lower officials, and the landless had at least a share in the popular assembly and the great Court of Appeal.

All this was new, just, and practical. It abolished privileges of birth in the State without violence, and therefore unobserved and without resistance, by a new and simple method. For hitherto it had occurred to no one that this was a change demanded by reason and Nature and easily accomplished by organizing rights and duties on the basis of the distribution of wealth. That idea, so obvious to us, originated with Solon. The fact that to-day it is superseded and is seen to be unjust, anti-social, and objectional in many respects must not blind us to the fact that then it was an immense advance, pregnant for the future: in principle at least the way was open for all freemen to the highest office. Spartan aristocratic rule was rendered impossible. The innovation was just because it coupled every right with a duty, and laid much upon the shoulders of those who had great possessions and little upon the rest; because it deprived the nobility of unjust wealth (the right to hold pledges and own slaves) but not of anything that they had acquired by just means ; because it accorded to the people their human rights and the opportunity to rise by ability and energy, yet gave them nothing without a return ; and because it depended upon the ability and energy of all and upon a religious and humane attitude of mind. The reform was practical because in fact it did not lay violent hands upon anything. The nobility actually retained their property, the Areopagus and the office of archon, their common messes and their honours ; they continued to perform military service and the tribes (*phyle*) survived unimpaired ; it merely admitted a small number of able men who were needed for the renewal of vigour. To the peasant citizens their land was restored and it was their duty and honour to supply the infantry and the lesser officials. The day labourers also were accorded a right and an obligation of honour, and with them the landless traders, and were likewise given a more workable system of weights and measures and coinage. All were made free and all could win honour ; they were ennobled because they were citizens and human beings, enjoying rights and owing duties in the State, shares in the general prosperity, gripped by an appeal to their own advantage and ambition, and shown how to rise in the State by their own efforts. In principle the liberal system had been discovered for all freemen, the system of fundamental human equality, of stimulus through opportunity to rise, of a just balance between achievement and gain. And the State reaped the benefits : sure revenues, a clearly-marked distribution of offices, contented citizens and peasants, a competent army, the regulated ascent of youthful vigour, and a free, proud body of citizens amongst whom all individual egotism, avarice, and ambition was ultimately pressed into the service of the State, all forces developed freely and rivalled one another in promoting the advancement of trade and agriculture, the schools and gymnasia, the army and constitution ; all exercised a rational and moral influence.

Solon's constitution developed into the first complete democracy amidst party conflicts. At first the parties were named according to local affiliations, which determined their interests : there were the " men of the plain " (large landowners), " of the shore " (maritime interests), and " of the mountains " (small peasants) ; all were led by nobles, the Men of the Shore by the Alcmaeonidae and those of the Mountain by Pisistratus. Under the tyrant rule of Pisistratus the democracy of small peasants and Men of the Shore (trade ? in spite of the banishment of the Alcmaeonidae) grew so strong that they were able to engage in a decisive struggle against the hereditary nobility, the Men of the Plain. Cleisthenes, one of the Alcmaeonidae, shattered the ancient State structure based upon birth and the land by constituting ten communities (demes) by lot, each made up of one district in the plain, one on the coast, and one in the mountains, as the basis of civic and military organization.

Each deme sent to the Great Council, now comprising 500 members, a number of representatives corresponding to its size—the first experiment in proportional representation. By this means Cleisthenes fused the citizens of Attica and shifted the centre of gravity into the city, which thereupon defended its new constitution and asserted its commercial position in war (506 B.C.); it successfully opposed the hereditary nobility, the Spartans, and the commercial cities (Corinth, Chalcis). With the mingling of the old parties based on interests (mathematical division and union), party influence in the elections lost its force, for some of the offices were conferred upon applicants by lot. And the influence of wealth was restricted. The executive members of the Council were maintained at the expense of the State.

Henceforward there were only two parties in Athens competing mutually and taking turns to serve the State. For seventy years leading statesmen succeeded one another at the appropriate and proper moment and worked for the greatness and power of Athens. The means by which this was achieved was ostracism, or the banishment of " dangerous " citizens by the decree of the people's court, established perhaps in 488 B.C. In the days of her greatness Athens possessed great statesmen to accomplish great tasks, men who hated and attacked one another personally and pursued only their own schemes and their own glory, but in so doing served the State. It was the period in which liberated forces and personalities developed fruitfully, alike among the leaders and in all relations and classes in Athens. In every field the egotism and ambition of competing individuals served the general interest, produced wealth and industry and art, and met every need of civic sacrifice of life and property for the general good, to the point of exhaustion. The city State (*polis*) of free citizens rose to its zenith and provided the foundation of a maritime empire and a whole national culture.

At the time of the defensive struggle against Persia the navy became the most important weapon, thanks to the efforts of Themistocles. In addition to the knightly classes who contributed ships, the day labourers or *thetes*, who had hitherto been of minor importance as lightly armed soldiers in the land army, now became indispensible as rowers, for the navy fought with the ram-bow, dashing at enemy ships and striking off their oars, and not by boarding them. It was therefore necessary to admit this class, too, to the Council and to office (479 B.C.).

Not quite twenty years later Pericles (one of the Alcmaeonidae again) consistently transformed the constitution into a full democracy in preparation for the great effort to add a land empire to Athens' maritime empire and reduce Sparta to insignificance. The Areopagus was confined to judging murder cases and its right of supervision in the State was transferred to the Council, its other judicial functions to the grand jury, the popular assembly ; in both of these the third and fourth classes predominated by reason of their numbers. And now all offices that did not require professional training were filled by lot. There were allowances for counsellors and jurymen, pay for the troops, bounties for the people. Thus equality of rights was assured to all freemen in the State and the free, sovereign people were a tool in the hands of the brilliant statesman Pericles, used by him with a sure hand for thirty years, and for the last fifteen without an opposing party (446–431 B.C.), so that he ultimately made Athens the intellectual capital of the world.

With the death of the great statesman came collapse, and revolution followed during the Peloponnesian War. The Democrats, the impetuous Cleon, and Alcibiades the brilliant and self-seeking disciple of the Sophists, were as fatal to the State as their opponents, the Conservatives, especially the pious Nicias ; the extreme folly of recalling Alcibiades from his Sicilian command and the great injustices in the trial after Arginusae and later in the trial of Socrates were the work of " religion " ! Liberated egotism and ambition had everywhere loosened ancient ties and had created in the process much that was new and great—first political power and then an era of art and science. Now their fertility was past. Exhaustion brought a general collapse ; the people were bled white in long wars, they had suffered from plague and devastation and paralysed trade ; they were impoverished and eager for bounties ; the propertied classes were also impoverished and longed for order, peace, and trade ; each party and every individual fought a life and death struggle against the rest. The end was oligarchy and the rule of the sword by a hostile Sparta and the thirty tyrants, the counterpart of the ochlocraty or mob rule that had sometimes prevailed during the war.

With the decline of Athens the Confederacy of Delos had fallen to pieces. It had been found in the days of the victory over Xerxes and the golden age of Athenian liberalism; it consisted of Greek cities snatched by Cimon from the grip of Persia and fairly taxed (476 B.C.) by Aristides the Just as allies; it had been a league of free and equal members with great patriotic and economic aims under a freely elected chief, built up to endure—a great liberal (democratic) and national political structure. In the course of time it had acquired the character of compulsion, for the confederates were unwilling to sacrifice lives and met their obligations by money contributions, and they inclined more and more to hold aloof from the schemes of Athenian ambition. Pericles centralized and unified the constitution of the Confederacy in accordance with the political, cultural, and economic needs of Athens, and after the failure of 460–450 B.C. under pressure of distress. "Liberalism," based upon rational egotism and ambition, proved a hard taskmaster once the period of free expansion and ascent was past. Athens exploited her "allies". The greater her distress and danger, the more savage and severe became her demands and the penalties for desertion. Then the Confederacy came to an end; it proved impracticable, like complete democracy and for the same reasons. Free union for common purposes proved unable to mould the many small organisms into one great one capable of endurance.

The rule of the sword in Athens by oligarchs and Spartans did not last. First Persia and then Thebes took sides against Sparta. The oligarchs were regarded as right wing extremists and were overthrown by moderates who seized the reins of power in the name of old-time freedom and piety and were backed by capital. They desired peace and prosperity for their trade and banking business, and secured them by a skilful policy of compromise between Thebes and Persia, between democracy and a capitalist financial system employing mercenaries. A Maritime League with free contributions and paid troops actually came together again. The groundwork of the whole was the abolition of Solon's classification according to the taxes and services, and a new, rational system of taxation on a money basis which assessed all the movable and immovable property of the citizens and "dwellers round" and yielded revenue to pay mercenaries and bribe the masses. The free shouldering of burdens and universal service disappeared. About 350 B.C., after Thebes had destroyed Sparta and had played herself out as a dominant power, Athens enjoyed upon this capitalist basis a final period of greatness as a world market with important finishing industries (slave labour), an unprecedented concentration of banking and transit trade, and a world-wide reputation as a centre of culture. Her bankers and shipowners, her industrialists and growers of olives and vines, were wealthy, and the State, too, obtained sufficient revenues from duties and harbour dues and taxes on transit. But the condition of this prosperity was abstention from any active policy and all ambition and in the end loss of freedom itself; idealists like Demosthenes, especially when they were magnificent orators, were dangerous fellows in the eyes of a government craving for tranquillity. People listened to them with aesthetic enjoyment and proud remembrance of ancient days, but at the same time they fostered relations with Philip of Macedon and so ensured considerate treatment which, indeed, was also in the interests of the royal "protector of Greek culture". Thus the evolution of the democratic State ended in the class domination of the well-to-do and educated based on the power of money and troops. Egotism had taught the city State to master its own egotism and ambition, to leave other States free in order to retain its own freedom of action, to keep the other classes in a good temper, to enjoy in peace its inherited capital of money, ability, taste, and culture, and by pliancy to pursue its path amidst stronger powers.

Sparta and Athens ended their journey along opposite roads at the same time. From the outset Sparta allowed one class only to play a part in the State. She set bounds to that class above and below, and made any revolt from among its ranks or against it impossible. She placed all its members on an equality and prevented any differences of wealth or education from arising by excluding money and enlightenment. Within this rigid framework she disciplined and trained all citizens as soldiers and politicians, zealous champions of Sparta's supremacy and glory, free servants of their own State bound by a great common purpose. The first great statesman in Athens opened the ranks of the ruling aristocratic class to admit men of ability freely, regulated citizen rights and duties according to income, and put his faith in inequality and the effort to win more wealth and knowledge so as to attain power and honour. Here, too, all freemen were placed on an equality; egotism and ambition were stirred in order to make inequality, the commercial spirit, and the love of domination serve the interests of the State. Athens, like Sparta, rose by means of egotism and ambition and the rivalry of her citizens; she rose higher than Sparta, only to be subjugated by her. But she produced more complete personalities, more genius and culture, than Sparta; she died after fertilizing a whole world, and survived her own end by almost a thousand years as the acknowledged intellectual capital of the world. The Greeks were the first people in the history of mankind who had full command of logic and developed fully and exhaustively the antithesis of mutually exclusive opposites. The constitutions of Athens and Sparta present such an antithesis, unintentionally and naturally. The Greeks themselves, who were the first great observers and propounders of theory, saw it and stressed it descriptively.

Greek theory during the fifth century was concerned with the State no longer, however, from the point of view of a metaphysical universal principle, like Pythagoras and Xenophanes, but from that of man and his nature and needs. Protagoras of Abdera (484–414 B.C.), the great founder of Sophism, placed man in the centre of the universe and first sought the ideal State appropriate to his nature. To the practical, individualist, and democratic tendencies of Solon's constitution he applied a rational theory, in the proud consciousness of the rational and moral progress of mankind. The State was based upon the universal human sense of justice and shame and upon the interest of all in observing and promoting law and morality, because by so doing they would fare best. In the Athens of Pericles this doctrine was sympathetically received. Protagoras drafted the ideal constitution for the colony of Thurii sent forth by Pericles; it seems to have worked well. But Gorgias of Leontini (427 B.C., in Athens) had already ceased to believe in the compelling power of man's sense of justice and shame; he thought it necessary to keep the erring people in the right path by means of oratory. And the younger Sophists, Hippias of Elis (born 440 B.C.) and Thrasymachus and Critias of Athens (the latter one of the thirty tyrants) came to regard natural impulse and principle as conflicting in the human mind: every one naturally, and therefore rightly, desires to satisfy his appetite and his instinct for power and glory at the cost of the rest; the strong man may do all that he can; force and cunning and persuasion are justifiable means of attaining personal ends.

Such were the doctrines which Socrates of Athens (469–399 B.C.) opposed with his formula of moral conduct as the sole source of true happiness. He did not put forward a political theory, but he set the example of duty fulfilled towards his country even to the sacrifice of his life. Nevertheless the ideal of the city State, the *polis*, ended with him, even in theory ; it had lost its religious basis since Protagoras, and the agnostic faith of Socrates was incapable of restoring it. The strong emphasis laid upon individual happiness as the just aim of all human endeavour was liable, particularly when it was given an ethical direction, to turn men's minds away from the service of the State to the mere perfecting of the individual. And in fact Plato of Athens (born 427 B.C.) did follow that path. The "philosopher", wholly absorbed in the contemplation of God, condescends only half willingly to rule the ideal city State ; the warrior guardian does, indeed, serve the State with purpose and courage, but he does not direct it, and the masses are wholly divorced from the idea of the State. Aristotle (born 384 B.C.) then proceeded to state with sober empiricism that it was necessary to distinguish between a State for ideal people, which would be rational but impracticable, and States that have grown up in particular historical conditions and may be tolerable or intolerable according to circumstances (even Plato distinguished three fundamental types : monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, and their degenerate variations), but that now at last what was needed was to find the type of State which all Greeks needed at the moment. That was no longer a city State but the large State of Philip and Alexander of Macedon. Philosophical theory went out to meet the economic theory of the Athenian capitalists, for whom Isocrates and Aeschines conducted propaganda.

If the Orient had not been opened up by Macedon for Greek mass emigration, the foundation of cities, and the spread of culture, the Greek population, especially on the European mainland, and perhaps Greek civilization altogether, would have been in danger of destruction through internal friction. The population was broken up into a number of separate small organisms, none of which could develop strength enough to rule the rest as a police force and permanently to resist the crazy cult of freedom and the internal instability of each separate organism. Within the small organisms the parties opposed one another with naked egotism, and amongst them were single men of ambition or idealists ready at any moment to take up arms for their own interests or " the freedom of their forefathers ". The struggle became more and more ruthless ; capitalist parties and popular parties were equally grasping. As the over-population increased the voluntary restrictions which a rational egotism imposed upon the capitalist class, and which saved Athens as a commercial city, could hardly have saved the whole country from self-destruction in civil wars.

At this juncture the two great Macedonian kings created the longed-for great Greek State, the " true monarchy " that kept the whole in view, protected the propertied and the propertyless from class warfare, and fostered culture (Aristotle); it was " the justest form of State " (Isocrates). At the same time they opened up the Orient to the Greek mercenaries, handicraft workers, merchants, and philosophers, endowed a city population with new cities, and a civilized race with an empire to rule. The Ptolemies and Seleucids carried on this world monarchy to its consummation, though characteristically it was divided and never held lasting sway in Greece proper. It was based upon a powerful military and administrative organization, in which Oriental institutions were adapted with Greek skill and made serviceable; the ruling race, the mass of immigrant Greeks, were fitted into this organization in the newly founded cities, and, being thus given a share in governing the Orientals, they learned to play the part of obedient subjects in the guise of an educated dominant class. These great empires were the outcome of a third colonizing process, which had its source neither in a barbarian invasion nor in the vigour and superfluity and internal conflicts of a youthful people, but in the exhaustion of an aging people, disgust with conditions at home, poverty, and hope of greater prosperity abroad. The region colonized and cleared by the military king Alexander was one of ancient, dead civilizations and feeble, but not primitive, peoples. Here, amidst the hostility of their unwilling subjects, protected by a national army, the Greeks at last learnt to hold together and establish an empire. The gift of the Spartans for defending class interests against the helots, and of the Athenians for making trade and culture a source of power, was now united with the military and administrative ability of the Macedonians. A unified upper class arose, comprising officers and administrators, merchants, and handicraft workers. Greek civilization became a means to power; Greek breadth of vision and the Greek gift for system produced good organization; practical dexterity and the skilful reconciliation of Greek and Oriental needs, and the desire for power and honour (the honour of the officer and civil servant, not, indeed, held to be of value for its own sake as in the present day) found an outlet in the service of the king, and in social ascent into the upper (capitalist) class; competition now pursued serviceable or social aims. It has been said that Egypt was no more than an estate of the Ptolemies, though it was carefully administered. Similarly the whole eastern world was an estate belonging to the Greek city-dwellers, administered and exploited on a capitalist basis but with rational moderation. Like the Persians before them, the Greeks were a ruling nation in the Persian empire, ruling by military force and in virtue of their higher civilization, exercising enduring dominion by wise toleration of old institutions. But what united them, in addition to the sense of mastery and the interests of a master-class, was not a religion, but a national culture, a consciousness of cultural unity in race and speech and especially in free and natural humanity, the fruit of reason and morality. This, too, had a religious aspect, higher than the level attained by the Jews and Persians; the Greeks aspired to bring about the reign of peace and reason in the world, and general well-being through rational enlightenment, through the advance of learning and art, industry and morals, in fact through the Greek spirit. Those who adopted a rational morality, those Orientals who were ripe for Hellenization, they admitted into the ruling class. The priests of their natural world religion, the philosophers, were prepared to acknowledge reason and morality and character everywhere and to discover similarities of meaning in the most diverse imagery.

The Greek upper class regarded the kings of these Hellenistic empires as Greeks, apostles of enlightenment, and promoters of national power. The kings aspired to be men of culture, fostering art and learning (museums and libraries) as well as industry and social amenities. They claimed recognition of what they achieved and of its indispensable character to be accorded by men's reason and moral judgment, and they claimed the submission of obedient subjects and taxpayers. In return not only did they leave the individual perfectly free to earn, to study, and to educate (religously, morally, and aesthetically), but on many matters they yielded to public opinion and honoured its distinguished representatives. It is true that they demanded religious adoration of their persons even by the educated classes (divine right), but for rationalists this was given a rationalist basis, since the gods were presented as gifted men, bringers of culture and heroes of primeval days; for romanticists it was a matter of course, since the sated rationality that had destroyed all authority craved for the irrational and marvellous as the sole source of authority. The Orientals regarded the Hellenistic kings as successors of the earlier national rulers; to the courtiers and the masses they were gods, to the priests and merchants barbarian police.

Greek civilization ended in a military monarchy like that of Egypt (the Saïtes), of Assyria and Babylon (the Sargonids) and of Persia. But this rule of force over scattered small organisms was now based upon an educated class (public opinion) which, though it was of Greek nationality, was no longer simply a conquering nation (like the Persians) but admitted aliens when they proved ripe for rational and moral humanity. Theory broke up the small organisms completely into single individuals, yet it also created new obligations towards the civilized State.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

We cannot treat the Greek view of the universe, as we have done those of previous peoples, under the heading of "religion". The religious outlook of the Greeks assumed the character of monism and became a scientific, philosophic view of the universe. In forming their supreme cosmological concept the Greeks absolutely cast off the ocular and human features of monotheism; the Deity and Nature were fused in the Universal One. Man as a natural being, who establishes principles in harmony with his aims, occupied the centre of the universe hitherto occupied by God (rationalism). A natural theory of justice and morality supplanted theological theory. Greek philosophy sprang from the soil of Homer's and Hesiod's religion, and the Greek outlook on life was first religious, then philosophic. In the upper class Homer's and Hesiod's religious ideas were supplanted first by the philosophy of Pythagoras and Xenophones, then of Protagoras and Socrates, leading finally to the systems of the Platonists, Aristotelians, Stoics, and Epicureans. But this process did not break through the confines of religion, it merely enlarged them. That enlargement, however, involved something outside what passes muster as religion with the churches; it involved, in fact, the passage from monotheism to monism, which has resulted in a generally accepted antithesis between religion and philosophy, theologians and philosophers. All the great Greek philosophers were religious, even the monists and agnostics. But State piety (which took the place of ecclesiastical piety) banned and persecuted them as atheists and destroyers of morals (Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Socrates) or at least mistrusted them thoroughly as rationalists.

Within the orbit of our own civilization it was at the Greek stage of evolution that philosophy first appeared in the sense of a scientific and progressive view of the universe; in India and China it happened at the same time. There, too, the monistic stage was reached, but not fully.

There is another phenomenon of a philosophic character that can be observed for the first time more closely among the Greeks, because there is plenty of material of known date, the work of individual thinkers, and because the great achievements in the creative upper stratum illuminate the different outlooks on life of the upper, middle, and lower strata. It appears, however, amongst all peoples who create civilization; it is the spread of the creative idea from the narrow company of disciples of a great classic to wider and wider circles, its adaptation to what already exists and to the intellectual powers and needs of those classes. The philosophy of life of Homer, the poet of the Wrath, was first the possession of the rhapsodists and a knightly order; then it captured the sanctuaries as the religion of the new universal gods in a seventh century religious movement; plastic art entered into its service. Thus it penetrated the middle class and finally the mass of the peasantry. Meanwhile the philosophy of Xenophanes had arisen side by side with it in the sixth century, conflicting with Homer and yet his offspring. It evolved into a scientific rationalism, captured an educated middle class through the Sophists in the fifth century, and then developed on the one hand into separate exact sciences and technical knowledge (300 B.C.) and on the other into mass enlightenment. In Pythagoreanism, Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, and in association with eastern religions, Greek philosophy and religion were assimilated to one another and adapted to the needs of various classes and various regions of the civilized world. This process of diffusion and adaptation spread farthest and reached its uniform consummation in Christianity. One of the chief tasks of the history of civilization is to trace these processes of the diffusion of great creative achievements throughout wide circles[1] in every detail. Here we can only indicate them in passing. All that we can describe with precision is the main trend from Homer and Hesiod to Parmenides and Protogoras and on to Plato, Aristotle, Zeno of Citium, and Epicurus, a movement leading from a religious outlook to the first phase of philosophic rationalism, to religious philosophy, and thence to a bourgeois rationalism coupled with separate sciences.

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[1] Compare my *Religion und Philosophie* (Kröner, Leipzig, 1924).

When Herodotus, the first great historical thinker in Greece, first inquired in the fifth century how the religion of Greece could have arisen, he came to the conclusion that Homer and Hesiod had given the Greeks their gods, but that their mysteries had been borrowed from the East. We shall see that the former thesis must be considered valid, but not the second. Homer and Hesiod were the great poet thinkers who stamped Greek civilization with its character as a stage of evolution. Before them are mists of impenetrable obscurity marked by no monument of antique literature or art. Only a few relics of the Cretan-Mycenaean (Minoan) age found by excavation and one or two fragmentary records written in Egyptian, Hittite, or Greek enable us to attempt some outlined reconstruction of pre-Homeric religion and to link it with Cretan and Indo-Germanic culture. These show that the Greeks had no need to borrow the substance of their Dionysus and mystery cults from the Thracians and Egyptians.

The first questions that we must ask in attempting to define pre-Homeric religion are these: What did the immigrant "Greeks", Achaeans, Danaoi, Ionians (?), and Dorians bring with them to their new homes ? What did they find already established there ? For in the first instance the new religion must have been composed of elements brought by the immigrants and others found on the spot.

The only account that we possess of religion in the migrant period relates to the Dorians ; led by Hercules or his son Hyllus, they marched down the Balkan Peninsula to Peloponnesus and thence proceeded to Crete. (" Heracles " [the renowned of Hera] is quite a late form, a philological invention to explain an incomprehensible name ; it stresses what was the essential quality of the hero from the standpoint of philosophy, the deification of energy and ability, which feels even the hatred of the gods only as a spur to the highest endeavour and so overcomes it.) Hercules was a god and still worshipped as such in fully historical times (for instance, as the chief god in the temple on the Acropolis at Athens before Athena, as late as the end of the seventh century) ; he was the divine forefather of the Dorian kings in Sparta and elsewhere. Just as Indra led the Indians and Mithra the Persians as conquerors to India and Persia, so Hercules led the last wave of Greek tribes, the Dorians, to Greece. The Greek tribes, including the Achaeans, originated in the realm of the ancient solar civilizations. They were Indo-Germans (the Dorians probably fairly pure-blooded) who, however, moved southward by a different route from the Indians and Persians, across the Balkan Mountains and so into the Balkan peninsula. We must seek the kindred alike of Hercules and of Indra and Mithra in the religious ideas of the solar peoples.

"Hercules" appears to me to be "Her-kures", the "Youth Her". "Her", or "Har, Hor", was the name of the young sun-hero in the solar civilizations of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages; he was his father's avenger, the New Year victor, and the conqueror and ruler in the re-born world. It is easy to understand that emigrant peoples (*vera sacra*) should choose this young god as their leader and the ruler of the new land. On the oldest monuments Hercules appears as the New Year victor who overcomes primeval and monsters of the deep; he is represented in very ancient guise with club and bow, net and fire (no longer with the double-axe : Bronze Age). In Athens on a pediment dating from before Pisistratus he is seen killing a dragon; on another broken fragment the lion overcomes the bull; this is like Gilgamesh in form, but is hardly borrowed from Babylon. In Laconia he is shown striking down the sons of Hippocöon and dragging Cerberus to the light. The Hercules myths contain the whole sacred legend of the solar religion, even adapted outwardly at last to the year's course in twelve labours, though their later unified form was the result of collection and comparison. The child was the offspring of Zeus, the supreme god; he was born fatherless, menaced in the cradle, and persecuted by a wicked king. He grew up to be the most glorious of heroes, the strongest and bravest of warriors, running faster and farther than any; he overcame all monsters, the "dark brother" as a giant, a bull, a stag, a lion, and a boar, the powers of the underworld, as horses and birds, a dragon and a hell-hound. He won the woman (the girdle of Aphrodite-Hippolyte, and Deianira), was persecuted by her (Hera), enslaved and humbled and mocked (Omphale; atonement and sin), betrayed (Deianira), so that he was overcome by the centaur-archer. He descended to the Underworld and cleansed it (the Augean stables), overthrew death in all its monster shapes, and returned unharmed. He fetched the apples from the tree of life in the far west and finally ascended from the flames in which he burned himself on the solar mountain up to heaven, there to live in eternal youth. Lastly, he was the great bringer of civilization, the first king and the ancestor of kings.

Certain other figures are associated with the New Year victor in the solar religion: there is the divine father whom the young hero avenges and succeeds, the dark god, originally his brother and then his comrade or enemy (the tyrant), and lastly the woman who stands amongst the men as virgin, mistress, or mother, now faithful, now treacherous. The divine father is no longer called Min[1], but Zeus, the incarnate god of light and day. This name, too, was doubtless brought by a Greek tribe to the southern land. Perhaps in the original homeland of the Greek tribes, as in that of the Aryans, speculative thought had almost grown ripe for the conception of shadowy, universal gods. In that case Zeus might have appeared as the creation of speculative thought beside Hercules, like Mithra beside Indra. In the final composite form of the Hercules myth the enemy and the woman bear different names. It may be that the woman, as virgin, mistress, and mother of the next sun-hero was originally called Hera. And various fragments point to the fact that there was originally a brother-comrade beside Herkures (Iphitus.).

It seems that the Dorians and their god Hercules, who burned himself at the end of his career, brought the custom of cremation to Greece. This would prove that the custom prevailed in the realm of the solar civilizations north of the Balkans at least at one place and perhaps generally. It could only spring from a religious movement that was strong enough to overcome the horror of people gifted with visual imagination at the annihilation of the outward form. Possibly this spiritual advance accompanied the speculative creation of great gods (the Aryans), or followed upon it as the product of one of the civilizations that may have proceeded from the forward march of the Indo-Germans before 2000 B.C. The Indians and Dorians (both of whom reached their future homelands about 1200 to 1100 B.C.) brought the custom with them, so that it must have arisen somewhat earlier in the solar region. It is common to the later Indo-Germans.

The reply, therefore, to the question, what religious ideas the Greek tribes brought with them would be that the principal god worshipped by the Dorians was Hercules, a sun-god with the whole sacred legend of the Neolithic sun-god. In the emergence of Her and the disappearance of Min, in his weapons (no longer the axe), and the abolition of his animal form we can trace the great advance of the solar religion in its original home since Neolithic days. The advance is still more plainly marked by the introduction of great universal gods (Zeus beside Hercules) and the custom of cremation. Since the ancient Greek tribes, Achaeans, Danaoi, and Ionians, also migrated to Greece by the same route, likewise from the realm of solar civilization, their ruling gods must also have been akin to Hercules, Mithra, and Indra. All that we can tell of their method of disposing of the dead is that the Achaean kings may have been laid to rest in burial-mounds. If they built the cupola tombs, cremation cannot have been their native custom; but if they only took possession of them, they may have borrowed their burial customs as well as the special type of Cretan cupola tomb from the Minoans.

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[1] The Greek language still contains echoes of the character and significance of the ancient god: μὴν and μάν (truly) is an ancient form of oath; μένος (impetuosity, bravery), μῆνις (resentment, anger), μανία (rage, frenzy, enthusiasm) recall the fierce avenger and hero; μηνίω (to accuse, betray), μινύδω (to fade away) recall the dying hero; μανδάνω (to learn), μάντις (the ecstatic, the seer) point to the giver of sacred knowledge and the frenzy of the orgies. Even in the designation of the sun "Man" or "Men" has been supplanted by the later "Her" and given second place; whilst Helios became the sun, the ancient solar bull became the lunar bull and μήν the established word for month, μήνη for the moon. The consequence was a total misconception of the original relations, and the barren nonsense of lunar mythology and lunar mathematics which confused everything and set it topsy-turvy.

In the land that they occupied all the Greek tribes found a provincial form of Cretan Min worship, often local in character and adapted to different levels of civilization. This Min worship was a development of the solar religion which they themselves brought with them in a somewhat rejuvenated form; it cannot, therefore, have been very difficult to fuse what the immigrant peoples brought with them and what they found established in the land. Of course it was not the Min religion in its loftiest form that set the standard, for that can only have been accessible to a narrow circle even in Crete itself; it must rather have been the form most closely akin to the barbarian faith that the immigrants brought with them. In the outward forms and accessories of worship the Cretan customs, being technically more advanced, must have exercised a long-surviving influence. In particular the local sanctuaries with their fetishes and customs must have been accepted by the immigrants and adapted by the introduction of their own fetishes and the names of their gods. Here, too, there was little difficulty; neither the religion of Min nor that of Hercules (nor other solar cults) possessed temples; both worshipped on mountain summits, in caves, and in courtyards. Both adored the great sun-god in the presence of the sun in the open air. Both acted the sacred legend with the same annual cycle of festivals in palaces and groves (the goddess of vegetation and the mountain), and every sanctuary had a "tomb of the god". Both possessed, in addition to a lofty Nature religion, fetish cults associated with a locality or group, paying homage to stones and trees, pillars and animals; and as the immigrants settled and began to intermarry with the earlier inhabitants, these too were bound to merge.

A local sanctuary of this type on the Acropolis at Athens survived right into historical times with all the essential features of a Neolithic sanctuary, but serving the loftier religion, and was included in the great temples of the fifth century. Probably it was originally a sacred grove containing the altar of Min-Her, the cave where he was born and buried, the serpent, the sacred tree under which his marriage was celebrated, the lake on which floated the solar bark, perhaps representing the sea into which the sun sank, in short, all that was needed for the representation of the sacred legend, as well as a mark where the lightning had struck the earth (or sacred throne ?). We even know the name of the god who was worshipped there. He was Erechtheus (a Her figure, as the name shows), into whose strong house, the citadel established where the sanctuary stood, Athena afterwards entered, in the sixth century.

All the great gods and all heroes in Greece were variations of and derivatives from the name, figure, and history of the primeval sun-god, as they were in Egypt, Babylonia, Judah, and Persia. But both differentiation and unification went much further than in the other countries, primarily because the Greeks had greater powers of individualization, and therefore greater vigour and freedom in characterization, because they had reached a higher level, and also because even at the Cretan level—and the Cretans nearly attained to the level of the Jews and Persians, yet at the same time retained their power of visual imagery—there was more variety than elsewhere.

Of the great gods Ares, Hermes, perhaps Hephaestus, Hera, and perhaps Artemis, were directly linked with Her in their names and attributes. Ares, who is doubtless in reality "Hares", was the ancient warrior Her, even as a great god "terrible in battle", a giant, but made eternal as the timeless and fateless god of war. His union with the divine harlot Aphrodite, and obscure memories of captivity by the hand of Zeus or Hephaestus, reveal ancient relics of a sacred legend. We can still recognize Hephaestus as a defeated sun-hero ; Zeus cast him down to the depths, or the tendons of his feet were cut, pierced by an arrow ; he could no longer run but limped. But he was much given to thought, skilful in speech and in the arts ; he grew up and prepared for victory and would fetter his enemy (Ares) and the adulteress. He, too, became timeless ; he was a skilful smith (the double-axe was changed to a hammer, the sun to fire), and his good-humoured absurdity originated with the comic figure of the Her-child. That wily child himself, who duped all his enemies, is Hermes, who overcame the dragon and freed Io ; he was a world-wide traveller with the wings of the sun ; being the guider of wanderers he was the guide to the Underworld and even returned safely from the dead. He maintained his position as the messenger of the gods and god of the wrestling schools and their athletic youths, and also as the guide of the dead, although, like all three of these gods with ancient names, he was hard pressed by younger divinities. Hera is merely a feminine form of the name " Her ", and belonged to Her as Core " the virgin " (later confused with Ceres " plenty ") did to Kures " the youth ". As a battle-maiden she may once have stood beside the hero-god as his shield, Pallas, before that protectress assumed the name of the city of Athens. As a great goddess she is merely a wedded wife and the mother of Hares and Hephaestus, as well as Herkures ; the ancient solar woman, too, was at once the mother and wife of the young god. Variants of her were the virgin goddess as Artemis and as Core (who died and departed to the Underworld) and the Earth Mother (as part of the universe: De-meter). But we still catch a glimpse of the primeval image of the cow belonging to Min the solar bull in the epithet " ox-eyed " applied to Hera.

The names of the other great gods of the later pantheon had no connection with Her ; they were epithets (possibly applied to a Her divinity) turned into proper names. But in their essential characteristics these gods are variants of Her. There is " Apollo ", the " driver-off " of evil and death, the eternally victorious youth in the New Year combat with the dragon " Corruption " (Python) ; he was the fair-haired archer, the ferocious enemy of those who scorned him, born with Artemis as the fatherless child of Leto, the Hidden One ; the dark brother of these triplets has disappeared. The memory of the incarnation of the year in two youths survives in the figure of the four-handed Apollo, a sort of Janus with two heads. There was Aphrodite, risen from the foam, the eternal goddess of love-charm ; all that remains to remind us that once, like Ishtar, she followed a Tammuz to the Underworld as an incarnation of the cycle of Nature is the dark dove, her bird that lives in rocky caves, and her rising from the depths of the sea. Lastly there is Poseidon, the earthshaker, an incarnation of the sun-god as lord of the deep, Zeus of the Underworld (the dark brother of Zeus, like Hades—a name in which " Har " may be contained—the ruler of the land of the dead). As belonging to the Underworld he carried the trident, like Hades ;

this was a development of the old double-axe (without blades ; see the discussion of the symbolism embodied in the alphabet) and was closely associated with the horse, the knightly symbol of death (centaurs) ; it had also retained associations with the bull. But Poseidon likewise knew neither time nor destiny ; he had become the representative of a part of the universe, the depths of the earth and sea ; Ea, too, was god of the waters in the depths, the springs, and the sea.

Zeus himself first and foremost retained the characteristics of the Cretan Min in his mythology. The cave where he was born and buried remained in Crete ; localized in Crete, too, was his sacred marriage as a bull that rose from the depths of the sea. The story of how he deposed and castrated the tyrant is probably also part of the borrowed material, and how he was perpetually menaced by rebel gods. The figure of the virgin goddess as a shield, " Pallas," may have originated in Crete, too ; she was peculiarly closely associated with Zeus ; at least there are pictures of a goddess on Cretan monuments who is simply a shield and nothing else. But in considering these borrowings we must never forget that they might have been brought by the immigrant peoples from the solar religion and have passed directly into later Greek religion. For we find the " warrior maiden " of the solar myth even in the Babylonian Ishtar.

The sacred solar legend can be traced almost without a break in all its principal incidents as the nucleus of the history of the heroes who descended from the position of dying gods to that of demi-gods and heroes and the ancestors of royal houses in Greece as in Egypt, Babylonia, Crete, Judah, and Persia. Achilles was the glorious youth who met with an early death through the malicious arrow, Odysseus returned home at last from the Underworld and the far west, Agamemnon ended miserably in the toils of the adulteress (like Minos of Crete), Oedipus of the lame foot (Hephaestus) deprived himself of sight, Ajax died as the victim of disappointed ambition, and Hippolytus of woman's jealousy ; all these, besides the Theban brothers and Antigone and even Polyphemus whom Odysseus blinded in the mountain (as Theseus did the Minotaur), experienced the solar destiny like Gilgamesh and Enkidu,[1] but their stories were fashioned by a people of higher powers to something more varied and profound. Even Hercules himself experienced the whole solar destiny ; it is strange to see how, nevertheless, he resisted degradation to the position of a demi-god. The great universal gods of the Homeric poems rose beside him and then above him, the one primeval sun-god whom they had robbed and then succeeded : Hercules was forced to become a demi-god and experience the lot of a man. His solar achievements were transformed to the great deeds of a bringer of civilization, humanly and locally circumscribed. He became the prototype of man's moral power shown forth in the conquest of self and the world and likewise the prototype of the good-natured giant, arrogant, greedy, and rather a lout (this too was one aspect of the sun-child before his victory ; he escapes from snares as a lout and astonishes his enemies by his rapid, hungry growth). But Hercules never really became a mortal ; he returned alive from all his journeys to the Underworld, and though he was consumed by the burning poison and by fire, that was only the way to the sky. In Greece his ancient association with royal dynasties and popular beliefs preserved the divinity of the primeval god, in spite of speculative doctrines concerning universal gods, until the new rationalism, with its doctrine of virtue and the elevation of mankind, could deify him as the human conqueror of the world, whilst at the same time it superseded the gods intellectually and morally with the notion of one Deity, morally and intellectually conceived.

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[1] Thus the kinship of all these myths is not due to their having been borrowed from Babylonia, but to their common origin in the sacred solar legend of Neolithic days, which was spread through migration.

The dissolution of the old solar religion among the Dorians, its fusion with the Cretan Min worship, besides the union of Min worship with older associated barbarians cults from among solar peoples (pre-Achaeans, Achaeans, Danaoi, etc.) and its dissolution must have proceeded with increasing rapidity at the beginning of the eighth century. A religious movement must have sprung up akin to the Cluniac movement in our own Middle Ages and provided the soil for new creative developments. People began to be conscious of the gulf between gods and men, the glory, power, and eternity of the gods and the wretchedness of mortals ; perhaps this consciousness assumed a form akin to its Persian and Indian manifestation, where a mysticism associated with the drinking of haoma or soma attempted to bridge the gulf by orgiastic means. Such a stimulus and solution may have found an echo in Homer's nectar and ambrosia, the drink and food of the gods. And just as in Persia Zoroaster issued from Haoma mysticism, and Yajnavalkhya from the soma doctrine in India, so Homer was the product of the eighth century religious movement in Greece.

The poems that still survive under the name of Homer, the

Iliad and *Odyssey*, were cast in their final classical form about 550 B.C. in the Athens of Pisistratus. Of that we are sure. The form, therefore, in which we have them is that in which the sixth century Attic rhapsodists were in the habit of reciting them, modified by older Ionic forms of expression and by the political aspirations of the house of Pisistratus and the rising Athenian people. It must have been the work of a remarkable personality, but we do not know the poet's name ; it was certainly not Homer. If we are to attribute that name to any poet, it can only be the author of *The Song of the Wrath of Achilles*, the " poet of the Wrath ". His work was the nucleus of what afterwards appeared as the *Iliad*, briefly summed up in the opening lines. But the nucleus of the *Odyssey*, *The Song of the Homecoming of Odysseus*, was not his but the work of a younger poet, the " poet of the Homecoming", although, indeed, the introductory lines only indicate an account of the hero's wanderings till the time when he loses his companions. In this sense Homer is much earlier than Pisistratus ; we must date him back to the eighth century, before Archilochus and Hesiod. It is no longer possible to detach his poem from the *Iliad*. But unquestionably it supplied all the rhapsodic poetry of the two succeeding centuries with its form and ideas and standards ; what we call " Homeric ", what was first perceived and given shape at the Greek stage of evolution, was the creation of this earliest Greek classic. He filled the same position as Amos and Zoroaster, a poet-thinker as prophet, as preacher of a new religion ; but he was the mouthpiece of the Muse, not of Zeus, and what he created was the heroic epic, not prophecy or a doctrine concerning the nature of God.

What concerns us here is Homer's view of the universe. We cannot now analyse and dissect the " Bible of the Greeks " as the starting point in the evolution of religion and philosophy in Greece. We are obliged, therefore, to take it as a whole, the creation of the poet of the Wrath ; we can only incidentally observe and point out how the *Odyssey* and seventh century piety developed and modified that view ; for this purpose Hesiod provides a chronological standard, and hymns and lyrics are also of assistance.

Homer endowed the Greeks with their gods. Through his agency a company of great gods ascended to Olympus, and a bevy of heroes, earlier dying gods, gathered around Agamemnon before Troy, degraded to the position of demi-gods and mortals. That was an act of creation as new and unprecedented as the divine figure fashioned by Amos from the city god of Jerusalem ; and the Greeks must have felt these gods and heroes to be just as alien and strange. They were first adopted by a knightly class, side by side with the local cults of the sun and the dead. Then they supplanted the old solar gods, permeated and transformed the cult, established their own temples and images, and finally captured the citizens and peasantry until all the local sanctuaries and fetishes were associated with them. This process of extension, shaping, and annexation forms the substance of the history of Greek religion from 750 to 550 B.C., and later still. The Homeric gods captured the people as Yahu captured the Judæans in the form given him by Amos, defying antiquity, defying the vigorous resistance of human custom and objects long held sacred.

Homer's great gods were universal gods and class gods. They were portrayed as individuals and as a uniform whole, a community upon the world-mountain, and a family; they had families and held court just like the Babylonian gods. We must take the measure of Homer's pantheon as compared with that of Babylon and its Judæo-Persian development into monotheism in order to determine the phase of evolution to which it belongs.

In Babylonia the natural universe was divided amongst six (or seven, or twelve) great gods; heaven and earth (the air), the watery depths, the moon and sun, and the brightest planet, each had its god; so, too, had the other four planets and the tempest; and the realm of the dead (not, in fact, part of the natural world) also had its lord. In the first instance, Homer seemed to adopt a similar division; three principal gods, the brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, divided the three chief regions of the world among themselves, and various lesser gods ruled the sun and moon, the dawn, the rainbow, and the winds. The Babylonian scheme impresses us at first as a more systematic division of the natural world (except for the realm of the dead), especially where it concerns the principal heavenly bodies, and as more scientific. But if we observe more closely, we receive a different impression. The division of the world into three parts is sketched out, but never realized. Zeus rules heaven *and* earth, the scene of all important events. Even Poseidon obeys him at critical moments; even in his own kingdom of the sea he cannot kill Odysseus, but only delay and torment him. Poseidon appears to resemble Ea, the Babylonian god of the depths of earth and water, but he is not a second universal god beside Zeus; rather he is on the way to become dependent. And Hades, like Ereshkigal in Babylonia, withdraws from the company of gods; the dead are dead, there is no life in their kingdom, nothing happens that concerns Zeus or the heroes. Nor are the gods of the heavenly bodies great gods in Greece; they are subordinate personifications of natural bodies and natural processes; countless similar beings, Night, Morning, the Winds (under one lord), Fire, Rivers, Springs, and Waves join their company. In actual fact only the one god Zeus rules over Nature, like the Yahu of the Jews. He ceases to be the incarnation of a part of the universe, and is the lord of Nature which is divided in his sight into a number of parts, all of equal worth, all personal and divine, but all part of a great world-process. The way in which Zeus is fitted into this cycle of nature belongs to a higher stage of evolution than that of the Jews; he did not create it, he is unwilling to interfere with it, but he keeps watch over the action of its law. We are on the road to the point of view of natural science: Zeus is the guardian of the natural order, under him are gods of the elements (Hephæstus: fire; Ge: earth; Poseidon: water; Œolus: wind), of the stars, and of day and night, taking their places in the whole as parts of the eternal world order. This is not consistently realized in the *Iliad*, but it is distinctly foreshadowed. In the *Odyssey* it is plainer: Zeus has disappeared behind the clouds, Poseidon rages as the ocean. In the hands of the earliest philosophers (Thales) this seed came to full growth.

At first sight the Babylonians seem as advanced as the Greeks, or more so, in their association of great gods with classes, as well as in their subdivision of Nature. They had royal gods and gods of the citizen-priestly class, and their aspiration towards one single divinity for all the pious led to the dissolution of hard-and-fast associations between gods and classes. The Jews had only one God of mankind, as they had only one of Nature. In the Homeric pantheon every class had its god: Zeus protected kings, Ares knights, Apollo rhapsodists, Hephaestus smiths; Poseidon watched over seafarers (sailors), and Pallas was now a goddess of city dwellers. The dominant class of knights with their kings and their servants, the minstrels and smiths, were excellently cared for in battle by Pallas and on the sea by Poseidon. Even for the priests and citizens some provision was made. The needs of the knights were more fully and minutely provided for than those of the priests in Babylonia; actually on Olympus we see a kingly hall with knights and their indispensable servants. Even the populace had their counterparts in the lesser Nature gods, though no protectors; these were the old local fetishes and Her figures. Here we perceive a new aspect of the developing pantheon, parallel with the trend towards unification although it seems to run counter to it. Parallel with the ability to survey the whole runs the gift of visual comprehension, of detailed and close perception. The power of unification binds together and completes these detailed perceptions in a scheme of visual imagery. The hall of Zeus is an exact and perfect counterpart of the royal halls on earth ; nor are the rising classes behind the knights missing, nor even the populace.

Naturally, the noblewoman is there too, Hera the queen, Aphrodite the lady, Pallas the battle-maiden. The class element, which we recognize here as quite a new social element, has transformed the Babylonian distinction of mother, mistress, and virgin.

Zeus had a court like an earthly king. Not all the company of great Babylonian gods constituted such a complete whole, in which every class was definitely represented. Nor was the overlord so prominent in their circle, whilst the social element, the personal importance of the individuals in order of rank as members of a cultural class, was totally lacking. On the other hand, each separate great god in Babylonia had an elaborate court. Homer tells nothing of any gods holding court except Zeus. They have, of course, houses, wives, and servants, but little is said of that. A process of simplification was going on, and more detailed descriptions amounted merely to lists according to rank.

So, too, there was really only one family. Zeus was the house-father, Hera the house-mother, and beside the pair was Poseidon, the brother of Zeus. The parents had three children, Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephæstus ; then followed the bastards, like Apollo (as in a royal house on earth) ; Pallas, the child without a mother, belongs to the same group, but she is a case apart. Hephæstus acts as the cup-bearer in the family circle readily and good-naturedly. Besides these only Iris is described as the special messenger of Zeus. Again, full account is taken of all members of this supreme family, and likewise of every age, in so far as it does not preclude vigour, and is worthy of the gods in their eternal flower ; the gods represented man in his prime (Acme, forty-five years of age), woman as the mother of grown-up children (Zeus and Hera), man and woman in the flower of their strength and beauty (thirty and twenty-five, Ares and Aphrodite), and the youth and maiden (Apollo and Pallas, eighteen). Zeus also protected the old men, and the mother-divinity the children. Babylonia did not thus distinguish ages, though we can discern the beginnings of the process.

Homer's great gods form a company in which all persons under consideration in all their principal relations may find divine representatives and appropriate protectors and that in the smallest possible number of divinities. The estates and court society, the members of the family and the different ages are taken into account, with a degree of imagination, variety, and completeness that is beyond the reach of the Babylonians. All that is lacking is the empty Babylonian list according to rank, and the equally empty association with numbers. The Homeric pantheon does contain triads, some that we can trace back to the earliest beginnings, like the twins and their sister from the solar myth (Zeus, Poseidon, Hera ; Ares, Hephæstus, Aphrodite). It is possible, too, to work out a magic number of great gods, say seven (Zeus, Hera ; Ares, Aphrodite ; Apollo, Pallas ; Poseidon). But there is no longer any meaning in this juggling with figures.

The gods, too, are differentiated and vividly portrayed as never before. Homer endowed Greek sculpture as well as poetry with its divine models. Here in particular we are conscious of the enhanced power of seeing the natural world closely and in detail and especially of creating ideal types. Instead of the wearisome, uniform solemnity of the Babylonian gods, dependent on their garb, instead of the unimaged, formless unity of the Jewish and Persian universal God, we have images of perfect, exalted, beautiful, and supreme humanity in all the variety of actual life. The Babylonians created a dignified image of the Deity seated on his throne in the hall, surrounded by his court and family. With the Greeks the image of Deity culminated in the likeness of man in his perfection, a work of art expressing soul and body, beautiful and magnificent, movement and eternal, tranquil, and blissful Being. In the divine image and throughout their art they gave full play to the concrete and visual which Jewish and Persian speculative thought suppressed. Zeus sits solitary on the summit of the divine mountain and nods acquiescence in answer to prayer : Ares is terrible and beautiful, with his vast stature and his glorious arms in battle ; Apollo strides along like a dark cloud to spread pestilence in the Greek host with his ever-present bow ; Pallas descends to earth burning with zeal to urge heroes to battle. But the whole company of the gods joyfully banqueting in the hall, Hera wearing the girdle of the love-goddess and alluring Zeus himself with her irresistible charm—these, too, are Homeric visions. Each god is a complete personality, of definite age, character, and temperament, distinguished from the others by such outward marks as the colour of his eyes and hair, his manner of wearing his hair and dress, and of course by his emblems. They may be distinguished, too, as ideal types of varying ages and temperaments, superior to the one Babylonian type of human divinity (the incidental, external power to create such types, attained by Egyptian sculpture under the pressure of practical requirements, now became permanent and found a basis in theory and literature); their characters varied, too, far more than Enlil and Ea in Babylonian epic poetry or Saul and Jonathan in the Jewish heroic epic. They were still types, lacking full individuality; that remained to be achieved by Euripides and the sculptors of the fourth century. Homer himself among the Homeridæ is still alone known by name. But the progress in evolving and representing individuality is very great, even in the portrayal of the divine, where even in Greece the whole tendency was towards unity and the fusion and supersession of visible, tangible figures.

Homer's gods are portrayed with the same vigour of imagery as Homer's heroes, so natural as to be in some things all too natural; but their divinity is a check on diversity, whilst the heroes' humanity enhances their diversity. The ideal image of the divine Being, with its eternal and blissful abundance of vigour and life, admits of no old man, like Nestor, in the company of the gods; it excludes the suffering and grief of Achilles from the inner life of the gods. Homer sees these mighty, beautiful, and immortal beings, all life and passion, quite natural in their secure superiority to all that is mortal, in their passionate and personal mutual antagonisms, whether direct or through the medium of the human creatures whose part they take. He describes and explains, physiologically and physically, their special ways of eating and drinking, their special blood as immortals, and their magic charms (the ægis, Aphrodite's girdle, the net of Hephæstus, the herb moly) which enable them to perform special feats. Physically they are all of gigantic stature, so that the mountain-tops are their seats and they stride from one mountain to another, strong and beautiful, rich in the fascination of the age that they embody, eternally young, and at most suffering some slight, passing distress. Spiritually they are all vivid passion and individuality, taking sides in love and hate (jealousy), rivals in the pursuit of power and pleasure and worship, easily offended and then immoderate in their speech and harsh in their deeds. So they intervene in human destiny, defending and attacking Troy, making love to earthly men and women, favouring their worshippers and persecuting those who scorn them. But at long last they are eternally the blessed Immortals who bow to Fate or the power of Zeus, reconciled by the tranquil assurance that at bottom men's concerns do not affect them at all, united in infinite laughter at a jest of Hephæstus, or meeting for a mirthful banquet or the joys of love.

The dividing-line between gods and men, which the Babylonians drew because of the fact of death, was also drawn in Greece, and almost more forcefully than in Babylonia. The gods were immortal, blissful and care-free, overflowing with vigour and mirth ; the dead were nothing at all, not even eaters of dust, but only unconscious shadows in the realm of the dead which was ruled and administered by Hades alone, another dark brother of Zeus, just as Zeus ruled the realm of the living. Consequently, the great gods were separated from dying gods ; the former ascended and became lords of the universe, the others became men, though earthly kings of divine origin, or heroes. The name of the new class of heroes is derived from Her, the primeval god, who was a hero and mortal like themselves. His fate was theirs, except that they could not rise again. Here, too, the antithesis is more consistent than in Babylon. The new religion knew nothing of Tammuz who was still a god though he died each year and rose again, but only of immortals who could enter the Underworld without danger like its ruler (Core), or the guide of the dead (Hermes), and mortals whose heroism carried them safe through the dangerous venture (Hercules, Odysseus) but who, nevertheless, must one day fall victims to death. The connecting-link had been abolished in the new pantheon so thoroughly that its subsequent restoration (Dionysus) was regarded as an innovation, although all through the eighth and seventh centuries old Her figures were still worshipped locally, dying and rising again in the local cult. In spite of the energy with which the dividing line was drawn, so that the Greeks no more than the Jews tolerated a divine connecting link between immortals and mortals, the tragedy of inevitable death was no more the subject of great poetry in Greece than in Judah. It is merely echoed in the generally mournful mood of *The Song of the Wrath of Achilles*, tearfully expressed by Achilles and his mother, but most forcefully by Achilles and Priam at the redemption of Hector. Achilles the radiant hero must die, every great deed of his means death to other heroes (Hector) and brings his own end nearer. Such is the lot of men and heroes. But in the *Song* itself Achilles does not die ; its subject is a passion and its evil consequences, an outburst of intemperance in the model of discipline and temperance, justified yet fatal to all. Men were resigned to inevitable death, even in youth ; only let the gods grant a glorious life and a great, enduring name. Achilles deliberately hastens his own end, for he knows (and his horse tells him again) that immediately after Hector's death his own must follow. But he is resolved, as a friend and knight, to avenge his friend, to meet his destiny with assent ; he desires the deeds and death and fame of a hero, not an obscure life and inglorious death. Gilgamesh ultimately accepted death, but Achilles is willing to bring about his own death for love of his friend and for honour's sake ; he accepts the consequences of his own wrath.

The dividing-line had been drawn between immortals and mortals, but its immediate consequence, the inevitability of death, was no longer felt as a problem by the poet of the Wrath, any more than it was by Amos, and for the same reason that influenced the Judæan ; Amos passed by death as something irrelevant, lost in the rapt vision of the one righteous and almighty universal God who had chosen his people, and stood before his God with humble pride to plead for his people. The poet of the Wrath, too, was supported by a fervour which, indeed, clearly showed him the gulf between gods and men, but enabled him to cross it. His Immortals, like the God of Amos, were glorious, the soul of all wisdom and power, all sublimity and beauty and life, but in the form of Nature. Glorious like them, as lord and part of divine Nature, was the man-hero ; he, too, was all power (rational force or virtue) and terror and beauty so long as he lived. The great gods and the heroes (a whole class of the elect, not a single prophet) rose together before the poet's enraptured eyes ; there they stood, vivid, natural, abundantly endowed, resembling one another ; for the heroes were no ordinary men but the children of gods and the remote ancestors of kings, to whom as ancestors divine honours were still paid (" heroes "). They were in personal contact with gods, and even on occasion fought against them, with the support of other gods ; beside them ordinary people were a mere nameless mob, fodder for pestilence and the spear. As with Yahu and his prophets, Nature was simply regarded as a setting for the great political drama in which all the relations between gods and human heroes were displayed, all their common qualities of impassioned strength and beauty, and also the difference—the dependence, weakness, and mortality of the heroes. If we are to discover the relation of men to gods in the

Homeric age (750 B.C.) we must picture a process of development from the earliest times; even the heroes who emulated Achilles were no longer the same as Achilles himself, no longer the heroic sons of gods and loved by them, but grandchildren and great-grandchildren, far inferior to their ancestor, who was himself inferior to the gods in spite of his blood relationship and visible intercourse with them. That is nowhere stated, but it is our inevitable impression. Homer was no prophet who taught with divinely inspired words, but a poet who presented his teaching in concrete and personal form and must be interpreted symbolically.

If we contemplate the world of gods in the *Iliad* (actually in the poem of the Wrath which it is impossible for us to disentangle) in this light, it proves that the gods, for all their concrete, visual likeness to the heroes, have a wealth of loftier, abstract qualities which point the way to monotheism and beyond to monism. Everywhere the gods see and hear one who cries to them, even if the material explanation is added that they are standing on a high mountain, or that the sea is near (Achilles and Thetis). They are bound to no city (Pallas was not Athena in the original poem ?) nor even in fact to Olympus, though they have palaces there pictured in material form. They can reach any spot at any moment (in flight). And most important, for all the physical quality of their persons they are really formless, for at any moment they can command any form of animal or man. But the omniscience, omnipresence, and formlessness of Yahu as depicted by Amos went precisely as far as this. It, too, was in process of becoming and nowise complete; only in Judah the visual links were done away with that were poetically enhanced and strengthened in Greece. But Yahu, likewise, saw and heard everything because he was enthroned aloft in the sky, or on Zion; he too strode across the mountains; nor was he by any means without form, for Amos saw him standing beside the altar and heard him roaring from Zion. The heroes before Troy seem to depend wholly upon themselves, being only warned and counselled by gods; but if we look more closely, they are nothing without the gods, not, at least, when it is a matter of life and death to the champions: Apollo strikes Patroclus and only then can Hector kill him; Apollo deserts Hector and Athena deludes him so that he may fall a victim to Achilles; Apollo is to slay Achilles by the hand of Paris. Even the deeds of heroes were universally caused by divine agency, which was absent only when second-rate heroes or the popular masses were killed. The part played by the Fates or Moirae shows clearly that all this is not accidental but regarded as essential by the poet of the Wrath; as an artist he regarded the sensual aspect of his gods as essential, but equally deliberately their non-sensual aspect as a thinker (the whole, of course, taking shape unconsciously and integrally); he stood at one and the same time at the Jewish level and above it, only not suppressing the visual and many, as the Jews did, in favour of the intellectual and the one. Zeus, holding the balance, asks Fate when a hero is to die; Fate has decreed the fall of Troy and Achilles, of Patroclus and Hector, and has determined the sequence (first Patroclus, then Hector, then Achilles) after an appointed interval (ten years). The gods know the decrees of Fate and reveal them to their favourites, but they cannot change them in any way; it is a mere figure of speech, intended to enhance the effect, when Homer says that this or that has happened in defiance of Fate. In fact, the gods submit at once when the scales of Zeus have decided, and the knowledge of Fate is that part of their knowledge which approaches most nearly to omniscience. At the decree of Fate Zeus himself bows, the gods desert their children and favourites among the heroes, and the heroes fall, stupefied or gripped by a god and the opponent to whom victory is appointed. The wrath of Achilles (a passion freely indulged) and the jealousy of Hera only fulfil the destiny of the heroes and the city of Troy; the voluntary deeds of heroes and gods, their passions and their wisdom, serve a formless power above the gods.

Gods and heroes alike as natural beings were exalted by the same rapt vision to images of strength and beauty and vigour, raised above the men of succeeding generations; but above both rose Fate, in whose sight immortals and mortals are alike insignificant. Zeus did not determine Fate, as the Babylonian great gods or Yahu determined fates; he only kept watch that its decrees should be fulfilled. Nor did he create the world, but only directed and kept watch over the course of Nature's laws. Gods, like men, were part of an eternal process of Nature and Fate; both accepted their bonds because they were rational, energetic, and able. Zeus, the supreme god, kept watch so that the will of the super-Deity of Fate and Nature, might be fulfilled without hindrance; and thereby he soon became the only god of the universe. The other gods might drink to the dregs their immortal and blissful frenzy and enjoy themselves like men; they were personalities, passionate, but also rational, energetic, and able like men; and men were their playthings and their tools. But they were bound to keep within the limits laid down by Fate and Nature ; and thereby they lost dignity as gods ; they did not lose all significance for men, whom they had power to help or torment, but unless they were to become mere demons they were compelled in the name of reason to withdraw, to sanctify their will and lose it in Zeus. The relation of Fate to gods and men came to be the problem of Greek philosophic thinking ; the gods were merged in Fate, which could not be thought of as human, and in the unity and law of Nature. Yahu, too, was bound by his own holiness and righteousness, but these were human qualities, like his wrath and pity, though of an exalted kind. Homer's Zeus is genially human, appreciating the knightly valour and pious worship of the heroes (and the populace) and gladly rewarding them. But when this might have developed into a moral law laid down by him, he himself was caught in the grip of a wider universal law, in the course of Fate and Nature. Such a point of view necessarily led to an inquiry into human morality, its commandments, its advantages and disadvantages, its natural and unnatural aspects, and to a first discovery of natural laws. The relation of gods and men to Fate and Nature in Homer points towards monism and an unprejudiced, scientific outlook on the universe.

The poet of the Wrath held discordant, mutually contradictory ideas of the gods ; the vivid reality with which the artist endowed them concealed this fact in the lives of his divine Beings. Once again we have the element of " as well as " playing a part in the effort to master the universe, rendered possible because it is visually conceived just as in Egypt ; but this is on a far higher level, that of artistic symbolism, not feeble visual imagery. The poet of the Wrath saw far more detail than Amos and Zoroaster and strove more vigorously than either to reach perfect intellectual unity ; alike in his divinities and his heroes he grasped both aspects, the visual and the intellectual, the vitally affirmative and the melancholy ; neither is suppressed in order to make comprehension easier (as the Jews suppressed the visual and melancholy aspects) ; both are there, both are clearly revealed in the treatment of the subject, both are intended to be fruitful. It is essentially Greek to proceed ruthlessly in the elaboration of both sides of a self-contradictory whole. The poet of the Wrath was the first Greek, for he sowed an infinity of seeds in his poem.

His poetic imagination fashioned individual, vivid, personal, gods, and so started the development of the art of imagery which presents sublime and beautiful ideal human beings as gods, and makes the godhead worthy of homage, intimate, and lovable to men through its loftier humanity, an example of physique and conduct. Only so could this final exaltation of the divine image be attained; its price was the retention of polytheism and image worship; but the fact that the Christian like the Greek religion introduced this image-worship in an æsthetic and moral sense into its monotheism is an acknowledgment of its value to mankind. The local saints so dear to their local communities, the many pictured Marys and martyrs, convey a lofty intellectual doctrine to the people, inspiring a sense of beauty, influencing by force of example, and educating; and it was in Greece that this influence was first exercised; we borrowed them just as we borrowed Greek philosophy.

On the other hand, Homer formed abstract ideas, like Fate and Nature, showing them through symbols and in action. His Zeus fitted into the scheme and watched over both. The remaining gods were omnipresent, omniscient, able to assume any shape. Here he was pointing the way to monotheism and monism in the religion of an upper class and in philosophy, to the scientific investigation of the problems of Nature and society, of physics, psychology, and ethics. In such circles polytheism and image-worship were regarded as symbolic, as they were by the loftiest representatives of Christianity; they were the many forms lent to the inexpressible, accepted and no longer feared as the Jews feared them.

Such play was not, indeed, devoid of risks. Between these images of a merciless Fate and law-governed Nature on the one hand and on the other the passionately egotistical individual gods, eager for power and honour, pleasure and sport, man may miss the road that leads to philosophy and to Zeus, the one righteous universal god. In face of the too-vivid images of the highest art he may despair. This cold world of law offers no comfort, and the passionate divinities positively wound. The Immortals live in eternal bliss and beauty and strength. But human life and human passion without human destiny, without suffering and death, without self-conquest and self-perfection, are mere trifling; no successful effort, no virtue, no achievement is possible. These gods laugh (for the first time gods can laugh!) at the limping, eager Hephæstus, at the tall lout Ares when he is flung down by Athena and roars like ten thousand men, at the delicate Aphrodite whose hands are hurt in the men's fight; will not they laugh at human suffering? Are they not heartless, beautiful, strong idlers? Both aspects are clearly envisaged; the jests and intrigues of the gods are humorously portrayed, and their sublimity in all seriousness; the remoteness of the Immortals from suffering, and Achilles' melancholy in spite of his will to life, are feelingly described. And here we discern a third region, that of tragedy and comedy. If the gods are not merged in Zeus, the guardian of Nature and of Fate's decrees, if they will not bow to law and morality with him by yielding their individuality, they are bound one day to become either ridiculous or terrible: the problem of divine envy and human arrogance emerges.

It was first necessary, indeed, that all the new wealth of ideas created by the poet of the Wrath should simply be assimilated by his pupils, the rhapsodists, and by the knightly class whom they taught, and afterwards by wider popular circles. In the period between 750 and 550 B.C. the newly acquired treasure was in process of assimilation; on the one hand, it was being slowly elaborated and evolved towards monotheism and a moral law, on the other hand to new individual gods who embodied a new wave of religious sentiment. The new religion spread and acquired temples, images, new forms of worship, and new notions of human values and morality. About 750 B.C. there were Her cults undergoing all manner of transformation and disintegration and known by a variety of names; there were places of worship on mountains and in caves and groves, but there can hardly have been a Zeus cult of more than local recognition, or amounting to anything more than a variety of the Her cult. During the two centuries up to 550 B.C. all the Her cults were transformed into cults of Homeric great gods and heroes, all acquired temples and images. Hesiod's Zeus sprang from an undefined god of day, the pure and religiously moral Apollo of Delphi and the worldly-wise city goddess Athena from the "expeller of evil" and the battle-maiden; and the irrational and orgiastic element in the religion of Her, as well as the cult of the dead, was admitted to the pantheon in the form of Dionysus and Demeter worship. About 750 B.C. it was still quite customary to leave vanquished enemies to lie unburied if they were killed, to make slaves of them if they survived (the Messenians), and to offer human sacrifice at the graves of one's own dead. Subsequently chivalrous respect for a brave enemy grew up, even in death; the poet of the Wrath paves the way for it in the redemption of Hector's body; then followed fear of defiling the land by desecrating the dead, and finally a religious and national sense of humanity grew up which regarded human sacrifice and the enslavement of Greeks with abhorrence. This process of development may be divided into two periods. There was a period in which knightly poetry and learning reached their consummation (about 750 to 680 B.C.; the first classical era; the *Odyssey* and Hesiod) and one of new citizen piety (the revolutionary period, 680 to 580 B.C.). The first corresponds to the German chivalrous age up to the end of the Hohenstaufen rule, the second to German mysticism at the end of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth.

It was the conception of Zeus that first underwent development, and that at the hands of the Homeric poet who sang the home-coming of Odysseus, and of Hesiod. Both of these were younger than the poet of the Wrath, and lived about 700 B.C. We cannot say positively which of the two was the earlier, for the poet of the home-coming probably lived in Ionia and Hesiod in backward Bœotia. The poet of the homecoming depicts the knightly era in its full brilliance, though there are signs of transition to a frivolous phase; in Hesiod the change to a mood of sober disillusionment is unmistakable; it may be, therefore, that Hesiod was the younger of the two.

In the *Odyssey* there are no more scenes among the gods in Olympus, no fights and intrigues of the denizens of heaven. The gods have disappeared among the clouds. It is quite exceptional when Poseidon, who has suffered great personal injury, appears out of the waves, almost like an angry demon, tossing the hero upon them but unable to do him serious harm. Athena intervenes like a guardian angel, a kindly and worldly-wise helper; but she does not herself kill or save. The real god is Zeus, the invisible representative of the decisions of all the gods in council. He has become one with Fate and with the will to destroy sin and reward virtue. Here is further progress towards monotheism. The central story, too, is now moral and pious: the Deity helps the pious and courageous sufferer. Through his wisdom, which teaches him to honour and obey the gods and to fight monsters and evil-doers with cunning and bravery, and even enables him to venture into the Underworld in obedience to the gods, and through his undaunted self-mastery and endurance in bearing the blows of Fate, he subdues his hard lot and overcomes monsters and dangers of every kind; he even overcomes the great god Poseidon, whose son he has blinded, involuntarily and in self-defence, and finally recovers his kingdom and his wife. His less resolute companions and the wicked, deluded wooers are doomed to die; but he attains his purpose, as a model of the wisdom and courage that conquers self and Fate, of the virtue that is energy and ability under control. (At this period Hercules, too, must have been undergoing a gradual process of transformation into such a conqueror.) Side by side with the one god the notion of virtue reached its consummation, a virtue that is made up of piety and worldly-wise courage, and that of sin which is lack of control, arrogance (*hybris*), and infatuation. Beside Zeus Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephæstus are comic figures, depicted by the poet as ridiculous and lascivious, involved in trifling amorous adventures; and yet the poet professes to be a fervent adorer of the gods. On the other hand, there are many pictures of the terrors of death, and the Underworld is described with solemnity: there is now a judgment and a dwelling-place of the blessed, besides examples of the punishment of blasphemers against the gods. But Achilles is a feeble shade, and he utters the spiritless words: " Rather a living serf than a dead king." The *Gaudeamus* philosophy, which had been exalted wisdom to the Egyptians, had at first been accepted by the Babylonians (the earlier version of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*) and then piously rejected, and had been regarded by the Jews as the sinful expression of heathenish love of pleasure and lack of vision (" Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die "), took shape among the Greeks as a proverb expressing the worth of life and death, summing up the central doctrine from which everyone might deduce the rule of right conduct.

In Hesiod this first ethical monotheism of the Greeks reached its culmination; in other respects, too, he was a prophetic figure, the proclaimer of divine revelations and of future salvation and disaster, but also a rhapsodist, poet, and ardent lover of Nature. He was the son of an Æolian immigrant from Cyme in Asia Minor, so that he traced his origin to Homer's native land, although he himself was born and lived at Ascra in Bœotia. He copied Homer as a rhapsodist chosen by the nine Muses of Helicon themselves (he introduces a vision in which he receives his vocation, like Isaiah the disciple prophet in Judah). He wrote in Ionian in the Homeric metre. But he aspired at once to transform and supplant Homer; the new wisdom was to be more religious, more serious, more moral, and closer to Nature. For it is an " iron " age, wretched, full of suffering and injustice and violence; he himself has direct experience of it in his dispute with his brother Perses about his paternal heritage; the powerful rulers, the knightly evil-doers and drones to whom Perses has attached himself, have cheated him of his right, he being a freeman on a free peasant holding. This experience has been a revelation to him of a general condition; he feels himself to be a link in a long chain of development leading down from a primeval golden age (Paradise) through a silver age to the iron present, more and more degenerate, further and further removed from unity, peace, natural conditions, and morality. The fair age of chivalry was past, the period when a new social class was rising in freedom, when new divine and human ideals were coming to birth, when men could feel near to the heroes, the divine ancestors of primeval days; the upper class closed its ranks; it was narrow, prosaic, and harsh, oppressed the peasants, and robbed them by violence and through the courts in order to live like lords. Hesiod's view of the world was not that of a knight, but of the masses whom Homer depicted as stupidly vacillating in the popular assembly and dying nameless in battle and in the sea; and with Hesiod this populace, first of peasants then of citizens, pushed upwards in the name of a loftier religion and morality.

" Zeus " or " the Immortals "—they are interchangeable terms—rule the world. Zeus has given the law of their being (a new notion) to all creatures: to the animals the law that they are to devour one another, but to man that he shall distinguish right from wrong and act rightly. The Immortals dwell amongst men and take note of injustice and violence; three myriad invisible servants of Zeus, all equal as angels and no longer powerful gods, wander on earth unseen to work the will of Zeus, omnipresent, omniscient, and absolutely just. They keep watch over a moral law: the daughter of Zeus—Justice, not Pallas—accuses the unjust and corrupt before her father, and reward and punishment inevitably follow good and evil deeds. " He who does wrong to others, does wrong to himself; he who counsels others badly gives himself the worst counsel." The community (city) in which justice is meted out to citizens and strangers prospers in peace and plenty; a city ruled unjustly is destroyed in its arrogance and infatuation. Zeus metes out justice by means of war and domestic strife, childlessness and famine. The iron age is full of war, pestilence, and misery, heroes there are none, and the people emigrate because sin is everywhere; lawlessness brings its own punishment.

What is needful is to call a halt and reform, to be just and industrious once more. And the first essential step is to return to labour and the land. There must be an end to the idling and over-elegance of the ruling class. Zeus has hidden man's food deep below the earth in his wrath at the fraud of Prometheus, but for the good of man. For it is labour that makes man worthy in the sight of the gods, makes him rich and assures the riches that bring merriment and honour. Man must work, else he is forced to become a robber and imposter, one who acquires wealth unjustly. In his didactic poem on agriculture and seamanship Hesiod gave the peasants and sailors, the energetic and industrious freemen whom he contrasted with the idle nobility, instructions as to what has to be done at every period in the year and the life of man, useful knowledge of the purpose and law of Nature.

Hesiod's ethical monotheism is the counterpart of Jewish monotheism, but on a higher plane. Though his moral law is under divine protection, it is without ritual elements or local restriction, and it is self-sufficient ; immorality brings its own punishment by its very nature ; God does not desire piety alone, but labour, agriculture, and that not as a punishment but a blessing. Side by side with the personal righteousness of individual freemen, strong emphasis is laid upon the State community. Hesiod endowed the Greeks with the ideals of the rising bourgeoisie, the democracy of free peasants and seamen, succeeding Homer's chivalrous ideals which an aristocratic society had absorbed. The days of the heroes were past ; if a man was to rise now he must be capable and energetic, sober, piously virtuous, and industrious. The notion of the Deity with tens of thousands of invisible servants, all absolutely equal, and the notion of the natural law of well-timed labours and of moral law, all led to the pursuit of sober knowledge. Hesiod endowed this budding science with the general concepts of important times (not the choice of days depending upon mythological speculations), of the three eras in human history (a moral and religious philosophy of history expressed in quite a simple formula), and perhaps of the gods who sprang from Chaos and Heaven and Earth, and amongst whom he included the Her fetish of Thespiae, a menhir (phallus), as Eros (generative force), besides exalting the nurses of the sun-child on his native mountain of Helicon to the rank of Muses.

About the middle of the seventh century the "fair age of chivalry" must have been long past in Greece. Knightly society and its civilization had completed their development and everywhere civic conflicts were in progress. Added to the efforts of the free peasantry (Hesiod) to resist the nobles' endeavours to enslave them, and of the free States in Peloponnesus to resist Sparta, came conflicts within the cities in which a democratic party was formed in opposition to the aristocracy and forced its way upwards. Over-population and domestic strife drove men to emigrate overseas, and colonization was in full swing. This period of ferment gave birth to Greek mysticism. The Dionysan processions can literally be compared with our flagellants' processions in the fourteenth century, which sprang from the deepening piety of wide masses rising in the social scale (bourgeois and peasant)—people whose piety had taken an irrational turn ; they had a growing sense of cramped opportunities and discontent, and as over-population increased in the cities and throughout the country these, together with the general poverty and pestilence, were more keenly felt. Even Greece can hardly have escaped poverty and disease. Dionysus healed dancing-mania and other forms of insanity. And Apollo-worship, inspired by a passionate sense of sin and purification, was associated with mysticism. We can observe these developments in the poet of the *Odyssey* and in Hesiod as well as Archilochus (in his prime about 650 B.C.). In the *Odyssey* knightly society attained its outward consummation (Telemachus) ; we observe side by side with clear indications of frivolity a trend towards a monotheistic worship of Zeus. In Hesiod the nobility is closing its ranks ; it is prosaic, selfish, rationally utilitarian, and an opposition movement sets in among the people in the shape of moral indignation, repudiation of the way of life at court, and a demand for just gods and a life of labour in touch with Nature, for labour is the source of well-being. The " iron age " must be superseded. But all is still rational, and knightly learning (theogony, the catalogue of gods) actually took its rise in Hesiod. Archilochus is an example of a man of knightly birth who had lost his footing in his own class, and also of growing individual differences : he spurned the knightly customs that gave him no means of livelihood. And then, because men were weary of rationalism and because of the liberation of personality in individuals and whole upward-aspiring classes as a result of rationalism in its first phase, men turned sharply towards irrationality. People had had enough of the prevailing system with all its restrictions, of society with its false chivalry, of Hesiod's rational attempts at reform that sought to bind men and women to their houses and land and to numbers, of the unnatural life in the confinement of the city, and of the curse resting upon a sinful age. A mystical, ecstatic movement sprang up and breathed new life into ancient, primitive customs, the orgies of the primeval sun-god. There was no leading personality or poet in this romantic movement which captured the masses. We know nothing of the precise circumstances and the immediate causes of the spread of this " dancing mania ". It suddenly appeared, destructive, as it seemed, of all more exalted forms of religion and culture ; in fact it was a consummating influence, for it invaded the last strongholds of the ancient solar religion and exalted them to the Homeric level, and thereby admitted the masses to share in the religion of Homer.

Mysticism introduced a new god into the circle of Hellenic great gods, and that is Dionysus (Dionnysos). The Greeks of a later day knew whence he came. In Thrace the orgies of a bull god were celebrated, but so they were in Egypt, and it was therefore assumed that the " new " cult had been brought thence (Herodotus and others). In actual fact the ancient Her orgies and phallic processions must have survived locally all over Greece as late as the seventh century ; they were merely superseded amongst educated people by the loftier religion of Homer and Hesiod and degraded and debased as belonging to the uneducated peasants and populace. And now this foolish and immoral gutter cult suddenly rose to a new significance ; it captured classes whose whole pride had been the measure and discipline of their lives, and especially the women ; it attained unity and a deeper meaning.

The name of this god is purely Greek, " Dionnysos," perhaps to be interpreted as *Dios Nysa*, the pillar of Zeus. The pillar would be a menhir, a phallic symbol of the procreative sun-god ; in southern lands it became a budding tree-pillar. Dionysus was a god of procreation, or orgiastic ecstacy, of intoxication. Even on vases he was first portrayed as a branching stem, and only later as a man, and then (in order to resemble Apollo) a youth. He was the young sun-child begotten by Zeus, born of Semele, who when he grew up went out into the world as a god of the creative, instinctive life of Nature and of wine, a god who intensified the force of instincts and released them in sleep, a peaceful world-conqueror who gave bliss to the well-disposed but sent madness to men of violence and those who resisted him, driving them into the sea or flinging them as victims to his frenzied worshippers. The orgiastic elements of the ancient Her cult were transferred to him in an intensified form. Out of the sexual orgies in the grove in springtime and the nocturnal male celebrations when the blood of the bull-god was drunk, the intoxicating, life-giving liquor that was to endow the celebrants with the strength of the sun-hero—from all this sprang a loftier, mystic union of man and god by means of the sacred sacrificial drink, as in

Persia; but wine took the place of Haoma juice. In ecstacy men sought divine exaltation in this world, salvation from the fetters of the iron age and from the knowledge that death was inevitable, a bridging of the gulf between immortals and mortals, a union with the god. On a higher plane than the Persian this temporary salvation from death became liberation from thought and calculation, from the trammels of society and excessive civilization, from moderation and custom; it was personality so intensified that individuality was yielded up and merged in the Universal, in Nature, in the wild motion and ecstacy produced by wine and the flute. For the first time in the history of mankind the development of separate individuality was felt to be a curse, so far had the evolution of personality proceeded. Men and women, but especially the women whom custom had bound more strictly since Hesiod's day, flung off the burden of civilization and lost themselves in divine Nature, all equal, all human. They prepared themselves by fasting, made themselves outwardly like the god by dressing in skins, crowning themselves with vine leaves or horns, and bearing thyrsus staffs, stimulated themselves with wine and the music of cymbals, drums, and flutes, and in this condition they rushed madly (Maenads) over the mountains, shouting " Bacchus " and " Iacchus " (Bacchantae), and dedicated themselves to the god till he entered into them in ecstacies and visions (he was heard to bellow as a bull in their midst), inspiring them with rapturous imaginative intoxication; finally he gave healing calm to end their excitement in his character of Liberator and Tranquillizer. It is in character with the Greek phase of evolution that this ecstacy was not used for prophetic purposes, but aimed solely at the union of the individual with universal, creative Nature; that this union was conceived in its double aspect of love and cruelty, and mirrored in the most exalted sphere of the creative spirit; and that at the same time it was based upon theory and method, rationally applied: freedom from passion was to be won by its intensification; it was to be purified; natural impulse was to be followed to the point of morbidity so as to bring healing; Nature and the individual were to throw aside all trammels, even to the uttermost, in order to attain culture and peace and the free discipline of individuals. Dionysan mysticism was the soil in which later tragedy and comedy had their roots. The dithyramb (*thyr*, also seen in the thyrsus staff), and the troops of phlyaci and satyrs were dedicated to Dionysus. The solemn procession lamenting the dying Her and the phallic procession with its jests had found a place in the new religion and contained the seeds of the loftiest cultural achievements. Dionysus and his cult owe the transfiguration in which we know them to the tragic poets of the fifth century. We know practically nothing of the historic process of development of this mystic religion in the seventh century; we can only observe its effects; about 600 B.C. Dionysus had become a great god. In Delphi he was worshipped as the dark brother beside Apollo, the radiant brother, and reigned so long as Apollo was "among the Hyperborei" (in winter, that is). The religious mass movement, the introduction of "salvation from death" and of the orgiastic-phallic element into the lofty religion of Homer and Hesiod opened the hearts of the people to the gods of that religion. Now the great gods found their way into the city and local cults and endowed them with a new artistic and human content, a unity and a loftier spirituality, new temples and images and forms of worship.

The first effect that we can observe of the new religious movement was the change in Sparta's policy of expansion from the methods of force to those of peace, from efforts to subjugate Argos and Tegea to the establishment of the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Its guardian deity was Zeus in Olympia: here was the first great sanctuary with a Homeric god and national, knightly games. If there was an older sanctuary in Olympia, it must have been a Her sanctuary with the universal customary solar athletic contests at the New Year. Perhaps the temple of Hera was originally a temple of Her. If Her the "creator of light" had been worshipped here as Zeus before the Homeric era, it was certainly not as Olympian Zeus; the very name of the place can only have arisen after the poet of the Wrath. I am inclined to regard the historical Olympia as the product of Homeric philosophy (speculative thought concerning Zeus) and of the growing piety of the seventh century (Hesiod). It can hardly have played any part before 650 B.C. Its character was stamped with the knightly Dorian spirit, as its importance in Greece was due to Dorian policy. Towards the close of the century ideas associated with Apollo, belonging to a higher plane than the Dorian and conducive to peace, played a part in the process of evolution.

For Apollo was the god who first profited by the growth of civic piety, whose priests saw how to turn it to their own purposes and even to capture the irrational, orgiastic Dionysus, and place him rationally amidst the company of their own gods. To Apollo were dedicated a number of national sanctuaries where he supplanted a Her divinity; perhaps he had once been called "Her-Apollo", Persia; but wine took the place of Haoma juice. In ecstacy men sought divine exaltation in this world, salvation from the fetters of the iron age and from the knowledge that death was inevitable, a bridging of the gulf between immortals and mortals, a union with the god. On a higher plane than the Persian this temporary salvation from death became liberation from thought and calculation, from the trammels of society and excessive civilization, from moderation and custom; it was personality so intensified that individuality was yielded up and merged in the Universal, in Nature, in the wild motion and ecstacy produced by wine and the flute. For the first time in the history of mankind the development of separate individuality was felt to be a curse, so far had the evolution of personality proceeded. Men and women, but especially the women whom custom had bound more strictly since Hesiod's day, flung off the burden of civilization and lost themselves in divine Nature, all equal, all human. They prepared themselves by fasting, made themselves outwardly like the god by dressing in skins, crowning themselves with vine leaves or horns, and bearing thyrsus staffs, stimulated themselves with wine and the music of cymbals, drums, and flutes, and in this condition they rushed madly (Maenads) over the mountains, shouting " Bacchus " and " Iacchus " (Bacchantae), and dedicated themselves to the god till he entered into them in ecstacies and visions (he was heard to bellow as a bull in their midst), inspiring them with rapturous imaginative intoxication; finally he gave healing calm to end their excitement in his character of Liberator and Tranquillizer. It is in character with the Greek phase of evolution that this ecstacy was not used for prophetic purposes, but aimed solely at the union of the individual with universal, creative Nature; that this union was conceived in its double aspect of love and cruelty, and mirrored in the most exalted sphere of the creative spirit; and that at the same time it was based upon theory and method, rationally applied: freedom from passion was to be won by its intensification; it was to be purified; natural impulse was to be followed to the point of morbidity so as to bring healing; Nature and the individual were to throw aside all trammels, even to the uttermost, in order to attain culture and peace and the free discipline of individuals. Dionysan mysticism was the soil in which later tragedy and comedy had their roots. The dithyramb (*thyr*, also seen in the thyrsus staff), and the troops of phlyaci and satyrs were dedicated to Dionysus. The solemn procession lamenting the dying Her and the phallic procession with its jests had found a place in the new religion and contained the seeds of the loftiest cultural achievements. Dionysus and his cult owe the transfiguration in which we know them to the tragic poets of the fifth century. We know practically nothing of the historic process of development of this mystic religion in the seventh century ; we can only observe its effects ; about 600 B.C. Dionysus had become a great god. In Delphi he was worshipped as the dark brother beside Apollo, the radiant brother, and reigned so long as Apollo was " among the Hyperborei " (in winter, that is). The religious mass movement, the introduction of " salvation from death " and of the orgiastic-phallic element into the lofty religion of Homer and Hesiod opened the hearts of the people to the gods of that religion. Now the great gods found their way into the city and local cults and endowed them with a new artistic and human content, a unity and a loftier spirituality, new temples and images and forms of worship.

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Delphi, as its name declares, was an ancient sanctuary of the " brothers ", the radiant and dark heroes of the sun and the year. Like the sanctuary of Erechtheus in Athens it retained all the properties of a solar cult down to quite late times ; the cave where the god was born and buried (later " the grave of Dionysus " ; when Dionysus was ruler and Apollo " with the Hyperborei ", it was really Apollo who lay there), the marriage tree (laurel), the sacred animal (a fetish ; here, as with Erechtheus, a creature of the Underworld, the mouse Smintheus), the sacred stone (spat out by the tyrant, as was done by Set or Cronos—and later interpreted as the navel of the Earth). Apollo himself was the fair-haired sun-hero (Phoebus), secretly brought forth by his deserted mother Leto (the Hidden One ?) with a twin sister, menaced as a child, guarded by virgins (afterwards the Muses), then coming forward as the New Year victor who killed the dragon Corruption (Python) with his bow. The victory over the powers of Chaos had been turned into a victory over death. The connection with the Dionysan movement is shown by the stress laid upon the conquest of death, salvation through the god. Apollo, like Dionysus, was a redeemer, a healing god, an Immortal who hated death and destruction and turned them away from his followers ; he was the saviour, but in a totally different way from Dionysus. He, too, was seen in ecstacy, but not as a god with whom union was possible ; on the contrary, he was an infinitely exalted, absolutely pure and sacred youth, filled with impassioned hatred of all impurity and sin, of disease and every kind of pollution and corruption. Union with him was as completely out of the question as with Yahu, or with his virgin sister who was only his shadow ; in her connection with the hind an ancient stag incarnation of the Apollo of Delos may survive. Moreover, Yahu resembles Apollo in many other traits ; he was the sole jealous god in the Greek pantheon, unapproachable in his deadly earnestness and yet in reality well disposed towards mankind. He was the sinless, the pursuer of sin, the saviour, everywhere the avenger of pollution ; yet he taught its causes and the means of purification according to a religious law of causation. He was the great revealer, the soothsayer who foretold the future, political and personal, through his prophets ; he was the divine priest, the pure purifier, the only god whose priesthood played a decisive part in Greek civilization ; his priests gave political and personal counsel and were the guiding organization in the Amphictyony, that free confederacy founded for worship and the learned solution of religious problems, which likewise aimed at the realization of a new human ideal for all Greeks (domestic peace, the more humane conduct of war, arbitral tribunals) and was even something in the nature of a Kingdom of God upon earth. That was why Delphi failed in the Persian war; its idealism was supernational, God's hand was stretched over the Persians and protected them. All this was like Yahu and unlike him. The Babylonian, sacerdotal point of view (sin a matter of religious ceremonial and defilement; the science of purification) had been specialized and made more personal; in place of the Jewish universal God who ruled all things according to his law, there was a saviour, perfect in youth and beauty, knowing all that has been and is to be, the reason of all evil and its cure, quite unconcerned, quite scientific, stern, and frank. No church could arise on this foundation of specialized knowledge,[1] and the personal liberty of all to inquire and obey. The endeavour to establish the Kingdom of God took the form of aspirations towards domestic peace and international law, of service to the Holy Ones, by promoting the welfare of the community and of individuals. The citizens gladly supported the efforts of the priests, but no alliance or union came about.

At first the protagonists of Apollo's religion in the seventh century do not seem to have been priests. Epimenides of Crete, the most concrete prophetic figure, came from Crete and travelled through Greece, about 600 B.C., with his ecstatic wisdom as a herald of the Saviour and Cleanser of cities and houses from ancient sin. But the priests received and systematized the new teaching, especially in Delphi. And now beside the Saviour as ceremonial cleanser, as lord of light and knowledge, there appeared the Saviour who cleansed through passion, the lord of wine and ecstacy, the dark brother. The relation of the two solar brothers acquired a new profundity; they united in Delphi and entered the service of cultural and artistic creation. We can trace clearly in the *Iliad* how Ares and Aphrodite, the man of violence and the harlot, were coming to be regarded as ridiculous and inferior to the pure Apollo (and Pallas), as Hephaestus, the limping god of fire, was ridiculous and inferior to the grave and handsome Apollo (and Pallas). Here, too, we are on the road to more exalted gods, to the One. The religion and wisdom of Apollo inspired the great law-givers at the turning of the seventh and sixth centuries, wise men such as Solon, Periander, and Pittacus. Solon is said to have cleansed Athens from the crime associated with Cylon through Epimenides. In the first Sacred War he fought for the liberation of Delphi from the domination of the city of Crissa.[1] But primarily his legislation bears the stamp of the new humane aspirations that were fostered at Delphi, the common hearth of all the Greeks. Both the sanctuaries with which Athens had specially close relations, Delphi and Delos, the Pan-Hellenic and the Ionian sanctuary, were dedicated to Apollo, the youthful saviour god.

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[1] This same specialization separated ceremonial and ethical purity altogether. Religious ceremonial was the affair of the priests, ethics of the thinkers and sages.

In Athens, too, the Homeric Hymns were doubtless collected, the classical version of religious myths in the form of divine epics, the outcome of the transmutation of religion through the revival which followed Homer and Hesiod at certain of the chief sanctuaries. At any rate, Delos and Delphi are pre-eminent in this selection, the Dionysus myth is Attic in form, and Eleusis is actually situated in Attica ; this was the sanctuary of Demeter-Core, whose mysteries the higher religious piety must also have raised, intellectually and artistically, about 600 B.C., from the poor relics of solar religion to symbolic worship practised by a Greek bourgeois community. In the religion of Dionysus the orgiastic element in Her worship had been introduced into the loftier Homeric religion as a form of mysticism bringing salvation and uniting God and man in intoxicated rapture ; it was now the turn of the doctrine of death and resurrection, cast in the form of a hope-inspiring Nature symbolism. Here, as in the orgies, the coarse sexual element was set aside. The story of Ishtar's search for her lost husband, her captivity in the Underworld, and her release through the cunning of the great gods had been transformed into a tender idyllic tale of maternal sorrow and of Deo the Earth Mother straying in her despairing search for her lost daughter, the Maiden (Plenty, Core) whom Hades had carried off. At the sacred fountain at Eleusis, beside the entrance to the Underworld, her maternal heart found comfort in caring for a little child, Demophon. She cheered the maid Iambe and induced her to end her silence and her fast. She gave the child ambrosia, the food of life, and tempered him to immortality in the fire. She revealed herself to the terrified mother, commanded that a temple be built, taught the kings to serve God and till the soil, and went back to Olympus whither Core had meantime returned, released by Zeus through the instrumentality of Hermes. We cannot fail to recognize here the old sacred legend of the cycle of Nature, always associated with resurrection magic ; Deo is Ge, the Earth ; Core is actual plenty which disappears in winter. Neolithic man naïvely believed that he could rise again if he made himself resemble the dying sun-god in appearance. The Egyptians evolved more and more complicated magic from this deduction by analogy and turned the sun-god into a god of vegetation (in this connection there arose the " ministry " of plays, in which people disguised themselves as Hor and might thus acquire merit in the sight of the high god). The Babylonians only perceived the analogy of death in Nature and man, and abandoned that of resurrection, and the Jews dropped the whole thing as senseless and superstitious. The Greeks did not take up the analogy again ; it was still abandoned, but a new and tender miracle sprang from the ancient myth, as may be seen in the human emotions touched upon—the mother's sorrow, satisfaction of the maternal instinct, the mother's delight in another's child, and then the gratitude of a great goddess making a mortal child immortal. And this miracle stirred hopes of further grace, a repetition of the miracle in the spirit of our own Sacrament of the Last Supper. In the drama of Demeter and Demophon a symbol was created for these hopes of grace, whilst initiation through "fasting, drinking *kykeon,* and taking from the box " (the drink and meat of life), and the sight of divine grace was intended to strengthen hope. Thus the naïve jugglery of primitive people with analogies and the sacred " ministry " of the Babylonian plays evolved into the " mystery play ", the play of miracles that were no longer a matter of course but of grace, and of wishes that gave rise to hopes. They were not hopes of resurrection, but only of a better lot in the hereafter through faith and grace (moral deserts were ignored ; they were a matter of ethics, not of religion), for "he who is uninitiated and has not participated in the holy celebrations will not share the same lot (as the initiated) after his death in the dank gloom of Hades ". Just as Delphi with its priesthood almost became an ecclesiastical centre, so the community of initiates at Eleusis almost became a cosmopolitan congregation ; neither could be quite that, for the Greeks were on a higher plane than the Jews.

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[1] As a result the Pythian Games were instituted in 585 B.C.

The last great divinity whom the religious revival removed to a new home, and who was then exalted by the rise of her city, was Homer's Pallas ; but she adopted no mystic traits. About 600–550 B.C. she became Pallas Athena.

She can only have been Pallas, the warrior maiden, to the poet of the Wrath. He had no reason to include a city goddess among his great gods, especially as Athens was quite insignificant in the eighth and seventh centuries and until about 550 B.C. its chief divinity was not Athena but Erechtheus. Pallas, the incarnate and deified shield, was a divinity of the Her religion. The virgin helpmeet belonged to the youthful hero, Hera to Her and Artemis to Apollo. Then after the New Year victory she became a wife and mother. In the Cretan religion she was associated with the shield, and perhaps there she already had no mother and belonged to none but the hero. As a battle maiden she served all heroes, as formerly she had served the god. When we see a maiden standing by and helping Hercules or Perseus in their feats, that is Pallas (unless it is Hera beside Her), but certainly not Athena before 550 B.C. (for instance on the metopes at Selinus). The poet of the Wrath raised the battle maiden to the position of a great goddess, the child of Zeus, the inciter and counsellor of heroes. Thus she stood by the principal hero, Achilles, and later by Odysseus, one of the happiest in the company of glorious divine figures, a more lovable counterpart to Apollo. She is the maiden in the earliest bloom of youth who first knows the love of man as comradeship in battle, all unconscious purity and childlike dignity, all passionate impulse to help in great deeds, all alert and kindly wisdom. Such was the figure, young and beautiful and quick to help, that was taken as typically Athenian, as the emblem of the new spirit of energetic worldly wisdom, practical, civic helpfulness, and Pan-Hellenic unity in Attica during the first half of the sixth century, in poetry at first perhaps, and perhaps also in party conflicts ; through this spirit Athens strove to rise from the time of Solon onwards.

A fortunate accident has preserved the ruins of the chief earlier temples of the citadel in the foundations of Pericles' Acropolis. Pallas Athena does not appear recognizably on the pediments before the time of Pisistratus, but we do find Hercules, i.e. a Her divinity, called Erechtheus or something similar. On the pediment of one large temple Hercules appears as a wrestler lying across a dragon (Triton), whilst opposite a dragon with three human heads and three snake-like bodies lurks or looks on (Typhon). On the pediment of a small, more recent temple Hercules is seen armed and striding from his chariot of war (beside which stands a charioteer or friend) towards a nine-headed hydra, once more a dragon. These are representations of a New Year victory won by Her, the god of the citadel, over the dragon of Chaos. All the other surviving images belong to the same solar myth in an older and newer form; two immense dragons on a large pediment; groups of gods, a god enthroned and a goddess from a large pediment, a procession of worshipping gods (who also pay homage to the New Year victor in Babylonia), a god walking between another god and a goddess; lastly two gigantic lions above a dead bull, a lioness above the dead bull, a lion and a boar (groups on the Gilgamesh seals). Probably the god enthroned is again the New Year victor receiving homage after the flight; it would hardly be Zeus, and certainly Hercules, who was still wholly divine, was not being introduced in Olympus. We must assume that a Her figure was the chief god of the citadel, and also of the lords of Athens, the nobility, till 600 B.C., latterly perhaps influenced by ideas culled from the epic. There is not a word of Athena. Homer testifies that she had no house in Athens, either on the citadel or in the town. When she visited the town after which she was called she had to take up her dwelling in the house of Erechtheus.

It was Pisistratus who took the citadel from the nobility, destroyed the old temples, and built a temple on the citadel to the goddess of the city and the citizens, whom he identified with Homer's Pallas. Of it, too, a pediment has been preserved, upon which Athena is portrayed overthrowing the powers of Chaos in the form of giants supported by two smaller gods. This same Pisistratus had the Homeric poems collected and completed, and then written down; that is, he finally changed Pallas into Pallas Athena in Homer, and resolved upon installing the most lovable of Homer's divinities in the chief temple of Athens about 550, so that she might set a standard for all the Greeks. Pallas continued to be Athena; that was secured through the instrumentality of the written Bible of the Greeks and the rising power of Athens culminating in the cultural domination of all Greece. Henceforth Athena was the blue-eyed daughter of Zeus, the goddess of the citizens, the protectress of the city's freedom, the wise promoter of enlightenment, democracy, art, industry, and trade, the virtuous representative of civic morality, of strong unity in face of the outside world, willingness to make sacrifices for the great city, patriotism even to death, and also of general Greek civilization in opposition to the barbarians. Even Sparta built temples to this daughter of Zeus as Athena, who was a great goddess and yet bore the name of a city.

During the seventh century and on into the sixth the theoretical consummation of the Homeric religion was in process, for the divinities of the poet of the Wrath were evolving towards monotheism (Zeus), towards purity and sacerdotalism (Apollo), and towards morality, energy, and the bourgeois virtues (Athena), whilst new divinities were being added in whom the orgiastic elements of the old Her religion and its hopes of resurrection were revived, elevated, and unified (Dionysus and Demeter). Thus from being the concern of a knightly society Homeric religion came to concern the civic State and people, and Homer in the written version came to be a textbook for youthful citizens of patriotism, cultural pride, and martial and civic vigour, a Bible in grandiose images beside the civic law. In a general way the further development of religion fell to the lot of philosophy, which now grew out of it, and of art, which, since the religious revival, had gained possession of the temples, images, and ceremonial of the new great and lesser gods thrust upon the ancient Her sanctuaries. The rivalry of cities and tribes amidst the growing prosperity of Greek world trade, and delight in their own sublime world of gods, set before Greek art great problems in architecture and imagery and popularization. When we treat of philosophy we shall discuss the manner in which religious problems were transferred to the scientific field, and the consequent links between religion and philosophy as philosophic ideas began to influence wider circles. When we treat of plastic and pictorial art we shall discuss the orgy of imagery which gave expression to men's delight in their new wealth of religio-epic figures and their growing powers (vases), Phidias moulding his great, idealized images of sublime and beautiful divinity, Scopas and Praxiteles with their human figures, first impassioned and then softer and fuller. In a general way we may say that in philosophy the tendency towards unity and monism developed, whilst in plastic and pictorial art the tendency to individualize culminated in the full representation of personality.

At the close of the development of the purely religious outlook in Greece are the Orphic sects and the Seven Sages.

The growth of sects is always inevitable where a vigorous individualism and the corresponding logical system develop, that is, upon the plane where monotheism passes over into monism. In Greece it assumed a scientific character. The Orphic sects deduced from genealogical lists of gods and the religion of Dionysus and Apollo rational theories of the nature of the universe (which was declared to have sprung from Oceanus, Chaos or Night, and the Sky), of man (sin and redemption), and of the pure life. Their highest intellectual achievement was a monotheistic Zeus worship, in which

Zeus was adored as the Chief and Centre (kernel) and as the source of all creation ; thus it was almost a religious form of monism. The sages were great individuals who had made their mark by their experience of life or their moral and political achievement, such as Solon, Pittacus, and Periander ; even workers of miracles were added to the list. To them were ascribed wise maxims which aimed at giving in a single sentence advice concerning the right conduct of life, calculated to give happiness ; their sayings constituted a nucleus of moral as opposed to metaphysical truth. Doubtless the maxims all originated in the knightly training in discipline and temperance ; one or two are expressed in a more abstract style, for instance Solon's " Nothing in excess ". Their only significance for us is as a symptom of the passage to scientific ethics.

Such a sage and aphorist was Thales of Miletus, with whom Aristotle begins the History of Philosophy. The people ascribed to him the maxim " Know thyself ". Aristotle says that he was the first to postulate a natural, physical principle as the beginning of world creation, for he taught that everything had issued from water. Earlier thinkers, Homer and Hesiod and those who developed their genealogies, had likewise asked what was the beginning ; they had placed Oceanus at the beginning, the primeval flood, or Chaos, half gods, half states of the universe. Thales excluded the too-human (anthropomorphic) element from these notions ; his first cause was not a god but common water, in a general sense, however (not the ocean), and timeless. At all times everything arose from water, which was everywhere, the generator of all life as seed and as rain. Thus Thales obtained an element, a supreme concept for the physical explanation of the universe, and his task was to explain all things from this premiss without anthropomorphism. " Everything is full of gods," he is said to have taught besides ; " the magnet has a soul, for it attracts the iron." Here again " gods " and " soul " have a physical meaning. Added to earliest Being regarded as an element, Thales first propounded the idea of motion, force ; " gods " are forces, quite devoid of human traits. Finally, it is recounted that Thales was the first man in history to prophesy an eclipse of the sun (for the year 585 B.C.). Clearly he had come across lists such as were used by the Babylonians for purposes of augury, and made use of them in order to determine the law that governed the recurrence of heavenly phenomena and augur scientifically on the basis of that law ; and his augury proved correct.

Thales was the first genuine scientist. He removed the all too human element from ancient genealogical speculations and observations of Nature, hitherto only applied to religious ends, and deduced the fundamental notions required for a purely empirical, physical survey of the universe, the earliest system of law. He pursued the path of science, therefore, in a practical spirit, very boldly but likewise very cautiously (he did not write and gave no systematic explanation of all things), but quite clearly and deliberately.

He was followed by his pupil Anaximander of Miletus (610–547 B.C.), who felt his vocation to be that of an inquirer (a Sage, *sophos*). He wrote a prose work on *Nature*—no more epic metres; science acquired its own form of expression—and designed a model of the heavens and a map of the earth. He is of interest to us because before and above the universal elements of water, earth, air, and fire he postulated a more abstract fundamental matter, the "boundless", and first elaborated how from it the elements separated and acted in opposition to and harmony with one another; he explained the universal birth and death of all things and beings as due to "atonement and penalty in the ordinance of time". He was the first man to have a presentiment of the oneness of divine matter in the universe, and to stand amazed at its infinity, the first to seek words with which to tell how the eternal cycle of birth and death follows a natural law. The image of penalty, taken from civil law, helped him to give concrete form to the inexpressible. Thus cosmology, one aspect of men's ideas of the universe, was won for the science of physics. Uniform, mechanical explanations were found for the heavenly motions and the earthly processes of transmutation of the elements; they were attributed to wheels pierced by holes through which heavenly fire flashed, and to the segregation and united action of "warm and cold" which produced "moisture". There was, further, an attempt to explain how in the days of primeval moisture before earth had emerged men could have lived as fish-men, following the old idea of the sun-child in the sea.

With Pythagoras of Samos (570–500 B.C.) and Xenophanes of Colophon (580–480 B.C.) science gained a hold on men's whole outlook on life, on their religion and their practical moral and political lives, starting from cosmology; a religious system of metaphysics grew out of physics.

Like the thinkers of Miletus, Pythagoras came of a noble family. In 530, at the age of forty, he was forced to retreat before the democratic tyranny of Polycrates and left his native Samos for Croton in southern Italy, where he founded a club, a Brotherhood uniting his disciples in common study and life, with religious, scientific, and political aims. He died at Metapontum, exiled once more, this time by the democracy of Croton. He wrote nothing; we have only his dicta as a teacher, which express his doctrine quite simply. They may have been gathered from the teaching of his disciples, like the words of Confucius or Socrates; but taken altogether they constitute a complete system embracing the essence of the universe and of right conduct.

The essence of the universe is beautiful and rational order in definite numerical relations, "harmony," "cosmos (adornment, order). In sacred ecstacy, drunk with reason and beauty, Pythagoras saw measure and number in everything; in the sky, in the distance of the stars from the earth, and in the simple string of his monochord, the same pleasing numerical relations recur. The realm of number, of geometrical figures, proportions, and regular forms is built up of even and uneven numbers, points, lines, and surfaces; it is the realm of mathematics, visible everywhere in the objective world. God himself must be reason and beauty, harmony and law, since the world is so beautiful and rational. Nature is reason and beauty.

Man's task is to perceive the godhead in Nature and to prove himself a part of this world of reason and order, to live rationally, beautifully, and morally, in harmony with his divine nature. Thus the ideal of Nature and God issued in an ideal of culture and personality. Man does not live in harmony with Nature and reason, and that is why the world is so full of hatred and selfishness. He must learn as an individual to create cosmos, to live cosmos in the State and the world of States. He must seek new life for individuals and States through the ideal of God and Nature. A new aristocracy must be created of the rational and god-inspired as an instrument of universal re-birth. In the Clubs, the Pythagorean Brotherhoods of life and education, it was to be selected, trained, and prepared for sovereignty.

The aristocratic ideal of beauty and goodness, of perfect discipline and temperance together with good birth and bodily training, had already been deepened and developed in the maxims of the Sages; they called for self-knowledge, self-control, and measure in all things. In the notion of harmony Pythagoras could sum it all up and anchor it deep down in the foundations of the world. For self-knowledge is only a part of the divine and natural perception that reason and order are the essence of the universe; self-control is only part of the transformation of the ego into a temple of reason and order; measure is beautiful and wholesome because it is divine, immoderation ugly and disastrous because it is contrary to Nature and God. The harmony of the body is health, that of the soul is virtue, energy, ability. Thus the old aristocratic ideal was renewed and spiritualized.

But at the same time it ceased to be the ideal of a hereditary caste. Everybody was to follow the ideal, though not everybody could reach perfection and the vocation of a ruler. The education of the Brotherhoods applied to everyone and led them as far as they were able to go. The constitution of the Brotherhoods was taken from the community life of the aristocracy, transmuted by the ideals of the Orphic sects and discipleship around a master. Commandments enjoining a simple, natural life were borrowed from the sects, as well as the idea of salvation from death, but the fables about Dionysus and Hades were set aside; reason and order ruled man's lot after death, for every soul entered a body fitting his merit or guilt until the pure soul reached perfect oneness in the universal harmony. There were classes in the school graded according to the maturity and powers of the pupils, from the silently obedient novice to the scholar and ruler endowed with knowledge. But the aim of all was the realization of divine reason and order upon earth, in the city State and throughout the Greek world.

Thus Pythagoras was the author of the first fully scientific view of the universe, and applied it with a view to the re-birth of Greek civilization. It embraced a doctrine of God and Nature, of statecraft and ethics, and a practical educational theory in the service of all. The doctrine exercised immense influence, theoretically by providing the fundamental notions of mathematics and music, and practically by making " beautiful order ", that is the harmonious training of mind and body, the supreme concept governing the new civic chivalrous education, especially in Athens, with Homer as text-book. Pythagoras, as the author of this ideal of Greek humanity, was as important as Homer. Even Herodotus placed him and Solon side by side as *sophistes*, sages of practical life.

Xenophanes of Colophon, a contemporary of Pythagoras, was a plebeian beside the aristocrat, the first philosopher of other than noble birth, an enthusiast and rhapsodist beside the founder of a political Club and educational Brotherhood. He, too, was banished from his home, by the Persians in 542 B.C., and he, too, found a new home in southern Italy, in Elea, after long wanderings. Here his school survived him, but it was a purely theoretical, not a political organization. Xenophanes regarded himself as another Homer, a god-inspired poet and prophet destined to set aside and supplant his predecessor. The Homeric poems were to make way for his gospel of Nature and his elegies ; illusion was to be supplanted by new and useful truth just as the civic world had supplanted the knightly kings of fable, and the Persian menace that of Trojan seducers of women. His philosophy was cast in epic form in its metre and manner of recital ; the supreme wisdom was to be clothed in perfect poetic form, and as a poem it was to carry understanding into the ranks of the most influential class. What Pythagoras hoped to attain by educating disciples, Xenophanes hoped to accomplish by his poetry.

Homer ascribed to the gods everything that is infamous and disgraceful even in men. Hesiod's gods were still begotten and born (genealogies) and had human form and voice. These were all too human traits, the delusions of mortals who conceived of gods in their own image, blasphemy and sacrilege in view of the true nature of the Deity.

There is one God, and he is himself the universe, spherical and stationary ; he is spirit, intellectual power, turning the universe in a circle without effort. He is "all eye, all ear, all spirit", says man, and strives in vain to express the inexpressible thereby. For the Deity is the whole and no part of it. Even these are human qualities, but God cannot be compared with men, either in shape or thought. It is only certain that he is one and all, all that is and all that is highest. Intuitively certain, ecstatically perceived, not with the senses. Precisely in view of the vision of God Xenophanes realized how inadequate are the senses and thought and expression ; everywhere there are limitations that indicate caution. This thinker who overthrew the old miraculous gods at the same time adopted all the objections raised by the priests to natural human knowledge, placed them on a scientific plane, and rendered them fruitful by a critical method open to all (embodied in publicly recited poems) and a theory of knowledge.

The elegies embody the effects of this new doctrine of God upon the lives of men. They show how to a child of God all Nature is full of God, and the meal at which he sings is a divine service. Quite commonplace things, like the wreath and anointing at mealtimes, the jugs of wine, the water, the stately table with rolls, cheese, and honey, and the altar decked with flowers appear solemnly transfigured to the Nature-inspired and pure in their holy rapture. God is imminent in everything natural and rationally moral, even in the moderate carousal of an old man and the desire of a youth for a young maid. To this priest of natural reason and purity, the fantasies of other bards concerning the combats of Titans and their praise of heroes in disastrous civil wars were hateful; he even disliked the excessive importance attributed to sport. His aim was to teach "vigorous wisdom" that promoted order and wealth in the city, warning men against Persian tyranny and profiting the fatherland. And so he sang of the foundation of Elea (544 B.C.) in a narrative poem in which no heroes appear.

Xenophanes was perhaps such a natural man as Goethe descried in the Greeks. He created an ideal and lived as an example of it. He lived in divine Nature, blissfully one with all true being and worth, wholly a natural man and wholly a competent, rational citizen of the Greek fatherland, deeply religious, conscious of his limitations but also of his powers and his mission, a hardy rationalist who attacked the old religion as superstition and the aristocracy as narrow class rule, and spoke in the name of a new humanity and morality. He, too, exercised a strong theoretical and practical influence. From his teaching sprang the metaphysics, theory of cognition, and logic of Parmenides, and the enthusiasm for reason and morality in the democratic, bourgeois rationalism of the Athenian progressives.

Xenophanes and Pythagoras were the second pair of great creative thinkers produced by Greece in whom new thought emerged embodied in contrasts, in creative duality. They were contemporaries, two strongly marked individualities (more individual than the poet of the Wrath and Hesiod), working on the same scientific basis, pursuing the same end: they sought to point the way to oneness with God, personal bliss, and universal order. One was predominantly a child of God, a prophet, an author; he attacked the past and sought to overthrow it. The other was predominantly an inquirer, an educator, who sought gently to transform the past. But both aspired to redeem the individual, and through the individual the State and fatherland and the world, by knowledge of Nature. They were the founders of religions like Lao, the monist, and Confucius the political reformer, in China, and comparable with both as regards the stage of evolution they had reached. If the first phase of Greek civilization had stood alone, they would have founded religions like the Chinese and the crystallization of their religions in systems would have been the end of Greek philosophy. But two racial mixtures in Greece produced two civilizations, and it was now that the second, Doric-Greek fusion reached maturity in Attica and southern Italy. Consequently the achievements of the two great Ionian philosophers were outstripped; Parmenides and Aeschylus appeared.

Parmenides of Elea (probably born about 540 B.C.), the great disciple of Xenophanes, was the first acute logical thinker in the history of mankind, the first strict scientist. It is true that he followed his master in professing to be a seer; he wrote a didactic poem in epic metre entitled *Upon Nature,* which (very characteristic of the "disciple") begins with a great vision in which he receives his vocation. But in fact his doctrine is not based upon vision, but thought; it begins with a principle logical in form and logically applied: "Being is, non-Being is not, and cannot be."

That is the first axiom in the history of knowledge, designed to embody an immediately obvious truth, essential to thought, built upon the contrast of mutually exclusive opposites (Being and non-Being), and supported by the unimpeachable accuracy of every self-evident (tautology, identity) or formally indisputable statement. Here for the first time the methods of formal logic are fully applied and used for the purpose of scientific proof. Thus Parmenides established the logical method of demonstration.

In its subject matter the thesis introduced a new general concept into the scientific study of the world, that of "Being", "existence." The one God of Xenophanes who was the spherical All and the power of thought that moved it had evolved into the scientific fundamental concept of an ontological system of metaphysics; "Being" was "the one and all", also divine, but no longer a God. Its more precise definition shows that Parmenides not only created the general concept of metaphysics, but was also the first to analyse it, still in a scheme of contrasted opposites. His "Being" was "quiescent and timelessly immovable Being", and contrasted with it was that which moved and underwent change in time and space, everything that comes into being and passes away, all that undergoes transformation, all "semblance"; Being and Becoming might be regarded as types of Being.

But that Parmenides would not admit. "Being is" now meant "only static Being is real", and "non-Being is not" meant "all Becoming, all change, is not real, but a mere semblance". A contrast of values had been introduced, altogether in the spirit of Xenophanes to whom the one God was all and the many were a mere illusion of the senses. And accordingly the knowledge of Being was assigned to thought, that of semblance to sensual perception; "the perception of Being" was attributed to man's intellectual capacity, " perception of semblance " to his senses. The elevation of the child of God to the One behind the Many, which yet are the mantle of the One, gave birth to a theory of knowledge which no longer served the purpose of salvation from death through blissful union with the One, but that of assimilating the universe scientifically by a strictly logical method. There are now two instruments of cognition, thought and sensual perception, two kinds of cognition, that of the essence and the husk, knowledge and opinion, and two objects of cognition, reality, the static One, and the semblance of reality, the changing Many.

So Parmenides laid the foundation of scientific metaphysics and the theory of knowledge, and likewise of logical method. Ruthlessly his contrasts and valuations broke up the world as it exists in thought ; he robbed it of visible, sensual reality, and left only the intellectually real (idealism). No outrage upon man's naïve sensations or common sense deterred him ; his paradoxes flew in the face of both, but they are stated quite definitely and clearly and methodically argued. Their consequences were tremendous in theory because they involved recognition of the task that theory had to perform, that of re-stating the world of experience consistently, logically, and without prior assumptions, and likewise the admission that theory was capable of performing it ; mathematics and psychology, too, were equipped with their ultimate, fundamental concepts and methods (spacial, static Being ; thought, sensual perception ; axiom, deduction ; the formulation of cognition). In practice, too, the consequences were tremendous, for people had to accustom themselves to admit what was most contrary to common-sense if it were logically proved, as, for instance, the unreality of the tangible and visible. The era of fully scientific inquiry had dawned, of ruthless logic, progress, and the liberation of personalities.

Like Pythagoras beside Xenophanes, Heraclitus of Ephesus (about 540–480 B.C.) stood beside Parmenides, and was probably the same age. He, too, wrote about Nature in obscure, self-contradictory prose dicta. In him the new logic lived and moved as a striving towards unity and the formation of contrasts, and as delight in the meaning and the outer semblance of words. The world is eternally in flux, its true being is lapse governed by law, change and growth. It issues from fire in an eternal cycle, becomes many, personal, objective, and ends again in fire. In the play of the elements, forms and objects are everywhere present side by side yet utterly antagonistic, acting in opposition to one another; and everywhere they are transformed one into another, change diametrically, or cancel one another out. War is the father of all things, contradiction the essence of the universe. But in all this change is *logos*, reason, law, a steady compulsion, something divine that men can grasp by means of their reason. To know that divine something helps them to escape from all temptations and the deceptive quality of words that are mere empty labels, and to pass beyond over-hasty judgments and the myopic impulses of sense and instinct, and attain peace in the contemplation of that which moves in a course everlastingly determined and for ever strives to meet and come together; to attain, besides, civic virtue in the service of law and order.

Heraclitus, therefore, opposed Parmenides and asserted the reality of Becoming and of that which the senses present, and, moreover, the reality of both terms in a contrast of mutually exclusive opposites, and he was in the right. But the logical power of Parmenides and his fundamentally new world structure exercised a far stronger influence. Heraclitus exercised a fertilizing influence upon theory, for he endowed it with the notion of flux governed by law and the unity of opposites. In practice he exercised a powerful influence, like Parmenides, by his logical method which fascinated people by its contradictory and obscure character. The disintegrating effect of this free play with images, notions, and words was felt sooner than the introduction of new general concepts. First the world of static Being had to be scientifically established, following in the footsteps of Parmenides; only then came the era when the universe was explained throughout by the rule of law.

Parmenides' view of the universe was fully scientific, a strictly logical system of metaphysics, theory of cognition, and method; religion was lost in supreme concepts and allegories—Parmenides was the first who regarded the gods allegorically; at any rate the inquirer's emotion in the presence of the Universal was keen, and that may be considered religious, but it was a " religion " that meant nothing to others. Science, aiming at completion, now became for the first time an affair of experts, its logic too hard for non-professionals (although it was precisely the logical form that subsequently became popular, at least in Athens, and gave rise to a game played by the educated classes with proof and paradox), and its subject-matter of no interest to wider circles. It exercised a fertilizing influence on geometry and systematic psychology, but it was blind to the needs of living men; it cut away the naïve foundation of man's attitude towards the universe and left him religiously and morally alone.

Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.), the first great classic of the new culture in Athens, stepped into the breach. He was no philosopher but one of the great poet-thinkers that are the teachers of philosophers. The new tragedy was his creation, springing from the cult of Dionysus and from the new logic which saw everywhere contrasted opposites, each equally capable of justification. But to the poet those opposites are not embodied in Being and non-Being, forms of Being, or roads to knowledge, but in divine and human figures with their claims, passions, and destinies ; and they are not fixed and rigid, but move and argue in actions and words, and touch our feelings and understanding. The dying gods of primeval days, turned to heroes, are the heroes of tragedy as formerly they were of the epic. But now the whole relation of mankind to God and Fate, the moral order of the universe, appears as a problem involved in their destinies.

The Deity of Aeschylus has much in common with the God of the Jews (and even more with Dante's). He exalts and humbles peoples and kings (the Persians), is the guardian of a moral law (Apollo literally commands matricide and saves the murderer in the cause of sacred justice), and he is powerful beyond conception. But he has not, like Yahu, a chosen people ; the Persians and Greeks are absolutely equal in the sight of Zeus. He humbles the Persian king because in his arrogance and infatuation, in spite of all warnings and failures, he sought to enslave a small, free nation with his great host ; to-morrow Zeus may equally well strike down Greek arrogance and infatuation. To the Greeks the destruction of the Persians was as marvellous as that of the Assyrians in 703 B.C. was to the Jews. But whereas Isaiah gloried in the proud consciousness of Yahu's greatness and in satisfaction over his righteous government of the world, Aeschylus shuddered with a feeling of common humanity. He was fully conscious of the magnitude of the victory and that his people had won it by their own efforts, but as a man he participated in the enemy's suffering and feared the same fate for Greece. For God is just, but his ways cannot be known and man is obstinate and short-sighted, addicted to arrogance and infatuation. There was no longer a simple moral law as a guide to right conduct, such as the commandment to honour Yahu, do justly, and leave government in his hands, for God was not jealous ; right conduct had become a problem and man was created to prove himself in action.

Aeschylus took up Job's problem, too, and here again he took a loftier and wider view, examined it in a more theoretical manner, and attempted an undogmatic solution. This he did in the Prometheus trilogy, of which unhappily we only have the middle piece, *Prometheus Bound.* The first piece, *Prometheus the Firegiver,* portrays Zeus, who had just overthrown his tyrannical father and defeated the Titans, as the victor over the powers of Chaos and the creator of a new world order of reason and goodness ; he desired to crown his work by destroying the old barbarous and brutal human race and creating anew a better humanity. Then Prometheus, moved by Titanic pity and defiance, crossed his purpose by stealing divine fire and bringing it down to mankind ; reason and culture appeared on earth as a gift of the Titan, a divine gift in the hands of brutes. From the seeds of a tragic philosophy, which also lie concealed in the Jewish tales of the fallen angels, of Adam's fall, and Cain's murder (they all point solely to the inadmissibility of pride and the forfeiture of immortality and an untroubled life in Paradise through disobedience) this philosophy came to birth : civilization and reason are benefits ; they save mankind from destruction and raise it from the level of the animals to the gods. But they are benefits conferred by a Titan, springing from the foresight of a limited mind, from the pity of a fool, and the defiance of a rebel against Universal Wisdom and Power, a " curse " that prevents the creation of a new humanity akin to gods and ennobled by reason ; thus it has produced eternal imperfection.

Zeus is merciful, he does not crush the transgressor but only fetters him for a time. Prometheus Bound storms against the tyrant, calling heaven and earth to bear witness to his injustice. He whose shortness of sight, meddlesome haste, and lack of trust in divine wisdom bears the guilt of man's wretchedness, defiantly demands his right. Zeus, he declares, is making him suffer because he benefited mankind, and seeks to compel him to abandon his love of men. But this tyrant, too, will fall. Prometheus knows who will overthrow him ; Zeus does not know, for it is a false prophecy, Fate has not decreed his fall. But his patience with the blasphemer has an end ; he demands the name, and when the Titan still defies him hurls him into the abyss with his lightning.

The third piece gives the solution. In *Prometheus Unbound* the hero comes who is to overthrow Zeus : Heracles, the son of Zeus, the man begotten of God's own blood and spirit. Perhaps he could overthrow Zeus, but he does not ; he is neither a Titan nor a barbarian. Prometheus' divination has deceived him in this matter, too. Heracles, the strongest of all, bows before the Deity. He neither defies nor hates although he, unlike Prometheus, really suffers without guilt. He serves his persecutors, Hera and Eurystheus, and his service brings blessings upon mankind whom he frees from monsters and shows an example of reason, virtue, and pious, active self-conquest through which men may grow ripe for the true humanity that is of divine origin. The hero who brings salvation through true and humble wisdom and ceaseless striving after great and useful deeds, is allowed to redeem and free Prometheus in his ascent to heaven.

Prometheus is a Titan, Heracles a son of God and ultimately a god himself. The one can argue defiantly with the Deity, the other rise divinely to God. Mankind shrinks and fades away in this gigantic vision of the time when Zeus ordered the world. In *King Oedipus*, Sophocles of Athens (496–406 B.C.), the disciple of Aeschylus, treats the root problem of a moral order in the universe, the suffering of the innocent man and his justification before the judgment seat of human justice (theodicy) more humanly and more movingly to a human audience, yet without conceiving it more narrowly.

Oedipus is a man and no more than a man, but a born king and a glorious hero, who aspires to goodness and performs great deeds. He has won his kingly position by his own might, his wisdom has freed the people from the Sphinx, his energy and ability have protected them for years and ruled them well. He is quick in word and deed, but such quickness is the mother of great deeds and is wholesomely kept in bounds by piety, discretion, and good intent. Then a plague breaks out in Thebes and the town becomes unclean. Even before the people come to the king to demand preventive measures he has taken action, sent messengers to Delphi to ask the cause of the pollution. He throws himself with all his energy into the work of rescue—and finds the cause of the plague in his own house, his own actions which, without his knowledge or will, have made him a patricide (half in self-defence) and the incestuous husband of his mother (in consequence of his rescuing the country from the Sphinx, a genuinely beneficent act). It is only natural that he refuses to believe the incredible, is unjust to the seer, and that, caught in the snare in which his inquiry traps him, he loses his judicial self-mastery. Conscious of his innocence, he never dreams of concealment. The pitiful and revolting spectacle ends in despair ; he tears out his eyes so that he need no longer see the world. There is no element of defiance in the action, but simply a blind destructive impulse.

Man desires goodness and does great deeds ; the God above him is all foresight and good intent, all purity and justice. But man has his limitations—of knowledge : he cannot survey all things as God does ; of capacity : he is in the grip of the great machine of destiny which even God cannot alter. God may warn men of what is to come from the fund of his own knowledge, and he does so in mercy and justice. The oracle gave true and honourable counsel to the parents of Oedipus and to himself, and yet the only result was to further the evil. For man is free, no god may uphold him against the decree of Fate, not even when he forgets his limitations and, knowing that he has proved himself rational, energetic, and able, acts too confidently in an ebullition of passion (also with a clear conscience) and all too hastily. Thus man falls into sin, innocently, with the best will, and yet guiltily, as the victim of arrogance and infatuation. He is forceful, the most forceful being on earth, likewise in his moral volition and action ; and yet he is weak, unable to protect himself from the toils of sin. But sin is pollution and its influence spreads, polluting others around. God, who is pure and just, may not tolerate it ; he must reveal it through disaster or plague or war, so that it may be recognized and swept away. Even the most glorious hero has no right to live if he is a menace to purity and justice, the divine element in the universe.

Oedipus is right, he suffers innocently and comes to a miserable end, although he has always desired goodness and performed great deeds ; he is broken by forces that he cannot influence, by the limitations of human nature, by the trend of his character (although he kept it within bounds), by Fate and the immutable religious law that sin pollutes and pollution is intolerable to God. Where an Oedipus has fallen any man may fall, whatever his character or rank ; even Creon, who has nothing of the hero's passionate nature but is for ever prudent and rational and legally-minded, incurs guilt because of his character, only his guilt is less grand, and the injury is not through himself and against himself.

But the Fates are right, too : man is free, his fate lies in his own hands ; his character is the source of his destiny and he could master himself. God has warned him and he could give ear. Oedipus ought never to have killed anyone in haste, never to have married, if he had been wise ; but he acted passionately, intemperately, and with arrogant self-confidence. Fate cannot force events ; man accepts it and it comes to be his own work. God cannot abandon the universal law of purity and justice because it injures an " innocent " man.

King Oedipus is the principal Athenian tragedy, for it grappled with the very heart of the problem of guilt at the most fruitful juncture in Greek development. Oedipus was a victim of his human nature; the drama contained no accusation. And yet Sophocles himself felt the urge to soften his conclusion, the despairing resignation of the hero in the universal human lot and the acknowledgment that Fate and God are justified. He retracted nothing, but the passionate sufferer struggles and attains peace; the man burdened by a curse brings a blessing to the country where he rests. A counterpart to Heracles' joyful, vigorous conquest of the world and his enemies is this equally lofty image of suffering and weary conquest of the world and self by Oedipus. But that points towards world negation and the supersession of God himself.

The third great Athenian tragedian, Euripides (480–406 B.C.), chose Heracles himself for a hero when he wrestled with the problem of guilt. He sought to reveal all the wretchedness of mankind in this example of self-perfection to the point of deification. Heracles, who has brought the very hell-hound from out of the earth, cannot protect his beloved wife and children far away from murder by the hand of a wretched villain. He comes home quite by chance, but in time to save them; one hour later and the unsuspecting and guiltless man would have been confronted with the ruins of his family happiness. Now, when the hero hopes for peace in his family circle, madness seizes him, sent by Hera, and he himself, bereft of reason, murders the loved ones that he has just saved. Man is thus, the prey of chance or disease, of the limitations and weakness of his nature, of the meanness of petty tyrants and the great powers of destiny. This "trial" annihilates him, there is no conquest, no ascent to Olympus for this man stained with madness and murder. The great saviour lies low, fettered in his sleep so that he may commit no further crime, annihilated by his awakened consciousness. He contemplates suicide, but honour forbids that. Thereupon Theseus appears, whom Heracles had liberated from the Underworld, and grateful, kindly humanity overcomes his shrinking from defilement through contact with the "guilty" man. His sympathy raises the fallen Heracles, his friendship offers him a place of refuge, and the saviour-hero is redeemed in quite an unheroic, human manner.

Man, gripped in the world-machine, has only himself to rely upon; he is the victim of senseless forces (*The Bacchae*); the meanness and the senseless rage of petty men lie in wait for the hero; spatial and temporal restrictions expose him to chance, and the weakness of nature to madness; within him and waiting around him lurk the passions that may destroy him. And all that helps him is his fragment of reason, all that comforts him is the pitying affection of others. Fate stands revealed: it is human insufficiency, human passion, human comedy, with a little reason and kindness which seldom prevail. The gods stand revealed: they cannot protect innocence; Apollo leaves the house of Admetus, Artemis flees from the dying Hippolytus; they cannot bear death, and innocence falls a victim to it unless a bibulous but human monster (Heracles in *Alcestis*) intervenes where they fail; or else they intervene in hatred, covetous and greedy for power, and help evil and unreason to victory: Hera makes a crazy murderer of Heracles, Aphrodite incites Phaedra to murder, and Dionysus the Bacchae. Apollo himself, in his efforts to provide for a bastard child, almost causes a murder (*Ion*). Gods are either powerless or intolerable. We may accept them as symbols of human disease or passion (Aphrodite is the frenzy of love), or as natural forces. Otherwise they must be radically transformed to true godhead that knows no desire, an ideal of truth and goodness. But that could only be far from the conflict of passion in a world of ideals for which we may yearn, as for a second life of moral atonement: on earth man alone is the curse or blessing of man.

The great tragic poets likewise opened new vistas to the scientific study of the universe; they revealed the whole world of human passions and valuations. The history of Herodotus is a continuation of Aeschylus' *Persians* philosophically, ethically, and psychologically. The concrete, vivid dialectic of the drama stimulates the spectator to take sides and investigate ideas; Protagoras was a contemporary of Euripides, and Socrates a disciple of both.

During the first half of the fifth century, and whilst tragedy was still unfolding and constructing its world in the works of Aeschylus and the early plays of Sophocles, philosophy was under the influence of Parmenides and Heraclitus. Great natural philosophers were born at the same time as Sophocles: Leucippus, who laid the foundation of the atomic theory, and Anaxagoras, who outlined the first mechanical cosmogony. Here, too, Zeno (of Elea) belongs, a great logician who sought exact proof of the thesis that movement and plurality might be impossible. Finally Empedocles of Agrigentum should be mentioned; he is important because of his work of systematization and he possessed a strong instinct for coining popular scientific terms and for impressive display. In his vision of the universe he re-fashioned poetically the philosophy of Nature and knowledge produced in the sixth century, besides the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrine of the fall, transmigration, and salvation of souls; he was the founder of a scientific and mystic religion which he preached as a wandering orator and worker of miracles. He might have been the Plato of the first phase of Greek culture if it had not been superseded by the second. He had no contact with the tragedians or with Athens.

Protagoras of Abdera (480–411 B.C.), on the other hand, the founder of the Sophist School, did belong to that new world and was its first great thinker. His doctrine originated not in the tragic drama but in Parmenides, though he was at one with the tragedians in contrasting human tendencies and valuations to the theoretical doctrine of universal Nature. This he did as a thinker, in the form of scientific criticism and concepts, and thereby broadened and deepened earlier science, just as the tragedians did earlier art.

Parmenides had taught that pure thought is the sole way to a knowledge of Being and reality and that sensual perception never leads beyond semblance. In part Protagoras reversed this thesis: all knowledge and reality comes to us through the senses alone. In part he repudiated it absolutely: man can have no knowledge of the true essence of the universe, but only human knowledge to serve human purposes. " Man is the measure of all things "; what is appropriate to him and his disposition the philosopher calls " real ", what is not, " unreal ". All the knowledge of men can be no more than human, all must be based on the senses, for the subject matter of knowledge reaches us through the senses; it is all conditioned and limited by the general nature of man and the special dispositions of individuals. We cannot tell what the world in its essence is like to the gods.

These are terrible and crushing teachings for those who innocently assume that man is a god, knowing about the gods and the nature of the universe, and for those who put forward metaphysical and cosmological fantasies with arrogant self-importance. Protagoras reminded simple and learned metaphysicians of the limitations of man and of human nature; like the tragedians, he called for reflection and humble self-knowledge and modest claims, but in the scientific field. He who oversteps the bounds of human nature and indulges in fantasies does not produce " absolute knowledge " but worthless assertions that contradict and cancel one another, like the doctrines of Parmenides and Heraclitus. But he who keeps within the bounds of human nature acquires knowledge and capacities that are modest but precious and useful. Protagoras did not aspire to be a sage (*sophos*) who knew everything, but a teacher of the practical wisdom of life, like Solon.

Of the existence and nature of God, therefore, he only taught that they were beyond the reach of scientific inquiry. In practice it was advisable to adhere to the tried, traditional belief in and worship of the gods. Of the essence of Nature he taught nothing. He did not think it possible to determine whether it is Being or Becoming, whether it consists of atoms or elements, and to these questions he was utterly indifferent. On the other hand he devoted great attention, in fact his whole attention, to the disposition of mankind, and to everything that is within man's power and volition. Man became the chief object of investigation. Anthropology took the place of cosmology. As Protagoras began by treating of the limits of human knowledge and the value of the sciences to man, distinguishing valueless from valuable investigations from the point of view of man's nature and profit, so too he endowed psychology with the earliest theory of sensual impressions as the source of all knowledge and of moral feelings as the source of justice and morality. He was the founder of the philosophy of history, deriving the State from natural man and his necessity, and showing how the savage in his struggle with the elements and beasts of prey learns to preserve his life, to make fire, to unite, and at last to live in harmony with his kind. He traced the growth and maintenance of law and morality to the interest of all individuals, which is likewise that of the community, and to a natural sentiment of justice and shame. In so doing he laid the foundations of the science of politics and of ethics. He was the first to write of the virtues and he placed the love of honour especially high. He treated, too, of justice and the object of punishment. He endowed pedagogy with its earliest theory of the factors in education (natural disposition, instruction, habit) and the earliest university in which he, as the principal, taught dialectic and rhetoric to a community of students in return for payment. In his *Instructions in Polemics* he taught how to attack and defend propositions. For orators he provided a treatise *On Correct Speech*. Thus he laid a scientific foundation of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, the chief subjects of university study down to the eighteenth century.

Protagoras accomplished what is always credited to Socrates as his chief merit: he placed man in the centre of the universe and brought philosophy down from heaven into the huts of men. He raised critical doubts of a dogmatic theory of metaphysics and cosmology and showed that scientific investigation was limited by the nature and utility of knowledge. He taught men to contemplate the universe from the point of view of man, not of God or the universe. A naïvely human attitude towards the objective world is justifiable, for it exists on man's account and the worth of objects is determined by their usefulness. Knowledge is the servant of practical life, and its worth amounts to exactly the degree of its utility. This is a decisive change of outlook, achieved scientifically for the first time by the first people who rose to a fully scientific plane ; man moderates his claim to know the Absolute and discovers that he is himself the legitimate master and purpose of the world, the measure of all things and creator of civilization. He may and must be to himself the most important thing in the world that has been given to him in order that he may concentrate on this life and use his reason to attain happiness. He must have clear knowledge of his own nature and powers and aims, for he is wholly dependent upon himself, responsible to none but himself, beneficial or destructive to none but himself. He has been the creator of civilization and has worked his way up from savagery ; no divinity endowed him with fire and the agricultural arts, there has been no degeneration since a golden age, but progress instead. Now that he has realized this truth he must progress faster ; it is the fault of the individual if within the community he does not attain riches, honour, and happiness in virtue of his reason and industry, and it is the fault of mankind if they do not bring the reign of reason and peace upon earth to fruition by their own endeavours. A powerful spiritual stimulus was embodied in this new outlook which held men to be free, masters of the world and of their own destiny. " Many things are mighty, but nothing is mightier than man" ; so Sophocles perceived, at once enraptured and terrified, for " mighty " also implies " terrible ". Now the thrill of religious terror was mastered. Athens rose to power at the time of the Persian wars and the Attic world empire grew through the emancipation of personality in the patriotic struggle for maritime and commercial influence and for men's own general prosperity (free competition in industry, trade, and democratic policy), and the intoxication of that rise and growth bore fruit in the field of knowledge in a philosophy of life and progress and the illimitable betterment of the world and the individual. Protagoras was the first prophet of full rationalism and progress in the human race ; he was a disciple of Xenophones in his blissful faith in man's natural reason and capacity, and a disciple of Themistocles in his resolve to attain practical success. Right knowledge illuminates all values, frees men from superstitution, points to a lofty aim in the search for his own natural happiness through service to the whole city and people, and gives him the means to reach his ideal. Knowledge is power, and the foundation of every virtue; it brings redemption and fulfilment. In the Athens of the great Periclean age this prophet of practical knowledge was the first professional teacher of youth and supplied his age with the idealism and business ability that it wanted. He drafted for Pericles an ideal constitution for the city of Thurii, was the friend of Euripides and Anaxagoras, and inspired the young generation with enthusiasm. Forty years later (411 B.C.) he was accused of impiety in this self-same Athens; her rise was past, collapse was imminent, idealism and the advantage of the community were no longer identified as a matter of course with profit and the advantage of the individual.

The great philosopher of this period of disintegration was Socrates of Athens (469–399 B.C.), the disciple of Euripides and Protagoras, in whom the whole movement reached its consummation. He did not oppose Protagoras and Gorgias, as Plato represents. Protagoras was his master, and the sternly moral sceptic Gorgias was as closely akin to him in his aim of training the people morally as was Prodicus, the author of the fable of Hercules at the crossroads. Nor did Socrates oppose Alcibiades and Critias, the first influential personalities who used their superior intellectual abilities for the purely selfish purpose of securing power and pleasure for themselves. They called themselves his pupils, as they really were, though only in the domain of logic. Socrates was a Sophist, a teacher of the practical wisdom of life, like Protagoras. He inherited from Protagoras his repudiation of scientific theology and cosmology, his method of surveying the world from the point of view of man, and his problem of determining rationally in accordance with the nature of man, and teaching, what are "right", that is to say practical and satisfactory, institutions and actions. He, too, like Protagoras, taught that where positive knowledge was not attainable, people must adhere to tried tradition. What primarily distinguished him from Protagoras was that he was more critical and did not believe in progress. He held that the new, anthropological sciences were as indeterminate as the earlier metaphysics and cosmology, and could not convince himself that they would lead mankind to perfection and bliss. But if psychology and cosmology were equally inconclusive, if it was equally a matter of indifference whether the stars were holes in gigantic wheels and whether men had degenerated from demigods or risen from savagery—what, then, was certain and not a matter of indifference ?

Here Socrates' real intellectual labours began. He elaborated to the point of perfect clarity the inmost essence of the general view adopted in practice by Protagoras : it is certain that it is man's nature to desire happiness, a state of enduring contentment ; further, that reason has been given to him for the purpose of knowing how to act in order to attain that end. For that purpose it is adequate for each individual case, but not for the setting forth of theories defining the nature of the universe or the soul. What is needful is to know rightly in order to act rightly, that is, in such a way as to ensure happiness. He who knows rightly must act rightly, for he desires to be happy.

Men must learn to know rightly, but at present that is impossible, says Socrates. For instance, Protagoras does not know rightly, he thinks wrongly. He does, indeed, possess the instrument of right thinking, dialectics, but he uses it for foolish purposes, polemics and oratory and grammatical arts, instead of the search for that truth which all men need ; and he uses it badly. With the power of thinking clearly, methodically, and exhaustively with which the central formula of Protagoras' new philosophy of man endowed him, Socrates developed a method and discovered the use of definition as the chief instrument of investigation.

" Every man," he now declared, " knows by his nature in every case how to act rightly, that is, in such a way as to bring true happiness. It is only necessary to make it clear to him, and teach him how to make it clear to himself. What is needed is to bring right knowledge to birth in every case (the art of the midwife). The way to do so is to let a man say how in each case he proposes to act, and then to investigate with him whether such action will make him happy in the true sense. If not, he must choose another course and investigate its consequences ; and so on, until it proves that the course is found which will bring happiness." Socrates was firmly convinced that the action which "truly brings happiness" will in each case be "right", and what virtue (energy and ability) demands ; every other course will ultimately bring unhappiness.

He therefore gave people a formula that was immediately comprehensible to all, embracing the natural aim of true happiness and the way to attain it, or right action based upon right thinking, and in addition a method of bringing right knowledge to birth in each individual case. That is all that man need really know for his happiness ; it comprises all useful theory that is general and not specialized, professional knowledge. It is so slight and simple that every man can learn it. Hence Socrates did not write but merely practised his method. He did not teach in schools and train people of culture, but brought right knowledge to birth in everybody in the open street, publicity, without pay, so that everyone might learn it from him. He was concerned with the individual and his happiness, since everyone is made happy by virtue (not by vulgar self-seeking) he was concerned with the generality through individuals. He absolutely repudiated theoretical knowledge on other matters, knowledge of God, the universe, the soul, and the oratical and polemic arts. He was no Sage (*sophos*), but only a scientific man of practice (*sophistes*) ; but he possessed a practical method of attaining happiness that was quite reliable. Plato was the first to regard him as a modest "lover of wisdom" (*philosophos*).

Parmenides introduced in practice the logical method of the syllogism, the scientific use of identity, contradiction, and the inevitable sequence of thought into cosmology, and created the notions of existence, Being, and change. Protagoras realized that our image of the universe is humanly conditioned ; he introduced human nature, its striving after happiness, and its aims into science in a practical sense, taught men to argue, and created the notion of Being as presented to the human organism (*Gegebensein*).[1] Socrates brought to birth the formula of the end and way of right action in the realm of theory, perfected the general method of assimilating objective experience, and endowed formal logic with the model of definition ; and all this he dedicated to the service of moral conduct, which now began to be distinguished from amoral conduct (vulgarly selfish, which brings only present, not true, happiness).

But at the same time his own life was a moral example, unobtrusive, simple, treated as a matter of course. He performed his civic duties (in war and the law courts) without regard to any danger to his life, and he died innocently in order not to set the bad example of escaping from prison. A firm faith in the existence of a righteous universal God could not, indeed, be accepted by him as a scientific doctrine, but we are conscious of it as the profoundest emotional basis of his conduct, a moral commandment, and compulsion.

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[1] *Gegebensein* as used in this book is a word of Professor Schneider's own coining, which has been translated "Being as presented to the human organism". In his *Metaphysik als exakte Wissenschaft* (Meiner, Leipzig, 1919–21) he writes : "*Gegebensein*, therefore, means (1) complete, visually defined, and existing without human co-operation ; (2) existing for man ; (3) existing both as man and as other than man ; (4) existing as separate entities." "Experience teaches us that one day man opens his eyes and finds himself complete in a complete world, which exists as he himself exists . . . just as a 'gift' is found lying one morning on the birthday table, put there by some 'giver'." (Vol. i pp. 1–2.)—*Translator's note.*

Not only, therefore, did Socrates complete the line of evolution leading from Parmenides to Protagoras and himself and to the critical elaboration of the basic facts of metaphysics and method, the placing of the individual right at the centre of the universe, and the first distinction between moral and amoral conduct; he likewise completed that other line of evolution leading from Aeschylus through Sophocles to Euripides. Euripides had yearned for a loftier faith in a righteous, universal God, unknowable through the intellect or the senses, and now such a religion was emotionally acknowledged. The moral sense came to be the deciding factor in moral judgments; an innocent man no longer felt that he was forsaken by God or undergoing trial when he suffered, but that be was serving the cause of morality and strengthening justice. "Pollution" had lost its meaning. Socrates, dying innocent, freely accepted disgrace and death which had crushed Oedipus; not only did his body bring a blessing to the earth in which he rested, but through suffering, through a spiritual exaltation that was something more than the patient endurance of Hercules, his deed liberated mankind to achieve a higher religious morality. Aeschylus and Sophocles opened the discussion of man's relation with Fate—and the Greeks portrayed that relation in images as varied and exhaustive as the religious types in which the Jews portrayed the relation of man and God. Protagoras carried on the discussion in the realm of science, Euripides in that of art. Protagoras, full of progressive optimism, regarded man's nature as rational; all difficulties, he thought, would be easily solved. Man ensures the general good when he pursues his own advantage, ambitious, unhesitatingly eager for his own benefit, but guided by a sense of shame and justice. His fate is in his own hands, and all that is necessary is to educate him. Euripides was a moral pessimist and held man's nature to be irrational, terrible in its incalculable passions, beautiful in its mighty outbursts, destructive to the innocent, disastrous even to the wise man who thinks and plans clearly. Socrates took up the thread of both trains of thought without the extravagance either of the optimistic utilitarian or the pessimistic artist who took such strange delight in horror and the joy of beauty.

Calm reason and method save man from the wheels of blind Fate and struggling humanity; to his moral and religious conscousness of God they unite the assurance of moral duty that brings happiness; they put a check on the foolish and selfish desire for power and knowledge, unite all man's desire and strength in the search for the one thing that is within his own control and is necessary for him; thus his thoughts are pure and his fulfilment of duty serene, and the incongruity between Fate and innocence is done away; individuals attain freedom, and through them mankind as a whole.

The most important disciple of Socrates was Plato of Athens (428–348 B.C.). He followed his master with a passionate sense of his great personality and his morally pure, redeeming will. He recognized also the unimpeachable scientific character of Socrates' outlook and method, and probably, too, the aesthetic fascination of the contrast between the outward appearance and bearing of the eccentric citizen and his spiritual beauty and greatness. His first object was to preserve for mankind the Socratic redeeming doctrine of morality as the true source of happiness, and that in the didactic form chosen by Socrates himself. Socrates, the saviour by clear thought and pure will, was the first great figure in the vision of Plato the artist, seen as an ideal with a poet's intensity, sparkling with individual life. Gathered around him as the central figure are radiant pictures from Athens at the close of the Periclean age, and thoughts unfold that governed the succeeding age. Tragedy was succeeded by the Platonic dialogue, a literary spectacle packed with imagery and the loftiest philosophic reflection. The last great creator of myths in human history was the first great creator of scientific system, who cast his poems in strict dialectic form. Regarded from a purely scientific point of view, his method of presentation is not the perfect form for scientific knowledge; but for the conception and incipient growth of many new seeds of thought it is perfect, and for the artistic presentation of a supremely great, unique, and creative personality.

Plato was a great thinker, richly endowed with a vivid poetic formative power. He created myths and symbols and ideals : Socrates, the image of the perfect sage and perfect man (inwardly pure and beautiful, not outwardly), who shows the way to salvation through love and life, himself pulsing with warm life (*The Symposium*)—and through calm detachment and death freely accepted (*Phaedo*); the prophet who, without any display of the miraculous, performs the miracle of raising his humanity to God through pure knowledge and will, perfect trust and unwavering action. Then there is the myth of the realm of Ideas, the pure world of archetypes and values in the perfect hereafter where only light, clarity, purity, and virtue rule, with God, the Idea of good, as its crown. And beside this parable of the highest being, the essence, in the purest scientific and ethical form, we have visual symbols of the highest things and relations: the myth of Eros, the child of Poverty and Resource, who rises to the essence of beauty and goodness through seeking for the individually beautiful and good; the myth of death, for which we prepare all through our lives by an increasing detachment from illusion and the mastery of the body, a final step leading to the union of spirit with spirit; the myth of knowledge, in which the soul is represented as a chariot driven along the ridge of the world and drawn upwards by one horse whilst another drags it down into the abyss, and before it lie the world of ideas and the world of Shades; or again, the soul is a cave-man who watches the shadows of things in the light pass by, and is reminded by them that once he saw the things themselves in full daylight; and there is the myth of Paradise, the upper world, where the sun and stars shine undimmed in the sight of the blessed, and of Hell full of swamps and fiery rivers, where tyrants languish in the depths. Lastly there is the scientific vision of creation, where the eternal Idea of good, as creator and Father and the best Master Craftsman, copies the Ideas in pure goodness and moulds the best possible world in the unformed which is yet capable of form; and of a kingdom of God upon earth imaged as the rational State, the first Utopia, with the primeval history of that State in the submerged continent of Atlantis. A new world has here been fashioned creatively from elements contained in the teaching of Parmenides and Empedocles as well as in popular beliefs—a world immensely impressionable, uniform, tangible; and in fashioning it Plato was fully aware that he was stammering of the unspeakable, outlining the invisible. Religion received its ultimate, loftiest, scientific, and visual garb and its deepest ideal and intellectual content. The Redeemer, the process of revelation, and the kingdom of God on earth were given scientific form. Without Plato's myths Christianity would be unthinkable. When we speak of God (the Idea of good), of the Beyond, of the ascent of the soul, we are presenting Platonic images to our minds. This is the consummation of the religion for which Euripides yearned, equally acceptable to the thinker and the moralist and yet rich in imagery and fascination. Every revival of the Christian religion for the past two thousand years has borrowed alike from Plato and from Paul.

The same is true of every sphere in which new life was infused into learning; for Plato endowed it with the first idealist system, embracing all the fruits of Greek thought, whether mature or still in the germ. In the purely scientific field, likewise, Plato started from the teaching of Socrates. Socrates had taught men how to discover the right course of action, that which would bring happiness, in individual cases by the dialectic method, and his method aimed at no more. Plato used it from the outset to determine the nature of the chief virtues in the general sense. That was un-Socratic and led to theoretical discussions, general propositions, and all the uncertainty of cosmological and psychological dogmatism. And yet Plato was right to pursue that path. Socrates had discovered the method of scientific investigation, induction, definition, dialectical discussion, and it had to be brought into the service of science. Socrates (without intending it) had taught men to form concepts; the general concept, the Idea, occupies the centre of Plato's system as the inner being of the universe, the end of all scientific inquiry and order, the choice of what is essential and precious to man, but also as the independent archetype of all separate things, as absolute Being, the reality behind the illusion of plurality and isolation, that which has worth in the Beyond. The step was pregnant with consequences. "Concept," if widely enough interpreted, is the outcome of all assimilation of objective experience; man's world may be surveyed in concepts (Ideas, ideals), and the fundamental relation of assimilator, object, and aim of assimilation enters the purview of science. But at the same time the road to a fully scientific theory of metaphysics is blocked by the tendency originating with Parmenides to undervalue perception, and attribute ultimate, excessive importance, to abstract Being; it was blocked, too, by a relic of Socratic narrowness, the restriction of right action to moral action. But the outlook of Socrates had become the means of surveying the whole universe scientifically in concepts of static Being; metaphysics and the theory of knowledge, physics and psychology, ethics and politics became parts of a coherent whole, and henceforth the Socratic method was the method of investigation used in order to attain theoretical mastery of the universe.

We can only touch upon Plato's particular contributions to newly established science. He outlined metaphysics, as ontology, metaphysical cosmology, and psychology (the myths). Physics he endowed with the supreme concepts of the world soul and mere matter, psychology with the framework of the three chief faculties, the reasonable, the spirited, and the instinctive and covetous aspects of the soul. Now for the first time psychology came to be an independent science, equal in rank with physics, as soul and body exist side by side. National psychology grew out of individual psychology: with the Thracians spirit is predominant, the desire for gain and pleasure with the Orientals, but reason with the Greeks. Ethics and politics were further developed, based on the doctrine of the faculties of the soul: there are two chief virtues in the two higher parts of the soul, wisdom and courage, and two in the soul as a whole, discretion, or the voluntary subjection of courage and desire to wisdom, and justice, which inculcates restraint and the doing of one's share for the whole community in all three parts of the soul. The ideal State has three classes; there are the governors, who represent wisdom, and the guardians, who represent courage, both concerned only to promote the good of all, to breed a race of governors by vocation, and to administer all wealth unselfishly, without private property or the institution of the family; lastly there is the class of food-producers, handicraftsmen, and traders, which would lack purpose and stability without property and the family. Politics occupied Plato's thoughts as much as metaphysics; he followed up the "rational State" with a second work on "the best possible State", in which he exalts the genius of the statesman above all outward political forms, but failing such an one advocates the rule of law through one or many or the whole people. Here he contrasted and surveyed for the first time the legal forms of constitution, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, with the lawless forms, tyranny and the rule of a camarilla or the mob. Finally, at an advanced age he drew up laws for a rational Kingdom of God in which, even at that early date, he attempted to provide for the participation of all in the government and to balance the forces that stimulate and those that restrain by separating the legislative, judicial, and executive functions.

His educational theory was also a branch of politics, especially as it applied to the two ruling classes in the rational city State, and further to all freemen in the larger constitutional State. There the *Paedonomos* was a State official of the highest rank, and universal education the business of the State. A nobility of the most talented, vigorous, and industrious was to be secured by a complete, scientific system of instruction graded according to age. But even whilst he was outlining the rational State, it became clear that education for the service of the State could not be the highest cultural ideal. For to ask philosophers or born investigators to govern is to put them to a severe trial; their true life is in the contemplation of God and in perfecting themselves for God. Thus the Socratic belief in a personal morality and outlook had the same effect of disintegrating and breeding theory as had Protagoras' belief in rational egotism and the competition of ability. The cultural ideal came to be the inquirer, the saint of science and morality. Thence arose the notion of the "educated man", the individual free personality who perfects himself and only plays his part in the State incidentally, whether in industry or administration, whilst his primary interest is in culture; in this way the ideal was adapted to a wider circle.

Finally, Plato established the earliest permanent centre of scientific research, the Academy in Athens, the prototype of all academies, a religious and legal brotherhood supported by the voluntary contributions of its members; it comprised scientific collections (the library), research, and instruction, first under the master's guidance then under that of his nephew and heir, and afterwards under various principals for eight hundred years. Amongst the students the master was regarded as a hero after his death, his image was displayed in the sanctuary of the Muses in the Academy garden, and there are even indications of identification with the sun god: his birthday was made to coincide with Apollo's as well as the day of his death; a marvellous tale of his humiliation and enslavement by a tyrannical and persecuting king (Dionysus), was invented and associated with the foundation of his kingdom, that is the purchase of the Academy gardens and his assumption of sovereignty there. He was said to have died at the age of eighty-one, or nine times nine.

The last philosopher in Greece with scientific genius of a universal type was Aristotle of Stagira (Macedon, 384–322 B.C.). Whatever he touched, his influence was creative. He consummated the Greek scientific view of the universe by developing Plato's doctrine of Ideas. With the idea, the concept, the ultimate principle of a complete and all-embracing vision of the universe had been discovered and given a central position.

Aristotle created the first scientific body of philosophic doctrine, the first complete survey of the universe in concepts. The pure, strict scientific form for this general survey, the system in which all discoverable facts were grouped under a few exactly defined general concepts, had first to be found. That form is unpopular to-day, like all that is confined within strict bounds, and, indeed, like all strictly exact science. But that cannot alter the fact that it is the ideal form of scientific presentation. Only systematic science reaches its aim, only within a system can every fact under consideration be immediately found and made available for technical or other practical use. Aristotle endowed the body of scientific doctrine with its general form (descending by regular degrees from general to particular concepts) and its grouping in large divisions. He was the first to distinguish theoretical, practical, and "poetical" philosophy, following man's threefold response to the objects of experience, which may be perceptive, active, or formative. He drew up a definite scheme of the principal sciences: at the threshold stands logic, the instrument of science; then the systematic survey begins with the theoretical sciences, primarily philosophy (metaphysics) which treats of God and universal principles, followed by physics (inorganic natural science) and psychology (the science of the soul), linked by biology (organic natural science); next come the practical sciences, ethics and politics, with pedagogy. Finally, the poetical sciences follow which are designed to treat of artistic formative activity and craftsmanship, technical knowledge in the widest sense as we might say. Of this we only have a part of the theory of poetics.

In order to construct this system Aristotle had not only to be creative in the definition and ordering of concepts, but also in gathering an infinity of experience. He was the first thinker to demand completeness in the whole world survey and to reject the validity of any concept in which anything less than the whole available mass of facts was included and assimilated. Everywhere the idea, speculatively conceived, was counterpoised and packed with all the material of experience, theory being brought into harmony with practice. Aristotle was the first to gather material systematically, to gather all the available material in every field, to elucidate this mass of material by deduction and re-fashion the ideas by induction. He was the first great organizer of scientific labours, and he made his school, the Lyceum, a centre of systematic research by a deliberate division of labour. Thus the heritage of learning was clearly ordered and cast in a clear-cut and practical form, and new fields of study (logic, biology, and poetics) were added to the Platonic nucleus and investigated.

It is hardly possible to sum up in a brief account all the wealth of Aristotle's achievement. Since his day we have had a science of logic, the Socratic Platonic method has been developed into a theory, and the jugglery of sophistical and rhetorical imposters and chafferers has lost its basis. Since Aristotle nothing new has been added to formal logic, that is the theory of definition and conclusion. The earliest theory of categories was discovered with the help of the parts of speech, and the forms of predicate led to the discovery of the fundamental forms of Being. Metaphysics, it is true, does not recognize the categories as true forms of Being, but only form and matter, motive cause and aim. For the first time the essence of godhead in all its aspects was defined with scientific clarity; the relation of the Idea to the individual being and object, and of the species to the individuals that it included, were defined anew: the Ideas are in the individual objects, not in the Beyond; only the " pure, eternal, immaterial form ", the Deity, is in the Beyond, but acts in this world, moulding as form, moving as a formative, transmuting force. The world of Being contains tension between form and matter, which produces classification according to worth (almost in an evolutionary sense); possibility and likelihood, actuality and completion, appear on the horizon of science, as also causal and teleological explanations, all sharply defined in concept and brought into definite relation with one another.

In physics, or the theory of lifeless Nature, the sphere of æther, the heavenly matter, is sharply distinguished from that of earthly matter, or the elements: the former is near to God, and in it eternal Being reigns in perfect motion, whilst in the latter each object seeks its place in the universe mechanically, according to its weight, in the everlasting play of becoming and passing away and manifold change. Biology, the theory of living Nature, of animals and plants (the latter treated by Theophrastus), was a new branch of science. Here again the subject-matter Aristotle classified according to worth, from the plants to the bloodless animals and from them to those with blood in their veins, culminating in man. The first scientific survey of the organic world went hand in hand with the first explanation of its chief phenomena, the development of the individual from the germ (entelechy), and with the beginnings of comparative anatomy and physiology. Further, the psychological theory of the faculties of the soul led to a classification of beings according to worth: plants and animals had only " animal souls "; plants had formative powers only for nourishment and generation, animals had in addition powers of sensation, desire, and movement. In man the immortal spiritual soul was added, the power to know truth and act morally. Sleep, too, and dreams, and the prophetic gift, and much more besides, Aristotle defined and elucidated for the first time. In ethics we find the germs of a theory of character types. Ethical investigations he began by determining the essence of happiness in animals (sensual enjoyment), man (political and scientific activities), and the Deity (pure theory, self-contemplation). He sought alike its material and spiritual prerequisites. Then he enumerated and determined the virtues of character separately, and it proved that in every case they were a mean between two vices, excess and short measure of the essential quality. Ability in the scientist, the artist, and the man acting virtuously formed a special group. The essence of friendship he treated with particular thoroughness. We have before us here a wealth of the maturest practical experience of life. The groundwork of experience upon which Aristotle based his political teaching embraced not only the experience gained in Athens through his friend Hermias the tyrant and through Philip of Macedon, but also a collection of constitutional histories of almost all the Greek States. Aristotle held that there was a certain merit in every type of constitution in which the governors pursued the advantage of the governed, and not their own. His doctrine was moulded by the notion of the State as a purposeful union of the citizens, of the family as the nucleus of all State organization, and by economic and cultural considerations. Ultimately, the great monarchical State, such as Macedon was about to establish, was the most practically desirable in Aristotle's eyes. His cultural ideal was the well-to-do freeman who had learnt what was essential of all useful subjects, but first and foremost all that is requisite for virtue and dignified leisure. It was the ideal of the educated individual forming part of public opinion in a world State permeated with Greek culture. The appreciation of plastic art and dramatic poetry was now expressly designated as an element in education, and in his *Poetics* Aristotle set up the earliest psychological æsthetic norm for poetry. That was so new and great an undertaking that antiquity hardly learnt to appreciate it.

Thus Aristotle consummated and classified all the ripe knowledge of the period in his system, forged the instrument of science and its literary language, and cast its problems and achievements in their final intellectual form. Where he ended neither antiquity nor the Middle Ages made further progress. Only where separate sciences already existed, or where he left them ripe for detachment, was further progress made in antiquity by following his example of empirical, exact, and systematic work. And when the Middle Ages were ripe for the survey of science as a whole, Thomas Aquinas turned back to Aristotle as the master of method and system. He, like Plato, stood godfather at the revival of arts and sciences in modern times; he was greatly scorned, indeed, by those who were obliged to analyse his fixed rules and notions in order to excel him in his own spirit; but all were bound to acknowledge him as the author of the fundamental notions that they had to transform, a practical example of that scientific labour which he believed to be the worthy occupation of God and heavenly bliss for men.

We have seen how Homer (the poet of the Wrath) and afterwards Hesiod were the founders of a school of Homeric and Hesiodic rhapsodists and scholars, and how then, simultaneously with its development, a class philosophy of life, at first confined to the knights, evolved from their works. About 650 B.C. the movement captured the city bourgeoisie in a religious revival. The religion of Homer and Hesiod became a city faith; it moulded the temples, images, and forms of worship in town and country; new ideas of humanity and nationality and the State took shape and came to flower in the sixth and fifth centuries. Meanwhile, the process of developing the Homeric philosophy of life had set in, and from the time of Pythagoras and Xenophanes there were those who aspired to supplant Homer. Pythagoras, like Homer and Hesiod, founded a school and set a process of scientific development in motion (Philolaus, a younger contemporary of Socrates, gave it systematic form); at the same time Pythagoras inspired the formation of sects and spread the notion of cosmos and harmony in bourgeois circles.

Similarly, Xenophanes was the founder of the Eleatic school (Parmenides) and of a bourgeois, rationalist Nature movement. The bourgeois view of the universe in the fifth century derived its ideas of the gods and the virtues from Homer and Hesiod (mainly Hesiod); it illumined the divinities and cults derived from Homer with the ideal of harmony and the earliest rationalist Nature ideals. Parmenides and Heraclitus are too difficult to have attained a similar influence at once. At first their disintegrating force was more generally felt, in addition to their strictly scientific influence. Parmenides was the first to regard the gods as allegories. The obscure theses of Heraclitus and the paradoxes of Zeno were the origin of dialectic. Even the tragedians went through the school of the great dialectic game in which all accepted values were pulled to pieces after Protagoras had made man the measure of all things. In the Peloponnesian war Athens and Sparta collapsed. Socrates provided a centre of crystallization for the re-shaping of ethics, Plato created a scientific, idealistic religion, and Aristotle a complete, scientific picture of the universe. These thinkers had new conditions and new men before their eyes. The old religion, the old city States, the old civic morality (patriotism) had been destroyed. Once again the game began of founding schools and developing the scientific teaching and philosophy of great men (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle). The era of separate exact sciences had dawned, and of the educated classes who were dominant in the Greek empires. It was the era of great professors who conducted individual research, taking nothing for granted, working empirically, proceeding with great thoroughness; they were teachers of the art of life and made their aim the practical application of knowledge, technical skill, and the happiness of individuals. The educated bourgeoisie of the Hellenistic cities evolved an enlightened and philosophical outlook on life; they were conscious of their civilization and the call to rule, and very much inclined to accord all honours, even divine, to the king and the State in gratitude for protection and the promotion of cultural and commercial interests, to recognize and accept and observe all forms of religion, Greek and barbarian (interpreting them allegorically and systematizing them); at the same time they were wholly engrossed in attaining personal happiness by mastering the art of life. For these people Plato and Aristotle were too difficult and scientific; they merely supplied a scientific form for the new doctrines. The two great thinkers who gave the new bourgeoisie its philosophic outlook on life, Epicurus of Athens (342–270 B.C.) and Zeno of Citium (in Cyprus; died about 264 B.C.) based their teaching on Socrates, the man of practical wisdom. When the Academy was driven to compete with them it had to become even more unscientific than they were and practical like them; and it fell into scepticism.

Epicurus and Zeno each shaped their doctrine by resuscitating two older masters, a man of theory and a Socratic teacher of ethics, and fusing their teachings. Their own achievement consisted in assimilating what they had borrowed into a simple system (here the Platonic school exercised a formative influence), in developing practical philosophy further, and in leading to psychological and civic human progress. Logic and physics (the theory of Nature and of the soul) simply served the interests of ethics. Philosophy was "a wise manner of life" or "activity that brings happiness through thought ". The scientific view of the universe had been reduced to a body of that knowledge most necessary for the art of life.

Of these two creative thinkers who set up schools in Athens, Epicurus was the elder and more individual ; he was not the equal of Sophocles, but of Menander he was, that amiable author of bourgeois comedies. And he was aware, too, that he was a personality. He lived and dominated his school as a " master ", like Pythagoras, but in a more modern spirit, redeeming mankind through enlightened good taste and rationality, a model of tranquil, refined enjoyment, of the avoidance of all useless suffering, and of natural humanity (essentially akin to the Indian Buddha). His logic (*Sovereign Principles*) merely indicates simple rules and signs of right knowledge. His physics he simply borrowed from Democritus, a contemporary of Socrates, who elaborated the atomic theory of Leucippus empirically and brilliantly in all its aspects. Epicurus only added two theses, concessions to theology which safeguarded him against prosecution for impiety : there are gods (for they are seen in dreams and visions), but they live in bliss, far from men, in the space between the worlds ; and a "swerving" on the part of the atoms varying their downward motion initiated the formation of complexes and worlds in the beginning (a first cause, but impersonal). He valued the atomic theory because it explained everything mechanically, without gods. Believing in it, men were freed from the fear of ceremonial offences, penalties in the hereafter, or a mournful, shadow-like existence in Hades. Otherwise it was a matter of indifference, like all theory, and was merely the most tenable theory of the universe. He did not develop it but expressly admitted several explanations in all matters of detail. His whole interest was in psychology, and less in the psychology of cognition, in which he simply adopted Protagoras' doctrine that only perception and sensation are real, than in that of emotion and desire. Here, too, he started from the teaching of an earlier thinker, Aristippus of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates, who had taught that pleasure (*hedone*) was happiness and the natural aim of all human endeavour. But he elaborated the psychology of pleasure and pain minutely and clearly and laid down a theory of non-ethical values (*Güterlehre*)[1] as a complete science of experience.

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[1] In his *Metaphysik als exakte Wissenschaft* (Meiner, Leipzig, 1919–21), Professor Schneider speaks of the two *Wertwissenschaften* (evaluating sciences) as *Güterlehre* (theory of non-ethical values) and *Sittenlehre* (ethics). According to *Güterlehre* " every action which satisfies self is ' right ' ; that which satisfies others is only ' right ' in that it also satisfies self ". (Vol. iii, p. 412.) *Güterlehre* may embrace *Sittenlehre* in so far as it considers moral, altruistic action as a source of satisfaction to self.—*Translator's note.*

Pleasure and pain are the measure of what must be declared good and evil. Without pleasure nothing is good. But reason, which takes into account the consequences of every pleasure, must determine the value of each, and define every good more precisely, so that men may be able to act rightly. Epicurus drew up a table of values, in which natural desires were contrasted with vain desires, and there was a further division into necessary and merely natural desires. The preservation of health and of the power to enjoy is an aim that may be accomplished by a temperate life of amiable cheerfulness, with more spiritual than bodily pleasures. In the long run we do everything in our power to avoid unnecessary suffering of body or mind. We only need pleasure when its absence involves pain. The happiness to be sought is a tranquil mind, an absence of pain, and some delight.

Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic School, was not as strong a personality as Epicurus. He laid more stress, too, on the bonds which unite mankind and link men with God. It is no longer possible to distinguish his own teaching from that of his disciples, especially Chrysippus (281–208 B.C.). He, too, regarded logic (the name is of Stoic origin) as an elementary theory of thought and speech of the simplest practical nature. He borrowed his theory of physics and the basic idea of his community ethics from Heraclitus. Zeno found peace in the contemplation of a universe guided in its course by immutable law, in the realization that God was to be found in that course and that the soul was akin to God, in freely accepting his place in the great, inevitable whole, and in defending law and reason in civic life, just as Epicurus had found it in relegating the gods to a remote distance and believing in a merely mechanical universe. But the God of Heraclitus became more personal in Zeno's hands (or those of his disciple Cleanthes), a Creator and Ruler of the world, Reason and Goodness actively planning, so that a providential element entered into the immutable world process, and an element of rivalry with God in order to be worthy of him (Jesus ?) into man's labours on behalf of the community. For the rest Zeno no more developed Heraclitus' theory than did Epicurus that of Democritus. His chief scientific interest was likewise in psychology and ethics. The Stoics now developed a psychological theory of the formation of concepts according to which the blank tablet of the soul is covered with perceptual impressions, which remain as if stamped in wax. With or without intention and skill these are further worked up into general concepts with words as labels. In Zeno's ethics a

Socratic element was added to the doctrine of Heraclitus: Anthisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, exercised an influence and taught that virtue is the sole good and vice the sole evil. Virtue is the absence of wants and makes man spiritually free, independent even of the State and society. Zeno softened the cynics' excessive cult of Nature, as Epicurus softened the doctrine of pleasure taught by Aristippus, and made of it an ideal of inward tranquillity. The wise man must attain unwavering steadfastness in the face of Destiny; therein lies his happiness. But for the citizen of the world duty towards God takes the place of duty towards the State and society. The theory of Heraclitus in its new, personal, and religious trend exercised dominant influence: man was created for the whole community of mankind. The wise man is divinely free, reasonable, and just, and proves his worth by his vigorous advocacy of one State and one just law of God and Nature, his endeavours to realize the kingdom of God, and his justice and charity.

In their doctrines of salvation the Stoics and Epicureans developed the ancient seed embedded in the *Dirge of Maneros* and the *Dialogue of a Man Weary of Life* to full scientific and theoretical maturity. The two fundamental cults of the enjoyment of life and devotion to the whole community evolved into a complete art of life which was wholly concerned with this world and took shape in the spheres of psychology and religious humanity in virtue of full critical and practical deliberation. Moreover, they supplied the germ of valuable contributions to modern science: the atomic theory of Democritus was a definite advance in physics, and the Stoic theory of knowledge in psychology (Locke). The universal reign of law in Heraclitus developed into the reign of immutable natural law. Stoicism woke to new life in Kant's ethical doctrine, and Epicureanism in Schopenhauer's. But that ought not to blind us to the fact that their scientific merit was simply the fostering of seeds which could not come to full flower in antiquity. For the ancients the atomic theory of Democritus (without mathematical treatment) was not a very fruitful hypothesis, and the universal reign of law in Heraclitus (when men's minds were chiefly concerned with static Being) was a matter of sentiment. Epicurus and Zeno treated them only as matters of faith, not problems; they were only practical means of calming religious fears or encouraging religious submission. They served practical purposes, such as individual salvation and the training of citizens for the new great States and of educated men who would be good world citizens, living in quiet retirement and peaceful enjoyment or piously co-operating in maintaining the world order.

No lesser disciples succeeded the great professors, the creative scholars of astronomy, mathematics, grammar, medicine, and the art of living, through whom the creative force of the second Greek phase of civilization worked itself out at the beginning of its second prime (the third century) in thorough and empirical scientific studies and practical achievements. Scientific work in the philosophic field took the form of compilation (eclecticism) and the propagation, in a new guise, of results attained by others. Education spread and its protagonists, the professors of philosophy, were now a professional brotherhood of high standing, socially indispensable, and well on the way to become utterly uncreative with their tricks of oratory and dialectic. Men were tired of the ponderous specialized knowledge of the learned, and in consequence they grew tired of the game of science and of rationality altogether. With Posidonius of Apamea (145–50 B.C.), whose learning was as great as his skill with tongue and pen, mysticism won scientific recognition.

Ever since the Greek colonization of the East (300 B.C.) Babylonian, Syrian, and Egyptian gods and ideas had penetrated into the realm of Greek civilization, sometimes with the support of rulers of the Hellenistic empires (the Ptolemies). Philosophy stimulated this process by means of complacent identification (symbolism) serving either the interests of the kings, or Alexander's ideal of fusing Greece and the Orient, or the philosophers' own endeavours to teach world citizenship. It profited, too, by the wide spread of enlightenment among the Greek people, by the tendency to adapt ideas to their understanding and religious and moral needs, and by the romantic weariness of knowledge among the educated and the new cult of the irrational. Greeks systematized the Babylonian sciences of divination and magic with their higher abilities and made them into elements in a semi-scientific and religious philosophy of life. Epicurus in his day combatted these superstitions. Such pseudo-sciences found their way into the monotheistic Stoic doctrine of salvation, as did polytheism in general, conceived in an allegorical sense. Religious communities sprang up in association with other philosophic doctrines. Pythagoras came to be regarded altogether as a worker of miracles and the saviour of a sect. We have a hymn to Adonis from Alexandria which shows the connection of one of the principal Syrian gods with the cult of the marvellous and beautiful in educated citizen circles. The Jews, too, endeavoured to win over educated Greeks to their church by philosophical assimilation. Greek thought was just on the point of giving birth to a bourgeois mass religion, composed of philosophy, of various types of monotheism and polytheism, of salvation cults (resurrection) which now generally developed into " mysteries ", of the sciences of divination and magic, and of ideas of world citizenship in a kingdom of Nature, humanity, and God, and the one duty of justice and charity ; but at this point, in the first century, the vigour of the second Greek racial mixture was exhausted. Its heritage fell to younger races, to the Latins (Rome), the second Jewish race, and lastly the Hellenic-Oriental which had been in process of formation since Alexander's compaign.

The Greek view of the universe as a connected whole is more difficult to describe than that of older peoples, primarily because we know more about it and can watch the process of development and many of the individuals who played a creative part in it. But of course it is possible to reduce it, too, to simple lines and a formula : Homer saw the universe through the medium of a vivid polytheism with a wealth of differentiated human qualities ; and his view contained the germ of superhuman monotheism (the belief in Fate). From him plastic art and science sprang fully formed and men attained to a completely theoretical and monistic outlook and to the separation of the particular arts and sciences. Then rationalism made way for a new religious movement, and theory for the practical art of life and technical skill. The great march of Greek evolution ended in philosophical monotheism (Plato, Aristotle, Cleanthes), in religious agnosticism, and in doctrines of salvation.

LEARNING

The Greeks borrowed their alphabetical writing from the Phoenicians. That is proved by the names of the characters, which were simply taken over along with them, each beginning with the sound designated, and by their phonetic values, which were changed only where a separate Semitic sound seemed unnecessary. Merchants of both peoples were doubtless the medium of transference ; this is in keeping with the fact that the Greeks only seem to have adopted writing at the beginning of their great commercial colonizing activities (about 700 B.C.), that it was mechanically transferred, with names and values, not in a scholarly manner by the translation of the pictures (in fact a great advantage !), and lastly that the rhapsodists and knights, the representatives of indigenous culture, clearly rejected it as unworthy to be the shrine of exalted learning and great deeds. It was only after the religious movement in the second half of the seventh century (650–600 B.C.), which raised the city bourgeoisie to a position of importance, that writing together with art came to be regarded with more respect and recognized as useful in public life. Treaties and laws were now recorded in writing and names engraved upon sacrificial offerings and tombstones. The Greeks added to the consonant alphabet that they had adopted so as to include vowels and consonants. The introduction of vowel characters was clearly their own invention, and one which completed the alphabet and first made it capable of reproducing on paper the whole phonetic content of all spoken words so that they could easily be read by all. That was a great achievement, equivalent on a higher plane to the development of Babylonian from Egyptian writing. Here, too, the purpose seems to have been practical, not scientific; the greater need for accuracy was taken as it were for granted, for no new characters were invented to designate vowels, but the Phoenician consonant characters were used as vowels (a, ĕ, η, ῐ, ŏ, γ), or two characters were used for one sound (ei = ι; ai = ae; oi = oe; oγ = u; eu); only the "big O,"-ô, was a remodelled Phoenician character. Twelve vowel characters in all sprang up in course of time, a multiplicity with all manner of shades of distinction, the long and short i (i and ei), o and ae (ai and eta), e and ae, ae and oe, u and ue, which were as difficult to strike as the first pure consonants. The characters were untrammelled by any pictorial significance for they had been adopted mechanically with unmeaning names which only indicated the sounds, and this gave rise to almost purely phonetic names for the new sounds, like our a, o, f, g, "o mikron" (little o), phi, khi, psi, and developed subsequently into free application and substitution for various purposes. The Greeks used letters to designate geometrical figures and notes (both had been closely connected with them since Pythagoras) and so invented musical notation. They went further and invented secret codes (magic), and special characters were allotted to the planets. They also invented shorthand.

Their system of numeration, on the other hand, continued to be very primitive. It was a decimal system in which the position of a figure indicated nothing as to its value, but just for that reason it was easy to learn.

Their calendar must originally have been a solar calendar with thirty-day months. In the fully historical period the lunar calendar prevailed, obviously borrowed from Phoenicia with the alphabet. Since the Greeks had reached a higher cultural level and consciously aspired to discover laws, they introduced an intercalary cycle, first interposing a thirty-day month every third year (Solon, 594 B.C.), an inaccurate measure, then proceeding to greater accuracy and intercalating one month each in the third, fifth, and eighth year of an eight-year cycle (Cleostratus, 540 B.C.), and finally attaining perfect accuracy in Meton's (432 B.C.) nineteen-year cycle with seven intercalary months in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth year.

Greek learning begins with the poet of the Wrath and the Homeridae who followed him. Like all the rest of Greek culture, it lay enshrined in the Homeric poems and spread abroad by rhapsodists in unwritten form. The Homeric poems contain a metaphysical doctrine of the nature of the great gods, their relation to Fate to the parts of Nature and to man, and an ethical and political doctrine of right conduct for the nobility, that is, a doctrine of values ; the story of Telemachus in the *Odyssey* embodies a theory of pedagogy, showing how a noble youth should be introduced to the world, in addition to the educational ideals represented by Achilles, Odysseus, and others.

There was a theory of physics, in which the three parts of the universe were assigned to the three chief gods, with an exact description of Olympus, the earth, and the Underworld. Zeus watched over the order of Nature (Nature gods, such as the Sun, the Dawn, and the Winds) and of the human world. Gods and men were free agents of causality (psychologically elaborated) under the jurisdiction of Fate. Further, the whole universe, the sky with the stars and the weather, the disk of earth with the divine mountain as well as other mountains and seas round which the ocean flowed, and the Underworld with its entrance in the west, all were placed in geographic position. The Aegean sea was familiar, besides Troy, Mycenae, and Ithaca. Beyond on every side was only indeterminate distance, where Ethiopia in the south, Thrace in the north, and Sicily in the west, were associated with all manner of legends of lotus-eaters and polar days, and with myths about lands of giants and the dead and the Islands of the Blessed. In psychology the body (the hero himself) was distinguished from the soul (the shade, without strength or consciousness in death), but the separation was not complete, for "body" meant "living man". We can detect a physiological theory of the heart (diaphragm) as the seat of strength and courage and the spirit (*thymos*) as the seat of reflection, cares, and resolves; also the doctrine that the drink and food of life (nectar and ambrosia) were the source of a particular kind of blood (*ichor*) and thence of the gods' eternal vigour and life. The power of the gods was partly explained, of course, as being due to magic, as well as to greater strength and wisdom. A psychological study of character created static types of gods and heroes, differentiated first according to age (Nestor and Priam as old men; Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Agamemnon, and Alcinous as men and women in their full vigour [fifty]; Ares and Aphrodite, Menelaus and Helen, Odysseus and Penelope [aged forty and thirty]; with Hector and Andromache [thirty and twenty-five] in full maturity; Apollo and Athena, Achilles, Patroclus, and Briseis, and Paris as young men and maidens in the bloom of youth; Telemachus at sixteen) and afterwards according to character and temperament; and these types were also examples to youth. To history Homer contributed a reference to the origin of the world from Oceanus, or from the primeval struggles of the gods among themselves and against tryants (Cronos) and giants, and likewise his great picture of the fight of the Greeks and Trojans for Helen, which was bound to end in the fall of Troy.

Hesiod's poems also offer a metaphysical doctrine of the just Zeus and the thirty thousand invisible guardians who serve him, of his righteous will that has bound himself by a moral law, and an ethical doctrine of the right, moral, hard-working, and just life. A philosophy of history developed, teaching that man stood at the end of a process of degeneration leading from the golden to the silver and thence to the iron age, and that he could be saved only by his own moral betterment, for the lot of cities and individuals might be explained in the light of their moral conduct. All this was no longer presented as the philosophic content of a poetic portrayal of great and moving heroic lives, as in Homer, but is contained in short and sometimes personal diadactic poems, and it ends with the didactic epic on agriculture and seafaring, on the appropriate times for them and the best time for marriage, and on the genealogy of the gods. Here the " wisdom " poetry that we have observed amongst the Babylonians and Jews is all-embracing and yet specialized, quite brief, quite personal, and expressive of great zeal for numbers. Without prophetic gestures, in the garb of didactic and denunciatory poetry, Hesiod presents wisdom as the doctrine of a righteous universal God and his law, as science in its most general form, the science of agriculture, and the knowledge of the free peasant (though he is presented as typical of humanity), as the doctrine of the universal reign of moral law and of the important natural laws governing days and numbers. The particular rules of right conduct in morals and in business and professional matters he mentions incidentally.

The Homeridae and the " school " of Hesiod (the very expression denotes the scholarly attitude of these rhapsodists) elaborated the masters' picture of the universe in their own style, as well as the sciences. For instance, in " Homer " the description of the Underworld and the pedagogical methods of Mentor in the story of Telemachus are of late date, as also the extension of the theogony in Hesiod to an endless category of gods. So, too, the list of Greek tribes with their hero kings and the figures given of the size of the fleet and its crews—the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*—are the fruit of late scholarship. The lost cyclic epics and lost portions of Hesiod's didactic poetry must have contained a whole treasury of local variations of the solar legend, a whole genealogy of noble families, and a wealth of fables and moral maxims, cast in epic metrical form.

The religious movement before 600 B.C., which generally brought men nearer to the gods, in the Dionysan exaltation which merged the human soul in the divine, and in Apollo's call to a loftier purity and humanity, gave birth to philosophy as well as to the earliest attempts to transform the world into a home of peaceful justice and prosperity through voluntary pacts (the Delphic Amphictyony ; international law; domestic peace) and codes of law (Solon, Pittacus). Thales came and made the first attempt to conceive and explain the universe as purely natural and homogeneous, regarding it in the first instance as Nature. He laid the foundation of empirical science which takes nothing for granted and seeks to establish a theory of the universe, for he himself set the example by his scientific labours at one point. Metaphysics and physics as an undivided unit were thereby stirred to life.

And now the second scientific era dawned. The investigator or wise man (*sophos*) supplanted the poet, and prose took the place of verse. A universal science, " philosophy," in fact broke away from poetry and developed by annexing one part of the universe after another from the realm of poetry. Thus philosophy aimed at a complete scientific world survey, primarily by treating every subject as Thales treated Nature: he stripped the traditional poetical concepts of the unnecessary anthropomorphic elements (thus the first father of the universe, Oceanus, became the common element water, and the gods were turned into forces) and tried to explain Nature by the resultant more abstract elements and forces, observing natural processes calmly and rationally in order to grasp their essence and their transformations, and paying special attention to regularly recurring phenomena in order to foretell future events (the solar eclipse of 585 B.C.); always he was careful not to falsify experience by fancies, and observation by imagination.

The outcome of this new spirit of scientific investigation was, on the one hand, a series of supreme metaphysical concepts (water—Thales; the boundless—Anaximander; the One—Xenophanes; number, or harmony—Pythagoras; Being—Parmenides), on the other the new science of physics.

Anaximander (610–547 B.C.) was already working with the concepts of warm and cold and with several elements which interacted as opposites. He conceived of them as separating from primeval matter and offered an obscure explanation of becoming and passing away in which " atonement " and " penalty " are the foundation of law. He formed clear mechanical ideas of the nature of the stars and their movements, so clear that he could make a model of the gigantic wheels with holes through which the heavenly fire broke forth, and of the whole dome of the sky with its fixed stars; the various distances of the stars were given as the diameters of the wheels, mathematically clear, though in simple ratios. He also made a model of the earth, a map of the world. His pupil, Anaximenes of Miletus (585–528 B.C.), was really a physicist pure and simple. He dismissed primeval matter, " the boundless " as mere phantasy; everything was to be explained through the rarefaction and condensation of an infinitely extended, simple, omnipresent, and tangible-intangible element; everything was air (a gaseous substance), which is condensed to water (fluid) and earth (solid), and rarefied to fire. The three states of aggregation lay at the heart of his view of the universe, and their varying density and mass explained the position of objects in space. Air was wind (force) and soul (life). So, too, the protagonists or the atomic theory, Leucippus and Anaxagoras (in the fifth century) were almost physicists pure and simple, but their theory of physics presupposes the philosophic doctrine of Parmenides. The first attempt to emancipate a separate science from the domination of philosophy was of short duration. The notions of the elements, the states of aggregation, and density were not enough to enable men to grasp the physical constitution of the universe; new notions were needed and began to develop within the universal mother science, philosophy, as the common property of metaphysics and other branches.

Meanwhile, philosophy had detached a vital part of men's view of the universe from the realm of poetry. The new metaphysics of Pythagoras (570–500 B.C.) and Xenophanes (575–475 B.C.) took possession of the theory of the gods and of virtue and created the sciences of theology and ethics in the religious garb of a doctrine of salvation. Pythagoras followed Thales in eliminating the anthropomorphic elements from the essence of the universe and saw it as beautiful and rational order, numerically determined in simple and pleasing proportions, as cosmos and harmony. Hesiod, and after him Anaximander, paid great attention to mathematics, which was the first pure science to break away from philosophy and its association with metaphysics. Its leading concepts were discovered—the point and line and surface and bodies; speculation began on the relations of the first ten numbers and men perceived that the problem of geometry was to probe the secrets of simple figures and bodies. The application of mathematics to music was discovered (the relation between the length of strings and the pitch of sounds) and to physics (harmony in the relation between the distances of the stars). But at the same time the new outlook on the universe led to the exposition of an ideal of harmony in the individual (health and virtue), in the State (the rule of those who know how to rule; peace and order; education) and in the nation (the divine kingdom of reason). Ethics and politics, hygiene and pedagogy, called for scientific treatment. Whilst showing every respect for the heritage of the past and expressly acknowledging the ancient gods and customs and constitutional form, Pythagoras was an innovator whose aim it was to breed a new aristocracy in the name of a higher divinity and morality. Homer and Hesiod came to be regarded as good for the multitude who could not understand or achieve what the new teaching involved.

Then Xenophanes, the poet-seer, definitely attacked the older poets; he had the zeal of one who offers salvation through the rational and natural gospel of the one God, the moral indignation of one who regards the idea of a visible god as blasphemy, to say nothing of a stealing, cheating, fornicating god, and a bourgeois contempt for everything fantastic and useless. His theological metaphysics acted as a stimulus to the theory of knowledge and through it to the psychology and history of the future; he wanted to sing of the Persians and their repulse, of the foundation of Elea in his own day, and not of Troy and the Titans. But even in the sphere of learning his influence was chiefly felt in his thrusting aside Homer's view of the universe as something belonging to a bygone age, something irrational and immoral, and his demand for a purely scientific and piously natural outlook to supplant it. Everywhere Nature, rationally observed and followed, was supreme. Nature was God, to be merged in Nature was salvation and the highest bliss ; Nature was man, who attains bliss not only in contemplation but in action, in eating, drinking, loving, care for his home and city, and civic virtue.

Pythagoras founded a school. His Brotherhoods not only carried on educational, political, and loftier religious activities, but also conducted research. A whole succession of mathematicians advance the science of geometry ; doubtless the theorem of Pythagoras was discovered by one of them, if not by the master himself. Even Plato learned from the Pythagoreans, though not till Parmenides had influenced the school by his strict and forceful logic. Alcmaeon of Croton was also a Pythagorean, possibly an immediate contemporary and pupil of the master (before 500 B.C.) ; he was the founder of a scientific medical school. He introduced into physiology and pathology the antitheses of cold and warm, dry and moist, with which Anaximander operated in physics. When the opposites are balanced the result is health, when one alone prevails disease appears. According to his teaching the same elements and forces dominate physics and physiology, universal and human nature, and the theory of medicine was treated as part of natural science or physics. In particular, he first localized the soul in the brain and recognized the sensory nerves as channels of sensation. He dissected animals and so made the study and dissection of animals the basis of anatomy and physiology. The earliest writings comprised in the work of Hippocrates (older than Hippocrates himself) sprang from the same scientific absorption in the pure observation of Nature.

Pythagoras and Xenophones also influenced Hecataeus of Miletus (about 500 B.C.). It is true that in the first instance he only did for genealogy and geography what Thales did for natural science ; he swept away unnecessary anthropomorphism and searched for sober facts and knowledge based upon his own observation. But he, too, was strongly and deliberately opposed to Homer. He sought to sweep away the incredible and fantastic, with impossibilities and mutually contradictory traditions. He purified the myths, made them more rational and moral, and introduced harmony and chronological order into the genealogies. Four books of genealogies have survived ; their mythical parts must somewhat have resembled the earliest

Chinese history, in which everything is reasonable and mathematically definite, but pure fiction. A whole school of logographers carried on this labour of recasting the myths in a learned form. The same spirit working with more favourable material produced the earliest geography, a science of peoples and lands, of the Mediterranean coasts and cities, as a substitute for the fantasies of the *Odyssey.* The Chinese, too, were good at describing travels. In China the disciples of Confucius and Lao Tzu sacrificed all their people's myths, down to the last shred, to the cause of reason and morality. Nothing remains but fragments re-interpreted as proofs of the rationality and virtue of the earliest kings and compressed into bare genealogies. In Greece the early rationalist movement followed the same road. Pythagoras and Xenophanes would have liked to see Homer re-written in the same way, as would Heraclitus after them. But meanwhile Homer had become a textbook of civic education, his gods had become city and national patrons of the people, and a more scientific and critical scholarship emerged, beside which the logographers themselves were mere dabblers. So Homer survived the attack of the learned, valued by the citizen classes as an instrument of patriotic education, until at last men were mature enough to attribute a new aesthetic value to his works and so preserve them to the world of scholarship.

The science of the second phase of Greek culture begins with Parmenides and Heraclitus. In philosophy the point of view of pure monism prevailed, and the strict method of logic was discovered and practised. For the first time in human history men learned to contemplate the universe in a fully scientific spirit, free from the fetters of poetry, of Homer and Hesiod. The road was clear for sober research, and that research was conducted without pre-suppositions or the admission of revelation, based solely on perception ; transitory aims were ignored and consequently unnecessary divine and human traits were eliminated ; methodical research was conducted solely with the instrument of natural reason. In the normal course philosophy supplied the general concepts and first principles in each field, sometimes successfully (thus in physics first the four elements [from Thales to Anaximenes] then the atomic concept [after Parmenides] were introduced) ; there followed the study of the particular science by which the philosophic conclusions were empirically tested and modified by quite specialized research, and finally the conclusions of the separate sciences were applied to technical purposes. In Greece philosophy continued to dominate science. That was natural, for in all fields the first steps had to be taken, general lines of study had to be laid down, and the method, the general concepts and principles, discovered for each separate science. It was not till Alexander's day (after 300 B.C.) that the separate sciences attained a limited independence, with the exception of history which followed its own methods as early as the fifth century. Philosophy detached the whole study of the universe from the realm of poetry, but did not leave it altogether free to break up into separate sciences. Not till modern times, since A.D. 1600, has the full liberation of all the separate sciences become possible and actual, together with the full development even of metaphysics, logic, aesthetics (*Bearbeitungswissenschaften*[1]), and of ethics and the theory of non-ethical values (the evaluating sciences). In recounting the history of Greek learning we are therefore obliged to look for most of the sciences within the ambit of philosophy and to follow their progress there. It is only later that we can treat of separate, " exact," specialized sciences.

In the first instance the philosophers established the outlook proper to a scientific contemplation of the universe (in contrasting and balancing theses, by which all new fundamental scientific knowledge comes into being). Xenophanes had expressed in quite general and religious terms the view that the sole object of human investigation was Universal Nature (as the One, the Deity). Man is part of the Universal and finds salvation by merging himself in it through knowledge and right conduct. Parmenides took this as his basis and was the first theorist addicted to dogmatism in practice. Man contemplates Being, the very essence of Nature of which he is a part; this contemplation, without hypothesis or purpose in the vulgar sense, alone of all activities confers bliss. The scholar is essential man, theology recedes, and devotion to God is identified with devotion to learning, whence spring straightway the first general concepts of scientific metaphysics—existence without human intervention, Being and Semblance, Being and change. Heraclitus rejected Being as " intangible entity " and introduced Becoming. Protagoras discovered that all Being is humanly conditioned; it is not absolute existence, but Being presented to the human organism and conditioned by human measure ; all that we know is the product of reason applied to sensual impressions, and the worth of all created things must be tested by reason in relation to its purpose. But for all this shifting of the scientific outlook, which placed man at the centre of the universe as assimilator of experience (" homo-centric " instead of " terra-centric "), Protagoras, like Parmenides, remained dogmatic in practice and far too theoretical, in spite of his introduction of purposes. The criticism of Socrates substituted the fully human and scientific for the dogmatic and theoretical outlook ; man as such is neither the scholar, whose aim is contemplation, nor the man of action pursuing a purpose ; what needs to be inquired into is neither the nature of the universe nor the structure of civilization ; man as such is every man who desires to know the one thing needful, how to act rightly in every case, that is naturally and morally and in such a way as to produce true happiness. Thereby Socrates discovered in his predecessors' propositions the essence of the doctrine of right conduct[1] and expressed it scientifically in the formula in which he states the purpose of all action and declares right understanding to be the way to achieve it. Plato broke through the restriction which confined this formula to daily life and moral conduct, for he made the scientific method of forming concepts which it embodied available over the whole field of knowledge. But therewith the centre of gravity shifted once more to the reign of abstract inquiry or theory, all the more so because the influence of Parmendies revived. Aristotle, who consummated the first system of science, regarded " pure contemplation " or theory as the highest, divine activity which makes the scientist akin to God, but when he developed the various supreme concepts of metaphysics, he did not propound a general theory either of Being as presented to the human organism (*Gegebensein*) or of the doctrine of right conduct. Nevertheless, for the first time in human history man actually attained to a fully scientific outlook and faced the problem of assimilating rationally the whole content of experience in Nature and civilization (but primarily Nature) to serve human ends. " Pure theory," the exclusion of short-sighted hypotheses and purposes, was recognized as having a value and made fruitful. The fact that even its value was conditional could be comfortably overlooked for the time being.

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[1] Professor Schneider uses the term *Bearbeitungswissenschaften* to designate metaphysics, logic, and aesthetics. In his *Metaphysik als exakte Wissenschaft* (Meiner, Leipzig, 119–21) he writes : " *Bearbeiten* in general means to form ideas from perceptions and ideas, and again to make these resultant ideas perceptible to others, to present them as something within the grasp of all " (vol. iii, p. 497). Again, " *Bearbeiten* correctly and generally is to gain a knowledge of the object of human experience in order to make use of it."—*Translator's note.*

The Greeks were the first theorists of the human race in science and art. In every field they rose above the level of mere practice and tried everywhere to discover impartially what is. They eliminated the disturbing human element, whether as divinities and divine commandments, as human institutions and customs, or as immediate advantage ; they gathered simple observations and arranged them under concepts which were likewise the outcome of simple observation. The result was the self-concentration of particular groups and their subsequent union as a single whole. A distinct body of scientific and æsthetic problems arose, and ultimately, too, a higher and more richly endowed practice.

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[1] See my book, *Metaphysik als exakte Wissenschaft* (Meiner, Leipzig, 1919–21) vol. iii.

With metaphysics determining the point of view and framing general concepts, method developed. Parmenides, when he adopted the theoretical point of view and established dogmatically in practice the first sharply defined general concepts, laid the foundations of logic, for he began his work with a plainly evident fact (the first axiom), introduced the first contrast of mutually exclusive opposites, and applied them to science by way of identity, contradiction, and the eliminated middle term. Therewith he initiated the process of strict proof, at first, indeed, very unreliable, because in practice every possibility of misuse lay open and could only be eliminated gradually by a process of theoretical clarification. The intervention of Protagoras was destructive and yet essential to final clarification. Man, as the measure of all things and values, throws principle overboard, values according to advantage and enjoyment, proves what he likes, persuades and deludes ; but words are recognized to be mere labels for facts, free and beautiful, an artistic instrument that can be used for good or ill. The Socratic practice pursued the aim of forming correct and clear-cut concepts in order to determine the course that will really bring happiness in individual cases. Socrates proceeded from the first statement of a right course to test its practical consequences ; based on the results of this examination, he framed a fresh statement, tested again, and so continued, backwards and forwards between hypothesis and experience, until the hypothesis was in harmony with experience and purpose. In addition he originated the method of determining the exact meaning of every word ; he taught men to define. Plato used his method for purposes of scientific investigation, to determine the notion of the particular virtues, and to attain knowledge of the nature of the universe. Aristotle gave final scientific form to the vast material which was handed down to him, amassing yet more by his zealous, systematic labours. A system was built up which was a uniform survey of all human experience in accurately defined concepts of static Being, grouped according to likeness and difference. The Socratic formula and Plato's adaptation of it to the theoretical and practical sciences provided a framework for the whole system in which the most universal sciences (metaphysics) and concepts (form; matter) led on to the more specialized. The ideal to which Parmenides aspired of the oneness of all knowledge is here logically attained without sacrificing multiplicity. In Aristotle's hands the method became an instrument of research and classification. What Parmenides had anticipated by his practical example, what Socrates had consistently practised and taught as technique (the latter, indeed, only partially), was now theoretically defined. The theory of opposites, exclusive or otherwise, of identity, contradiction, and the eliminated middle term, the theory of defining concepts, and, as the outcome of both, the theory of the conclusion, of the true syllogism, and the varieties and causes of the false syllogism, now became part of man's acknowledged intellectual store. This " formal logic " made no advance from the time of Aristotle down to Leibniz and Kant, and even those two great thinkers only made minor additions. It is easy to understand why induction continued to be practised beside formal logic and deduction, without being grasped theoretically or reckoned of equal value : the great problem was to bring the whole mass of material under survey, to fix its internal structure, and that was accomplished by the deductive method of the ageing civilization ; induction was conceived only as a division of labour in gathering material and classifying it under existing general concepts (even in zoology or politics). Aristotle's system constituted the firm nucleus of assured knowledge, whence it was possible to carry on further research in the separate sciences, working exactly and empirically in spheres previously demarcated according to the strict requirements of the method that Aristotle had deliberately established.

Of these, mathematics and physics claim further detailed consideration. Both had developed a certain independent position since the time of Anaximander and Pythagoras. If those who represented them, Anaximenes and perhaps a few Pythagoreans, were called *sophos* and not *physikos* or *mathematikos*, that was only because the conscious realization of the distinction between general and special sciences was of later growth. Since Parmenides philosophy had exercised a fertilizing influence especially on these two sciences by endowing them with axiom and proof as methods of presentation. Philosophy, too, was fostering the germs of future mathematics and physics, which, however, were not destined to develop in the antique world: firstly, there was atomic physics in its purely quantitative (Leucippus) and its qualitative (Anaxagoras) form, rendered possible by Parmenides' distinction between Being (essence) and Semblance, and between unity and plurality; then Heraclitus' doctrine of law governing the course of Nature. Both were made generally known by Epicurus (after Democritus had elaborated them) and the Stoics, but both remained barren, mere tranquillizers in the service of the theories of non-ethical and ethical values. Nor did the mathematical theory emerge that should have accompanied them, dealing with the most delicate movements. The prerequisite of a science of physics capable of stating the mathematical natural laws governing causal sequence was a scientific mastery of the world as static Being. This part of the physical survey of the world also remained within the sphere of philosophy, and little specialized knowledge emerged. Aristotle elaborated it, showing a world moving in perfect and eternal cycles, a world of æther above the moon, and a world containing the four earthly elements; purely mechanical motion was explained by these constantly seeking their place in the whole. Plato's myth of the Creator and his conception of Ideas (form) in matter, and of the best of all possible worlds, was metaphysics and ethics applied to cosmology, not physics. On the other hand, his attempt to identify the elements with regular geometrical bodies attained importance in the modern world as a stimulus to molecular mechanics.

Psychology, as a science concerned with what is, remained wholly within the realm of philosophy. The cognition of Parmenides (Xenophanes) was attributed to thought and sensation. Anaxagoras and Empedocles disputed whether perception springs from the stimulus of like by like or by unlike; Leucippus held that it was due to the emission and reception of tiny atomic images. Protagoras described the soul as a bundle of sensations, and held that thoughts were the result of sensual images. Plato distinguished three faculties of the soul, reason, spirit, and desire. Aristotle described the soul, physical and spiritual, as made up of nutritive and formative powers, powers of perception, desire, and movement, of inference, judgment, and morality. Plato added a metaphysical theory of psychology (a theory of cognition) mythical in character. We find the germs of the psychology of nations and of animals and plants. From

Aristotle's ethics Theophrastus extracted the earliest theory of types of human character.

Aristotle endowed biology with fundamental notions which yielded a general theory of procreation, nutrition, and development (dispositions ; entelechy) and the elements of a survey of existing forms in the plant and animal world. He himself drew up the animal scheme and his friend Theophrastus that of the plants.

Protagoras gave a purely scientific basis to ethics and the theory of non-ethical values, as also to politics. He was the first to write scientifically on the psychology and worth of the virtues (especially on ambition) and on justice and the State. Socrates then sought to distinguish moral conduct that brought true happiness from merely a moral conduct, but was not altogether successful. Plato and Aristotle made it one of their principal tasks to fix the notions of the chief virtues in a system of static Being, treating the question as one of psychology and values, as also to fix the notions of the several forms of political constitution and examine their merits. Epicurus and the Stoics were almost specialists in the evaluating sciences. Epicurus nearly perfected psychological theory of non-ethical values.

Pedagogy likewise remained locked within the confines of philosophy, and, indeed, of a special branch of philosophy, namely politics. Homer had laid the foundation of knightly class education and provided it with models in Achilles, Hector, Odysseus, Telemachus, and in Helen, Andromache, Penelope, and Briseis. In Hesiod these ideals plumbed greater depths of religious morality and civic earnestness. Pythagoras created the philosophical ideal of an intellectual aristocracy as a scholarly ideal of education towards harmony, and Xenophanes that of oneness with divine Nature and of civic rationality, energy, and ability. Both ideals influenced civic education in practice, especially in the democratic city State of Athens which owed to Solon its groundwork of free religious and patriotic sentiment and its extended system of military service, and to Pisistratus the written version of Homer as its educational textbook. During the fifth century the ideal of the harmoniously healthy and virtuous citizen spread to very wide circles. Meanwhile the philosophy of Protagoras dominated pedagogy as well as politics and ethics. For the first time the factors in education and the value of a scientific training to the individual and the community were subjected to inquiry. In the earliest student community gathered around Protagoras a definite course of instruction imparted advanced knowledge and trained the higher faculties; dialectic, rhetoric, and grammar were established as the principal subjects in the curriculum of the future. Plato contributed the cultural ideal of the philosopher aristocrat, perfectly fitted by knowledge and virtue to contemplate God and rule in the State, in addition to that of the knightly guardian and defender of the city State. Lastly, he elaborated an ideal of universal education for all citizens at the expense of the State, and a curriculum graded intellectually and physically according to age. In Aristotle we find beside the cultural ideal of the scholar (theorist) that of the educated, well-to-do citizen in the Hellenic great State, which subsequently developed into that of the educated member of the ruling class, whether as officer or administrator, as scholar or merchant, and likewise as world citizen, who lives only to promote his own true happiness in the Epicurean or Stoic sense. Plato founded the first university, the Academy in Athens, and Aristotle established beside it the first research institute with division of labour, the Lyceum in Athens; thanks to its students Demetrius of Phalerus and Straton of Lampsacus it became the model for the museum in Alexandria, the first State institute of research and education.

Of the three chief subjects of study introduced by Protagoras, dialectic finally remained a part of philosophy in the form of logic. Rhetoric was developed empirically through the example of great political orators, from Pericles and Isocrates to Æschines and Demosthenes, and of great rhetoricians and ethical orators like Protagoras and Gorgias; Aristotle gave it its final scholarly form, without relating it definitely to the system. Grammar likewise owed its origin to the great Sophists; Protagoras distinguished the various kinds of sentence and the tenses of the verb and discussed the articles, whilst Gorgias investigated antitheses, metaphors, and consonances, and Hippias synonyms; Plato and Aristotle fostered it as an aid in the solution of more exalted problems (Plato's Sophist dialogues and Aristotle's categories or forms of predication used for purposes of investigation). It became altogether detached from philosophy, and developed into a distinct exact science.

It seems that Aristotle never drafted his outlines of a "Science of Making" (Poetics), except his theory of the drama. The psychological and logical aesthetics of the drama remained a province of philosophy.

To the science of history, which had attained independence as early as the fifth century, contemporary philosophy contributed only germs whose development was reserved for the modern world. Such was the first scientific theory of the origin of the world from a vortex generated in Chaos by the *nous*, the force of reason (Anaxagoras), or from a number of vortices produced somehow by the fall of atoms (Democritus), or by their deflection whilst falling (Epicurus). Not till Kant put forward his theory of the origin of the solar system was this cosmogony developed and brought within the ambit of exact and specialized research. Protagoras' theory of man's primeval state, of his early inventions and attempts to establish justice and the State, was first developed in Plato's historical and philosophical speculations concerning the division of labour and contract in the earliest times and the cycles of 9,000–10,000 years in which civilization revolved between great natural catastrophes and forms of State organization; but it only came to full fruition in such modern theories as that of State treaties, of the progress of civilization in history, and so on. In all provinces of research Aristotle instituted historical studies for purposes of compilation and survey. Theophrastus wrote *Opinions on Physics*, the earliest work on the history of philosophy; Dicaearchus of Messina laid the foundations of the descriptive history of civilizaton in his *Life in Greece*. The collection of constitutions of almost all the Greek States, instituted by Aristotle, contained the material for a general constitutional history, but Aristotle only used it as a basis for the systematic theorems contained in his *Politics*. The dominant interest was still to survey static Being, even in relation to what moves and grows.

Mathematics stands first among the separate branches of knowledge which were detached from philosophy and developed into strictly specialized sciences in the age of Alexander and his successors. Pythagoras had laid its scientific basis (before 500 B.C.) as the chief element in his philosophy. It even received its name as a fundamental science from the Pythagoreans. It was detached from its material basis by the definition of its fundamental concepts (number, point, line, surface, body, angle, ratio, and magnitude) and their accurate and abstract investigation as something akin to the divine. When Parmenides had propounded and proved the first strict thesis (concerning Being) in philosophy, the new science also took shape. In the Pythagorean school—within the realm of philosophy, that is—during the course of the fifth century the chief theorems of elementary plane geometry were scientifically grasped and stated, besides a few general principles in the theory of number; and a theory of ratios applying both to ratios between whole numbers and incommensurable (irrational) quantities was established. "Geometrical algebra" was associated with geometry; it was a noteworthy forerunner of Descartes' "analytical geometry", which may help us to realize the passage from the concrete treatment of the abstract in antiquity to the abstract treatment of the concrete in the modern era. The infinite and the continuous quantity likewise emerged as fundamental concepts in the Eleatic school (Zeno worked with them), but were carefully avoided by mathematicians. By the end of the fifth century there were in addition to the Pythagorean mathematicians (Archytas) independent specialists who were laying the foundations of advanced geometry. The Sophist Hippias of Elis discovered a curve by which an angle could be trisected and the circle squared. The first complete work on geometry appeared, and mathematics found a place in the curriculum of higher education. Plato, who was keenly interested in mathematics, worked out the analytical method of mathematical proof from the obstetric-dialectic method of the Socratic philosophy. His friend Eudoxus of Cnidus invented the method of *reductio ad absurdum.* His new concept of ratio embraced incommensurable quantities, and he, too, dealt systematically with the *sectio aurea.* Aristotle does not seem to have concerned himself at all with mathematics. But his consummation of the first scientific system and his strictly logical method influenced the science in its beginnings. It was now detached altogether from philosophy, and stood as a model of severely scientific method. Euclid was at work in Alexandria under Ptolemy I (about 300 B.C.). He was known as Euclid of Alexandria and the place of his birth is unknown. He gathered together all the mass of mathematical material in Greece and presented it, systematic, complete, and without a gap, in deductive and synthetic form (starting with postulates and axioms) by the method of strict definition and conclusion. Euclid's *Elements* first gave final and perfect form to one branch of universal science, and have therefore survived as a classic; as an ideal of scientific method, they were a model for other sciences, and as a perfect scientific work they constituted the earliest textbook, a Greek gift to mankind in the province of exact science, and still in use to-day. Euclid himself gave proof of his versatility in the treatment of his subject by presenting the substance of the first six books also in analytical form in the *Data.* The greatest mathematician of antiquity, Archimedes of Syracuse (died 212 B.C.), followed directly after Euclid. In arithmetic he showed how to visualize and present concretely infinitely great numbers (*The Psammites or Sandcounter*) and he devised geometrical methods which produced fruitful results in the mechanical field, and even touched the fringe of the differential and integral calculus. The " infinite " was brought into the service of specialized science. Further, he accomplished the quadrature of the circle and the parabola determined the area of the ellipse, the ratio of the surface of a sphere to its great circle and that of its volume to the volume of a cylinder described round it, and treated fully of the circular cone and spheroid of rotation. Essentially a matter of form, a successful method of presentation, was the achievement of Apollonius of Perga (about 240–200 B.C.) in explaining the ellipse, the parabola, and the hyperbola in terms of the cone, as conic sections. He also investigated the fundamentals of geometry—so near was that science in antiquity to logical completion. However, the achievements of Archimedes were never fully assimilated by the antique world; they were not thoroughly appreciated and consummated till the modern era.

Physics, too, was established by philosophers as a branch of philosophy. In the work of Thales and Anaximander metaphysical and physical general concepts grew up together, detached from the poetical and religious outlook on the universe. The first notions of the elements, the first theory of the issue of the elements from primeval matter, and the first idea of the heavenly machinery were the work of Anaximander. Anaximenes of Miletus was already a pure physicist who based his cosmology on the states of aggregation (solid, liquid, and gaseous), their varying density, and the transmutation from one to another. Pythagoras introduced his notion of harmony into physics. Mathematics was allied with physics and continued to be so closely bound up with it that all the great original mathematicians were also great physicists. Whilst atomic theories and cosmogonies remained within the realm of philosophy, theories concerning the movement of the heavens and the statics and dynamics of solids and liquids were detached, together with mathematics, and their further study conducted by strict mathematical methods as a separate science. Statics and dynamics were the scientific physics of antiquity.

The mechanics of the heavens, explained by Anaximander on the hypothesis of a number of wheels circling round the earth at distances expressed in simple numerical ratios and letting the heavenly fire shine through holes of varying sizes, was first stated mathematically by Eudoxus of Cnidus, Plato's friend. He reduced all " apparent " stellar movements, i.e. those which deviated from the ideal circular motion—to strictly circular movements by means of a system of concentric spheres. It seems, too, that he was the founder of spherical geometry, as well as the author of the first scientific catalogue of stars. It was in vain that Aristarchus of Samos (before 250 B.C.) opposed his strictly mathematical propositions with the hypothesis that the earth and planets revolved round the sun. He made excessive demands on the Greek's powers of abstraction, and his own mathematical equipment was too slight. The great expert of the antique world in astronomical observation, Hipparchus of Nicaea (160–125 B.C.), saw no reason to abandon the theory of Eudoxus. He developed spherical trigonometry, worked out a table of chords, calculated the length of the solar year and the equinoctial and solisticial points, and determined the orbits of particular stars more accurately; in so doing he discovered the precession of the equinoxes and drew up a catalogue of between eight and nine thousand fixed stars. About the same time (150 B.C.) Seleucus of Seleucia observed the influence of the moon on the tides. The account of astronomy given by Claudius Ptolemy (about A.D. 130), which became the classical textbook of the next 1,500 years, was based upon Eudoxus and Hipparchus.

Anaximander in his day had tried to make an exact model of the earth within the universe. Eudoxus declared that the circumference of the earth was 400,000 *stadia*.[1] But Eratosthenes of Cyrene (275–195 B.C.), the third principal of the library at Alexandria, described the surface of the earth with mathematical accuracy and divided it into degrees, besides being the first to measure degrees with scientific accuracy. He was thus the founder of scientific geodesy.

Archytus the Pythagorean is said to have laid the foundation of mechanics, but it was Archimedes (died 212 B.C.) who raised it to the rank of an exact, mathematical science. His *Elements of Mechanics* contained the principal thesis concerning the static moments of forces (" Give me a fulcrum on which to rest, and from it I will move the earth "), with proof of its truth, besides investigations into the position of the centre of gravity in triangles, parallelograms, cylinders, and cones. His work *On Bodies Floating in Liquids* originated hydrostatics by examining the problems of specific gravity. He is said, too, to have invented the compound pulley, the worm and wheel, the water-screw, and the burning-glass.

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[1] The *stadium* was about 200 yards, the course for a foot-race.—*Translator's note.*

He carried on research in optics and discovered the first thesis of catoptrics about the refraction of rays, but no further advance resulted. So, too, the researches conducted by Ctesibius of Alexandria (before 250 B.C.) into air-pressure was only put to technical use, and did not lead to a clear understanding of the true nature of the processes. Scientific achievement had reached its limit. Applied science used previous discoveries for the construction of military engines and machines used in building, and for mechanical devices and toys (automata). The textbook of applied mechanics that held the field down to the sixteenth century A.D. was the work of Hero, a professor of the second century B.C. in Alexandria.

Philosophers also attempted to include medicine within their sphere. But medicine was a practical science, its theory was many-sided and difficult to grasp, and it received little from philosophy except the exhortation to observe accurately and exclude false assumptions (Thales). Practical medicine did not benefit at all from the formulas of Pythagoras and Alcmaeon of Croton. In the compilation which bears the name of Hippocrates of Cos (460–377 B.C.) philosophy is actually repudiated as useless, especially the teachings of Empedocles. We have descriptions of diseases and accounts of their progress based on close observation, the beginnings of statistics of mortality, indications of finer methods of examination (auscultation) and a purely empirical therapy, by which excellent results were attained in the field of surgery (broken legs, dislocations, the treatment of wounds, as well as anal fistulas, hæmorrhoids, bleeding, and amputations at the joint) and in diet (for invalids, healthy people, and special occupations). There was an anatomical theory which comprised fairly clear ideas of the chief intestines, vessels, and nerves, and was based upon the dissection of animals (Alcmaeon) and occasional examination of the wounded or the dead, and a physiological theory of the four chief humours (blood, phlegm, and yellow and black gall) which was associated on a purely natural basis with the elements and the seasons and held to account for the different temperaments and diseases. The demonological explanation of epilepsy was rejected as too human. Climate and soil, too, were expressly mentioned as factors in health in the book *On Airs, Waters, and Places*. Everywhere clear reason was dominant, natural explanations, cautious observation, and an obvious fear of over-hasty or superstitious assumptions. After Aristotle had set up a general scientific ideal of strictly methodical research, and had written his special works on the anatomy and physiology of animals, medical scholars at the time of Alexander set to work afresh in their own special field. Herophilus of Chalcedon (about 300 B.C.), the physician in ordinary to Ptolemy I, and Erasistratus of Ceos, his adversary, the physician in ordinary to Seleucis I, advanced anatomy by constant dissection. Exact descriptions were now given of the brain, the sensory and motor nerves, the eye, the interior of the heart, the duodenum, the lymphatic ducts, and the sexual organs. Herophilus, who was primarily a physician, developed the diagnosis of the pulse, and Erasistratus, who was primarily a surgeon, came very near to the theory of the circulation of the blood. For the rest, they attacked one another violently, for one referred everything to disturbances of the humours and the other to errors of diet, one tried to cure everything by medicine, the other by diet. The medical science of antiquity had reached its limits. It had attained a static, anatomical knowledge of the form of the organs, the beginnings of a physiological explanation of movement, besides an empirical description of disease, prognosis, and therapy. Not till the modern era was the subject studied wholly from the causal point of view with the help of experiments and vivisection, through which, and through the microscope, a science of anatomy, physiology, and pathology were created which provided a genuine basis for correct medical treatment.

Just as the Greeks lacked a strictly scientific and complete theory of medicine, so they had no science of jurisprudence. It is true that politics, the theory of the State and constitution, was, as we have seen, a principal branch of philosophy. But interest was concentrated in "the best possible State", that which best fulfilled its divine or human purpose. They inquired, too, into the nature of justice, both as natural right and as statute law, and into the object of punishment (Protagoras and Hippias), but these were no more than theoretical discussions. They had dialectic and rhetoric, represented by speeches pleading the cause of particular accused persons, but they did not discuss and define strictly the principles of law and jurisprudence. Though Greek law and constitutions naturally passed though a process of evolution which can be traced in philosophy and in the monuments, there was no real jurisprudence, understood as a science of legal interpretation, such as the Romans possessed, but only unwritten practice. According to Cicero, Theophrastus, Aristotle's friend and pupil, also compiled a collection of laws. But there were no legal commentaries.

On the other hand a critical school of philology and lexicography sprang up once more in Alexandria, following in Aristotle's footsteps. It was founded by Zenodotus of Ephesus (who was the first principal of the library in Alexandria from about 320 to 280 B.C.). He used the manuscripts in the library in order to bring out the first scholarly version of Homer's works. Homer was no longer used as the sole educational textbook ; he had been made almost impossible by the more scientific requirements in education (the Sophists) and moral scruples (Plato), but was rescued by Aristotle who taught men to appreciate his poetry as a work of art ; and now in the atmosphere created by the newly founded library he was first "edited" with strict scholarly care.

Callimachus of Cyrene (310–238 B.C.) was the founder of the new bibliographical science. A system of classifying and editing books developed from the organized libraries of Aristotle and his disciples and the library methods of the Orientals, especially the Babylonians. Callimachus wrote the first systematic catalogue of the Alexandrian library in 120 volumes ; it was the first complete survey of Greek literature, arranged according to subject and author and chronology. It was reproduced in book form.

His two successors, the third and fourth principals of the Alexandrian library, Aristophanes of Byzantium (253–180 B.C.) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (215–143 B.C.) established the ideal of scholarly and critical editing by their own practice. These first "Grammarians" (so-called because they devoted scholarly attention to literature, the *grammata*) determined, by their choice of books worthy of scholarly editing, what were to be "classics" and descend to posterity : Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Pindar, the three great tragedians with Aristophanes, and Plato. Aristotle was still too recent. Aristophanes of Byzantium introduced the signs for syllabic quantity and punctation into the texts. He added introductions and critical notes (*scholia*) to the purged texts, and he was the author of the first great dictionary (*lexeis*). His pupil Aristarchus of Samothrace left some eight hundred critical and explanatory commentaries on the works of Greek poets. His versions of the texts are still authoritative. Nothing proves their excellence more irrefutably than the fact that among many hundred newly discovered Homeric lines there is not one that fills a gap in the version of Aristarchus. His freedom of judgment is shown by his admission of Archilochus to the ranks of the classics. His terminology and his philological and substantive annotations probably formed the chief intellectual store of later grammarians.

Dionysius Thrax made the earliest systematic compilation of material for a science of language in the first century B.C.; it had been collected by the great Sophists from Protagoras onwards, then by Plato, incidentally by Aristotle, and finally by the philologists of the Alexandrian age in the course of their professional work as editors. Dionysius Thrax was the author of the earliest Greek grammar.

Greek philosophy is concerned with Being, with the enduring essence of the universe. It contains only the faint beginnings of a philosophy of history. Nevertheless, it exercised a strong influence on the study of history.[1] Hecataeus of Miletus (about 500 B.C.) was influenced by his fellow countrymen Thales, who aimed everywhere at sweeping away false hypotheses and only admitting actual fact; doubtless, too, he was influenced by Xenophanes, who rejected the fantasies of the epic poets. Under these influences he dealt critically with the genealogy of the Heraclids and his own, sweeping away "the many and ridiculous fables" or reinterpreting them rationally and establishing an ordered chronological scheme. It was not he, however, but Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484–426 B.C.) who was the founder of scholarly "research" in the province of history, of *historia*. Herein his method was influenced by the Eleatic school, and his critical sense was rendered sharper by the vigorous distinction between Being and Semblance and the keen logic of Parmenides and Zeno. He only wished to write the history of the last seventy years before his own birth, for which eye-witnesses and the memory of the living were available, and he prepared himself for the task by extensive travels. So the first scholarly historical work came into being, following all the lists of kings, annals, and chronicles of pre-scientific peoples (and even those were made perfectly accurate and complete in the hands of the Greeks); it is a homogeneous work which selects and treats of a great subject, a problem of the utmost importance to the nation and to world history. In choosing his subject and the method of treatment he was partly moved by his own enthusiasm and partly influenced by Homer's *Iliad* in the version of Pisistratus as an example of the Greeks' struggles against barbarians, by the *Persae* of Aeschylus with its historical philosophy of the just and ruling Deity, and by Xenophanes' appeal to sing the heroic deeds of good citizens instead of the battles of Titans and civic strife. The Persians advanced like an avalanche to enslave the last free communities in the world; but God was against them on the side of the few and the vigorous. The course of world history was changed, the world-domination of the

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[1] Compare my book *Philosophie der Geschichte* (Hirt, Leipzig, 1923).

Persians at an end, the Greeks liberated their brothers. "The deeds of men do not pass away, the great and marvellous deeds of Greeks and barbarians are not without fame." History investigates and records them justly and impartially. Thucydides of Athens (about 460–400 B.C.) demanded still more critical scholarship. He, too, was influenced by philosophy. He followed Pythagoras in cautiously thrusting the Deity into the background, in explaining all historical events by the nature of man, and in his doctrine of the development of civilization from savagery through the force of human endeavour. Gorgias helped to form his style. But he shared the gloomy outlook of the poet Euripides, seeing blind passions everywhere at work and prevailing over reason and morality. He made of the Peloponnesian war, which he described as one who lived through it, an example of human nature, showing the storm of passion exhausted and the forces of reason at work in the State and the multiplicity of States, causing States to arise and grow and collapse. Following the eternal drama of world history deflected by divine dispensation and human arrogance and courage (Aeschylus-Herodotus) came the eternal drama of human forces influencing the course of history (Euripides-Thucydides). Here was the consummation of history as purely natural, psychological elucidation, a source of instruction to thinkers and students of human nature, but also to politicians. Then followed the first division of the whole course of Greek history into four eras, and its explanation by purely natural causes, and the first exact account of the requirements of critical historical research. Polybius of Megalopolis (210–127 B.C.) belonged to the age of strictly specialized knowledge, being a contemporary of Aristarchus, the philologist, and Hipparchus, the astronomer. He also wrote of what he himself had experienced, often on the spot, in the Roman headquarters ; it was history at first hand, "pragmatic history," telling of the work of great diplomats and generals, instructive to others of their profession ; and he himself played a part in it as a great statesman. For he tried in his book to prove to his fellow-countrymen that Tyche, Fate herself, was resolved on the world domination of Rome, but that within the Roman empire Greek culture could and must become dominant. As the first great professor of history he also introduced the definite reckoning of time in Olympiads (in rivalry with the Roman reckoning from the foundation of the city) ; he compiled masses of instructive material of all kinds, and did not overlook the value of history to the individual, teaching him to endure and master his own fate in the contemplation of the many and changing destinies recorded. Plutarch of Chaeronea (A.D. 45–125), a child of the second phase of Greek culture, followed the three great founders of historical scholarship at a much later date ; he was hardly a great historian but rather a great collector and shaper of biographical records, especially anecdotes ; these he used for his personal character studies of heroes, in each case placing a Greek and a Roman side by side and comparing their virtue and their achievements in war and statesmanship. He glorified historical heroes in contrast with Homer's and Virgil's imaginary heroes. His work is a masterpiece which has survived through the centuries and exercised great influence right down to the nineteenth century through the great and simple human quality of its characters and its unadorned, stimulating, and entertaining style. With this work the cultural centre of gravity shifted once more from Rome to the East. We may wonder whether Plutarch was the last scion of an exhausted race, highly gifted with formative power and the spirit of culture, or the first of the new Byzantine fusion, a herald of the approaching first prime of the Alexandrian race.

LITERATURE

At the threshold of Greek civilization stands Homer, the poet of the Wrath. In an epic poem on *The Wrath of Achilles*, he laid the foundation of the new Greek outlook on the universe. The epic was the first branch of poetry to flower in Greece, created and fostered by Homer and the Homeridae. After the poet of the Wrath came the author of *The Song of the Homecoming of Odysseus*. Nameless like him were the succeeding rhapsodists who for two centuries produced the heroic lays of the epic cycle which were the richest poetic expression of the sacred legend of the sun-god, his adventures and his death, his return either in person or in his offspring embodied in many and various local forms. But the epic metre or hexameter, consisting of long lines with a caesura in the middle (resembling the Babylonian and Judaean, except that now the stressed syllables were not merely counted, but the new factor of long and short quantity came into play) was not used only for heroic songs. As in Babylonia and Judaea, this was at first the metre used in all the loftier types of poetry. In the hands of Hesiod and his school it was the metre used in purely didactic poetry on the nature of God, the mysteries of primeval days (the ages; Prometheus), and works and days in agriculture and seamanship, and in the genealogical catalogue of gods. But personal denunciatory poems and fables likewise took the same form. So, too, the later "Homeric hymns" (600 B.C.), (short divine epics used as a pious introduction to heroic lays) as well as the actual hymns of worship in the seventh century, were written in hexameters. The hexameter was a universal metre, like the Babylonian-Judaic long line. The uniform metre was appropriate to the one God; it preceded monotheism by a little (Babylonia), accompanied it (Judah), and still prevailed when the transformation of monotheism began. But by the middle of the seventh century the iambic and elegiac metres were taking their place beside it as the medium of more personal, lyric poetry.

The subject matter of Homeric poetry, like that of Babylonian and Jewish epics—the latter only surviving in a prose version—had its source in the Neolithic solar religion. The story of the New Year victor—his marriage, his grievous death by treachery, the reign of the murderer and tyrant, the secret birth of the avenger child and his growth and the dangers that he meets—has been given more varied forms by the Greeks than by any other people. One reason may be that they already knew Cretan variations, and may have brought some with them from their northern home more elaborate than the older solar peoples. But the finest achievements in this process of diversification were their own. From vaguely defined local sun-heroes, dying gods and oracular gods, fetishes and the forefathers of noble families, the Homeric rhapsodists created all the living treasure of heroic characters in whose history every possible variety of simply human and symbolically seasonal relation between the persons in the solar legend was elaborated and individualized. Later the great tragedians took up the task of elaboration once again, and we can watch how in the fully historical period old plots that had never acquired absolute fixity of form underwent further modification; sometimes the new version was profounder, sometimes only more ingenious and modern. This one sacred legend contained the germ of every natural and social relation, whether humanly moving or revolting to all mankind, between hero, friend, and enemy, mother, child, husband, and wife, and of all perversions of Nature (treachery and incest); we can best realize how diverse are its epic forms by simply enumerating the the principal heroes of the epics; Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector; Odysseus, Penelope, and the suitors; Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Orestes, and Iphigenia; Oedipus, Jocasta, and their children;

Menelaus, Helen, and Paris; Ajax and Odysseus; Phaedra and Hippolytus; Medea and Jason. The divine epics, too, were more fully elaborated than in Babylonia—the tale of the birth of the Twins of Delos and Apollo's New Year victory, the wiles of the child Hermes, and Demeter's journey to Eleusis, were all unique and cast in a new mould—but compared with the heroic epics the divine epics were meagre. Further development was checked by a growing sense of the Deity's holiness and his withdrawal into remote regions of celestial glory and righteousness, whilst the natural and human interest in men, their varied characteristics and relations, their virtues and their sins, grew continually stronger. First the epic poets of Greece and then her tragedians quite exhausted the human and philosophic treasure contained in the sacred solar legend—even in the sphere of imagery and art, as we shall see.

There is no difficulty in recognizing Achilles and Odysseus as dying sun-gods like Hercules or Gilgamesh and Enkidu, if we review their whole story. The name of " Achilles " contains the idea of " growing dark ", and he may actually have been " *Achlyeus* ", " he who obscures himself "; certainly he was the Peliad, the son of Pelia (not Peleus) the " dark woman ". He grew up in a strange land hidden away and surrounded by women in order to evade a danger threatening his life. At last his time arrived. He armed himself and emerged as a glorious hero, set forth in search of heroic adventures with his friend Patroclus, conquered Thebes, won the woman, and set out for Troy. There his friend fell and left him mourning deeply and without arms. But he managed to arm himself again and avenge his friend. Then his fate was fulfilled. In the bloom of youth he fell by the treacherous arrow of Paris and descended sullenly to the Underworld, there to be a king, but a feeble shade, devoid of consciousness. Odysseus' original name was " *Ulixes* ", and the Latin form is the purer, as in the case of Hercules. Possibly the name means " diminished, made small " (*olizein*), the wily sun-child who manages to escape his enemies' toils until the day of his power dawns. His westward wanderings, to the end of the world, are a whole collection of journeys to the Land of the Dead in every possible variation. He journeys to the Land of Forgetfulness (the Lotophagi and Lethe) and of the Northern Night (the Laestrygones), to the soul-birds (sirens), the enchantress who metamorphosed souls (Circe), and the Hidden One (Calypso) on the remote islands, to the seamen of the dead who only sail away from their Blessed Island by night, and to the sun-god himself and his oxen. He escapes death which lurks for him in the cave of Scylla with her twelve dogs' heads and in the whirlpool of Charybdis that devours everything; he even finds his way back from the Underworld. As the young sun-hero he blinds the giant " Round-eye " in the mountain-side, just as Theseus overcomes the Minotaur in the labyrinth. From twelvefold death, like Hercules, he returns home at last to Ithaca. He enters his house disguised, and finds his enemies and the wife who has remained faithful to him. When the time is fulfilled he comes forth and recovers his weapon, the bow, stretches it, and pierces the twelve axes as lord of the year. His enemies fall by his hand and the victorious hero resumes mastery of his house.

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* contained the whole story of the sun-hero twice over. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it is divided: Achilles is only the youthful, dying, glorious hero. Odysseus only the hero who returns victorious from death. Indeed the poet voluntarily limited his subject matter much more narrowly. The wanderings of Odysseus are a mere interpolation ; the original nucleus only described his actual home-coming (without the episodes of Telemachus and the Phaeaces). And *The Song of the Wrath of Achilles* only described a few days of Achilles' life, those in which his doom was sealed by the loss of his friend and his vengeance on Hector. Here is something that is lacking in the Babylonian and Jewish epic—poetic exuberance. A small part of the solar legend, carefully chosen indeed, was enough for the poet, and his perfect art seized the most fruitful moment in it. From this germ he evolved a complete picture of the hero and his environment ; all that was thrilling and moving in his lot was tellingly set forth in a plot of the utmost simplicity ; indeed the plot of *The Song of the Wrath of Achilles* belongs almost to the inner world of the spirit. In all that was added to the nucleus in extending the *Wrath Song* to the *Iliad* and the *Home-coming* to the *Odyssey*, there is nothing indispensable nor anything that could weaken its unique power. Even Goethe could not portray the death of Achilles or the love of Nausicaa after Homer. We have no need to see Achilles die, for his death is contained in his farewell to Priam. We cannot see Odysseus lingering with Nausicaa ; even in the *Odyssey* he is much too long with the Phaeaces and must go on to Ithaca to fulfil his destiny.

The plot of the Wrath poem as well as that of Odysseus' home-coming is purely human. We might cut out the gods, whether symbolizing impersonal Fate or intervening personally, and, though the plot would be rather less varied and vivid (Athena), it would remain essentially unaffected. The doom of mortality which hangs visible and to be fulfilled at an appointed time over Achilles, as it hangs over all men invisible and indeterminate, is only felt as the melancholy common to all mankind, and the hero accepts and hastens it under the impulse of passion and duty to his friend, just as every brave man accepts and hastens it when honour calls and passion once has him in its grip. For that is what happens to Achilles: he, the most glorious hero, the prototype of knightly discipline and temperance, cultured as a man and a courtier, falls a victim to anger and passion. The occasion is an act of injustice and tyranny by the leader, Agamemnon. In resisting it Achilles keeps himself under disciplined control, and both law and custom are entirely on his side. Nevertheless he has abandoned himself to intemperate passion; he is angry and deserts the cause of his people. He nurses his anger in spite of the amends soon offered, even though he suffers under his own inactivity and the defeat of the Greeks. He desires full satisfaction for the insult offered to him and vengeance upon Agamemnon even at the cost of injuring the Greeks. And " Zeus ", his absence from the fight, procures him vengeance enough, passion drinks its fill, honour is saved, but his friend Patroclus falls a victim to it, though Achilles had warned him anxiously to do no more than repulse the enemy. Patroclus falls a victim to the same youthful excess, the same thirst for honour and glory, only he is swept away in the battle. On the seashore at night Achilles laments his lost friend and his own doom, now approaching and inescapable. Then he enters the fight as the fierce avenger of his friend, freely sacrificing himself for his own honour. Hector falls and blood is avenged by blood. The aged Priam comes to redeem the defiled body of his son, the defender of Troy, and both, the aged man and the young hero, the bereaved father and his son's murderer, weep together over man's lot, which even for the most glorious is but fame and death, honour and the laments of unhappy parents for their children. Fate rules, the gods fulfil her behest, frustrating and helping the heroes according to their hatred and love; but at bottom it is man himself who moulds his own fate, following passion or honour or egotism with open eyes, in spite of warning, and hastening his own end. Such is man; he sees and knows and acts deliberately and misses the right moment to change his course. He aspires to prove his worth, earns honour and fame—and brings death to himself and his friend. This is something more than Gilgamesh with his realization of death and his ultimate resignation, more than the submission or defiance of the Jewish heroes towards God. Achilles knows how to die and submits to God as a matter of course. His conflict is only with himself, with his character as a human being and a young, passionate hero, and he resolutely takes upon himself the consequences of his humanity and his passionate nature. We are close to the realm of tragedy, but submission to Fate without accusation and argument is no more tragic than submission to a God. Yet the problem of Achilles recurs in Greek history, hardly any nearer solution, in Themistocles and Alcibiades and Pausanias.

The central theme of the *Odyssey* story is also purely human and grand, though less profound and wide in its significance. Odysseus, the cunning and brave, is what Achilles could not be for long, the divine sufferer, always prudent, always temperate, and unshakable under the blows of Fate. So he struggles through a thousand deaths, through the torments of Poseidon and the consequences of his companions' follies and lusts, till he reaches home, and there achieves his final aim in defiance of superior might and treason in his own house. A man of ability and energy carries off the victory, but he must be patient, ingenious, and brave, and then Fate is on his side and wife and child are restored to him. It is a parallel to the *Romance of Job*, but the problem is stated on a higher plane.

Man's character, his ability, his energy moulds his fate. These characters were still somewhat in the nature of types, in spite of a variety and freedom that belongs to a plane above the Jewish. There were types of particular ages, with the corresponding merits and faults: Achilles, the youth, who is stung by an insult to his honour, by the loss of a girl and a friend; Odysseus, the man who knows how to master Fate, by cunning, energy, and patience, and who wins very tangible prizes as the friend of gods and men; Agamemnon, the ruler of nations, wise, dominating, but ruthless and arrogant from the habit of established authority; Nestor, the aged man, wise and garrulously vain, as is characteristic of advanced age—for each the path of destiny is irrevocably marked by his ego, statically conceived as a type of age and character; for even here there is no development. That is true even of Hector, the honest defender of his native city, the hero without brilliance and untroubled by the problem of Achilles. And the other heroes, those whom the poet of the Wrath did not himself portray, are not mere types, but fully and vividly alive—the grand kings and fine courtiers and the lady—Alcinous, Menelaus, Paris, Telemachus, and Helen—the sturdy warriors—Ajax, Diomedes, and Aeneas—the good women—Penelope and Nausicaa—and the representatives of the populace—

the divine swineherd and the false goatherd. One only is utterly distorted, the very soul of all that is vulgar and ugly, a mere contradiction of the beautiful and good: Thersites, the cowardly and abusive scoundrel and agitator. That is remarkable, for one mark of Homer's elevation above the Babylonian and Jewish plane is his inclusion of comic features in great poetry; they are still rather stiff, and take the form of rough and masterful jests at the divine court (Hephaestus as lame cup-bearer and cuckold who traps Ares and Aphrodite and exposes them) and at the court of the suitors in Ithaca; nevertheless, they are held worthy of presentation. But Thersites is regarded in a political light as the enemy of kings, not their fool.

In the Homeric poems similes enhanced the decorative effect and vividness of description in the great portrayals of divine and heroic lives. Babylonian and Jewish poets used comparisons, especially in lyric poetry and the wisdom literature (which in the case of the Jews was decidedly later than Homer); but decorative epithets were rare and the similes as ineffective as in our proverbs. It was the Homeridae who first gave each object and creature a characteristic epithet, based upon a wealth of natural observation. They were the first who had the freedom and poetic power to elaborate a condition or situation in a simile, certain that their audience would not regard it as a digression but would appreciate it as a necessary elucidation and enhancement of the action. It is in these elaborate pictures that we are first fully conscious of the augmented powers of observation developed on the new plane. Nature in all its grandeur (the sky and the sea in storm and calm) and in its minutiae (the flight of birds and the lives of animals), the experience and observations of herdsman and hunter, reaper and woodcutter, warrior and seaman, are delineated in firm and simple lines (as richer types) and pressed into the service of poetic description. Nature and human life, and man's life in Nature, are put to far more diverse purposes of imagery and the expression of moods than, say, in the *Song of Songs*. Man does not only seek out Nature under the influence of love, he lives with her constantly. He no longer looks to her for omens and forecasts, but for symbols of his own moods. He exploits her as hunter, farmer, and herdsman, and at the same time enjoys her as an artist. And his life in the town and country, in the nation and the family, also supply him with similes. Just as Hector's farewell is movingly and grandly portrayed, so the crying child clinging to his mother's skirts is a picture in miniature; and as Achilles and Priam lamenting symbolize the lot of man in the central story, so does the child playing on the sands in a swift, passing smile.

Quite a new feature in poetry is that of the speeches. In *Gilgamesh* we have accounts of man's origin, with queries about the way to life and answers, or interpretations of dreams, and in Job a discussion of ultimate problems. But these are different ; they are speeches in the council of princes or before the people, skilfully framed for their purpose and in keeping with the speaker's character. The heroes live in a community and no longer wander in solitude. Business is settled in speeches and there is an art of rhetoric and persuasion. There are battles, not mere duels, though the duels are still the most important part of the battle and always open with abusive speeches, as with Enlil and Tiamat.

The Homeric epic was the consummation of this branch of poetry. " Naive " poetry, to follow Schiller's classification, attained in him to its first and unsurpassable heights ; it was ripe for the portrayal of natural humanity embodied in divine and heroic figures that were capable of inspiring courtly society and the earliest free citizen communities as ideals. On the threshold of a new artistic and natural era, these Homeric characters, as the poet depicts them, stand sublime and beautiful, great and moving, lifelike yet of strong and simple stamp, free, yet not unbridled.

Side by side with Homer, Hesiod is of importance as the originator of a new outlook on the universe which amounted almost to full monotheism and a gospel of sober industry. In addition he was the author of a number of new forms of minor poetry in epic metre. He was the first to stand out forcibly as an individual, a prophet sanctified by the Muses, and the teacher of his brother Perses. To this brother he constantly appealed in denunciatory and didactic poems, trying to recall him to piety and virtue and industry. In short poems he expounded the nature of the Deity and how he ruled the world, the history of " Forethought " (Prometheus) and his brother " Afterthought " (Epimetheus) who, one through deceit and the other through frivolous desire, brought evil upon mankind. These were the first parables. In the earliest all-embracing didactic poem in the history of mankind, the *Works and Days,* he treated first of God, the primeval era, man, evil, and labour, and then of the science of agriculture. He produced the first fable, a warning to kings against oppressing the weak ; proverbs are scattered in the text, chiefly on the theme of virtue as being laborious but profitable, and of the necessity of observing appropriate times.

To the older forms of wisdom literature, the maxim and fable, was added the new mythological parable (also a kind of elaborate simile), the exhortation to labour, and the personal denunciatory poem. In every field Hesiod attained a higher level than the Jews, in the brevity of his theological teaching and the vigour of individual development, in his doctrine of labour and in the wider sweep of his maxims of right conduct so as to include agriculture and seamanship, in his introduction of an element of mathematical natural law, and in the purely natural character of his moral doctrine, notwithstanding his belief in God as watchful guardian.

Homer, the poet of the Wrath, must have lived in the eighth century; the golden age of the Ethiopians in Egypt, whom he knew as specially favoured by Zeus, was about 730–715 B.C. under Shabaka, whom Herodotus also mentions as a kindly prince. If he had been born about 750, then the two great classic poets who followed him, the author of the *Home-coming* in the *Odyssey* and Hesiod, must have been born between 750 and 700 (on the analogy of the birth of the great classic poets of other civilizations and of the three Greek tragedians, 525–480 B.C.). The Homeric poems as we possess them were given their final form under Pisistratus in Athens. Nor can the offering of a *peplos* (robe) to Trojan Athena have been interpolated in the *Iliad* before the first temple to Athena on the Acropolis was built by Pisistratus and the ceremonial of her new chief festival established.[1] It is possible that the first subjugation of the Ionians by the Persians (540 B.C.) gave its strongly nationalist character to the final version of the *Iliad*.

The great epic poets were followed by a number of lyric poets of considerable importance. They are later and easier to trace than Homer and the Homeridae. Their names have been handed down, and their more personal poems tell us something of their period and surroundings and their own lot. They contributed much that was new to poetry in form and subject matter. The new distinction between long and short syllables introduced in the hexameter (instead of simply counting the stressed syllables) diversified the metres employed: iambic and trochaic, anapaestic, dactylic, and spondaic feet were distinguished and combined by the poets to create new measures. The elegiac measure grew out of the hexameter, and consisted of couplets (distiches) with a hexameter and a pentameter. Archilochus used the trimeter of three iambic measures and the tetrameter of four trochaic measures, and evolved from them new forms of the long line and strophe. Choric lyrics made their appearance, with their strophes and antistrophes and epodes (Alcman, 600 B.C., and Stesichorus), and the multiform lyrics of Alcaeus (600 B.C.). Many and diverse poets produced diversity of metre and strophe which was deliberately encouraged as men's logical and artistic powers evolved ; this diversification came to be treated almost as a problem and the process was carried to its clear and ultimate conclusion by devising particular forms for particular subject matter. The folk-song had nothing to offer these poets any more than it had to the authors of the *Song of Songs* ; it always follows after literary poetry, alike in form and substance. Just as simple love had first to be given form by great poets in the *Song of Songs*, so in Greece, the first songs of patriotism and friendship, the first lullaby and the first child's song had first to be sung by great poets before there could be folk-songs on the same subjects ; and creative minds were specially needed to fashion the new, free, variegated form and overcome the dependence on mere counting as a basis of rhythm. The Jews had psalms and love songs, individual prayers and the dallying of an individual pair of lovers accompanied sympathetically by a chorus of the daughters of Zion. Among the Greeks the individuals were more personal and yet more firmly and variously united with their fellows. A civic community life grew up ; poets sang of the fatherland as the possession of all citizens ; war songs received a lofty sanction, for warriors served their country. True, civic strife and party conflict also found their way into the lyric : we hear songs of hatred or of triumph over an adversary overthrown, and lamentations of the banished, just as in the *Psalms*, but not in the service of Yahu. Some of these songs were instruments of political agitation, in fact journalism. In the clans and army brotherhoods of men who went to war together and eat, took counsel, and exercised together at home, friendship grew up ; it took the form of familiar comradeship, the reverence of the younger for the older who were their models in all manly virtues, and the inspiring condescension of the elder to the younger in their still malleable youth. Poetry was enriched by a new treasure-house of human values besides, incidentally, human aberrations, whereas there is no single mention of friendship in Jewish lyric poetry. In the circle of friends, moreover, songs of comradeship and even drinking songs received a lofty sanction. Naturally religious hymns were not ousted by these new and lofty lyric types. New warmth was breathed into them by the religious movement of the seventh century ; the choric song emerged, both as a marching song and as the central artistic performance at peaceful festivals in honour of the gods with the processions and dances that were also sacred to the fatherland. The love-song, too, survived, but marriage was no longer the scene of its creative triumphs. Sappho wrote her great hymn to Aphrodite for the man to whom she was linked by free love, and devoted her jealous love and care to the young maids, her friends, whom she was training for marriage. About 550 B.C. Theognis wrote ecstatically of the youth Cyrnus, whom he loved, and about the same time Anacreon was dallying with the court ladies at the court of the tyrant Polycrates. The psalms and love-songs of the Jewish phase had reached their flower and passed away ; on the higher plane new subject matter was needed, for men prayed differently and loved differently. The universally human, utter dependence on God, the simple love of two young people in the springtime no longer held the field ; people were less cramped and restricted, they spoke more freely and individually, men and women alike passionately demanded recognition of all natural relations, attacking one another more vehemently, and uniting more ardently in freely accepted bonds to fight for fatherland and friendship. In the *Song of Songs* Nature had inspired only the springtime and marriage mood ; now the anxious politician and thirsty toper Alcaeus found in her a medium to express his moods, as also Sappho the lover praising the beauty of her woman friend, Alcman calmed by the tranquillity of nocturnal Nature, and the famous but ageing Anacreon singing wittily and elegantly of his love.

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[1] At the Panathenaea the goddess's new robe was carried through the city to her temple.—*Translator's note.*

The Greeks regarded Archilochus of Paros as the father of lyric poetry, and a third beside Homer and Hesiod. He cannot have been much younger than Hesiod. He sang of the solar eclipse of 648 B.C. and was naively astonished to see the world order thus reversed. He was the first free personality in Greek poetry ; his mixed birth freed him from class prejudice, and even more his passionate artistic temperament. Among his work is the first grim satire on the loss of the shield in battle ; his standing as a warrior was high enough to enable him thus to ignore other people's notions of honour. He avenged such personal injuries as the rejection of his love-suit with biting satire. But he, too, first wrote a personal lament for the death of a relative, a personal description of a beloved woman, and a powerful admonition to the heart to be strong in misfortune and calm alike in victory and in suffering, eschewing passionate exultation or lament. For the first time a human being was giving expression to all his emotions, creating in the iambic metre the plastic form that he needed. In comparison the earliest patriotic songs of Tyrtaeus and Callinus, sung during Sparta's fight against Messenia and that of Ephesus against the Cimmerians (660 B.C.), were still impersonal in character.

Fifty years later Alcaeus and Sappho were composing lyrics on the island of Lesbos. Alcaeus composed the earliest party songs ; he was a party man through and through, an aristocrat and the murderer of a tyrant ; he composed, too, the first drinking-songs of any mark, and the first winter song, in which the comfort of drinking by the fireside is effectively contrasted with the terror of the snow-storm, besides the first summer song which depicts the oppressive heat of the sun, once again as a reason for drinking. Sappho was the first great poetess in human history ; women, too, had attained personality, the tempest of Dionysan madness had just swept across Hellas. Contemporary with them Solon composed his elegiac admonitions to the Athenians to show political wisdom and ability to abandon covetousness and greed, to act justly, fairly, and piously ; these elegies were reminders of his reforming labours, a sober kind of poetry which yet welled up fresh from the heart and reaches the heart, the more so because the words of admonition stand out against the background of a great political achievement. The effeminate Mimnermus of Colophon revived the ancient *Gaudeamus* philosophy in elegies which treat of the swift flight of youth, beauty, and manhood, of the hardships of old age, and the happiness of a timely death.

Fifty years later again, about 550 B.C., when the revolutionary period of the first Greek civilization was nearly at an end, Theognis of Megara composed his songs to Cyrnus, " improvized " as they feasted ; these are bitter laments at the changing times, the low marriages of noblemen, the collapse of aristocratic power, and the terrors of poverty, with proud allusions to the love that has made his beloved immortal. Anacreon of Teos addressed courtly little verses, graceful and carefully turned, to the boy favourites of the tyrant whom he served, and to beautiful court ladies whom he saw give their love to others as his age advanced ; he was an amiable adept in the art of life, an ingenious polisher of keen epigrams. Hipponax of Ephesus stressed his own plebeian birth and lived by his wit and his formidable and impudent tongue ; he composed in a metre of his own, the choliamb. Miniature forms and small personalities were now dominant in lyric poetry. But Pythagoras was at work on the religious and intellectual reform of the individual, the State, and all Greece, and Xenophanes, who was not only a thinker but a poet by divine inspiration, was endeavourng to surpass Homer and Hesiod in a didactic poem on Nature, the One and Universal, and to present to the inner vision a supreme Deity with the world as his garment, whilst in his elegies he set up a new ideal of natural divine sonship and civic virtue ; in his satires and parodies he hit out ruthlessly at all his opponents—they were foolish idolaters, the slaves of party and sport, and miserly hosts.

Xenophanes, the modern poet-thinker, wanted to supplant Homer by his knowledge of Nature interpreted as God, the universe, and morality ; this was to receive the loftiest expression in the form of epic and elegiac poetry. The days of aristocratic rule and the old rhapsodists were past, and the ancient epic poetry had become decadent ; Pisistratus was turning it into a textbook of patriotic and knightly education. Already the serious heroic epic had its counterpart in the comic recital of the adventures of Margites, the brazen-faced boor who knew many things but nothing properly——an *Odyssey* of the new era.

In the rising prose literature originated by Anaximander the epics were re-written as natural science and history (logography), in which only actual fact was to be admitted. From Hesiod's didactic fables and proverbs in epic form prose fables and a wisdom prose literature developed. Aesop is believed to have lived in the sixth century. The fables collected under his name (not, indeed, until about 400 B.C.) were the consummation of this type ; they are short but entertaining animal stories, full of delicate observation of animals and man, with a simple moral stated separately. Farcical tales also made their appearance. The maxims of the Seven Wise Men (also after 600 B.C.) contain in the briefest form the wisdom that lay at the heart of the Greek art of living : " Know thyself " and " Nothing in excess ".

But whilst the epics were thus broken up into philosophy and the minor forms of poetry, they evolved lyrically into choric poetry, which involved at once their dissolution and supersession in the earlier form. The process began with the penetration of religious ceremonial by Homeric ideas of the gods in the course of the seventh century. As in Judaism, the congregation wanted themselves to take part in divine worship. The processions of an earlier age (solar worship) were elaborated by art and became a matter of duty and honour on the part of the city State. A variety of choric songs evolved, differing with the subject and the performers : hymns and paeans, songs of victory and lamentation, songs for the dance and for processions of maidens and youths. Every noble, and soon every citizen, all free men and women, had some share in these many-sided acts of civic worship ; the rhapsodist had ceased to be only performer. That made the choruses popular and stimulated emulation. But poets rejoiced in their new opportunities as chorus leaders. They introduced the more elaborate forms and more personal content of the new lyric poetry and vied with one another in ingenious and ceremonial composition, proceeding soon to the hortatory and didactic. Instead of psalms for a uniform order of divine service in a temple, they created a whole world of choric compositions for the manifold needs of community life in the Greek city States and for every kind of festival.

Alcman of Sardes (about 650–600 B.C.) is the first definitely traceable representative of this more personal community lyric poetry. We have songs by him for a chorus of maidens in which, after recounting a fragment of sacred history (a heroic myth) ending in philosophic reflection, he sings the praise of the chorus, giving their names and all manner of personal detail, which can only have been delivered by himself singing as leader of the chorus in alternation with them. He seems also to have invented the triparite form of choric song, with strophe, antistrophe, and epode. Stesichorus of Himera in Sicily (640–555 B.C.) carried this type of poetry to its consummation, partly, perhaps, borne on the wave of the seventh century religious movement. He deliberately revived the dying rhapsodic poetry of piety and virtue. But because of the more personal attitude, the desire to hold the attention of the audience and win their sympathy, interest was diverted to local allusions and original developments of an ancient subject instead of the stereotyped older material. Stesichorus treated his subjects with more psychological depth, revised the myths in a moral sense, and certainly introduced new moods and new tension by strengthening the lyric and dramatic element. Simonides of Ceos (556–468 B.C.), the contemporary of Theognis and Anacreon, a polished courtier and a man of the world and of affairs, transformed general songs of victory into songs in praise of individual victors in the games, associating the heroic history and personal fame of the victor, his family, and his city, with all manner of sage reflection. The *Lament of Danae*, half lullaby, half prayer, evinces a new power of human pathos. The last two great composers of choric lyrics, Bacchylides of Ceos (died 450 B.C.) and Pindar of Thebes (522–440 B.C.) were contemporaries of Aeschylus. The heroic episodes which introduced the song of victory or the dithyramb in honour of Dionysus or some other god, had now become quite short, comparable with our own ballads. Sometimes historical material was admitted, but it had to be pious, sublime, and moral (like the rescue of Croesus by Apollo). It was the poet's business to instil vigour in these short pieces by all the devices of emotion, monologue or dialogue, the presentation of miraculous events, and the startling effect of new imagery; he had to touch the hearts of his audience, to move them profoundly, to entertain, and to hold the attention by his wit. Bacchylides tried to accomplish this as a superlatively brilliant story-teller, Pindar as a teacher, profoundly ethical and mighty in word and imagery. Both bear the marks of decadence; the first tends to become a little flat, the second heavy and obscure and baroque. Their successors produced no more great poetry, although the type survived and countless choric songs were produced for all public and private festivities; they were rhetoricians and story-tellers in verse, or the authors of cantata texts and musicians, like Timotheus of Miletus (400 B.C.). The new great poetry of the fifth century was not the choric chant, but its offspring, tragedy, and Aeschylus was the first master in that field.

Tragedy and its counterpart comedy were the most characteristic new creations of the Greeks; they arose simultaneously with theoretical maturity and logical method (mutually exclusive opposites), with Parmenides and Heraclitus. It could not be otherwise, for they spring from the capacity to see the world in terms of utterly irreconcilable opposites and discover conflicts everywhere. They demand on the one hand such elevated freedom and impartiality as will always see the necessity and justification of both opposing factors, and on the other a deep logical and personal interest in the circumstances; logical interest is a stimulus to mark the contrast as sharply as possible, making the opposing factors irreconcilable, attacking ruthlessly and defending with equal fanaticism; the personal interest is more general; everywhere it detects self, the human creature, caught in these toils, suffering, ruined, or hobbling away as the butt of mockery. The form, too, was that of logical dialectic and personal, but choric, lyric verse. On a lower plane, as we have seen, people had plays (services or "ministries") and wisdom literature in dialogue form. For instance, the Babylonians acted the New Year legend and in the *Master and Serf* expressed their view that there are two aspects of every action, whilst *Balta Atrua* depicted the conflict in the soul of the guiltless sufferer. In Job's discourse the Jews touched the fringe of tragedy, but full theory, full logic, full personality and humanity were still lacking, and therewith the tragic spirit. The Babylonians only asked for divine intervention in favour of the pious man, and the Jews were convinced that God was in the right, that man's understanding is inadequate, and that ultimately all is as it should be. The Greeks were not satisfied with a miracle in favour of the pious man ; God was in the right, but so was man, and reason and ethical understanding *must* be adequate. They were ready to submit to the inevitable but not to sacrifice reason. They concealed nothing, they desired clear vision and to measure to the uttermost the gulf that they saw, not defiantly but simply in order to know. For them, too, the first tragic problem was the suffering of the innocent, and they, too, looked for guilt and sin ; but they found only given conditions, Fate, wise and merciful gods, strong men seeking what is great and just (godlike benefactors like Prometheus), and the problem of discerning rightly their share in the work of Destiny. Instead of sin they found limitations of vision and power, natural limitations and natural dispositions ; a variety of problems arose ; they inquired into Fate and disposition, the latter in the form of reason and passion and every kind of obligation, talents, inheritance, the outlook of a particular age or sex or class. Ultimately men's efforts to grapple with these problems ended in calm and measured rationality or irrational piety. Socrates overthrew Sophism, which could prove everything or nothing and aimed at persuasion or deception, by means of definition and making consequences the test of action ; he did away with tragic conflicts, with their irreconcilable antitheses and their supremely human misery, for he taught men to believe in God, to recognize human limitations, to act virtuously, and thereby to find happiness within themselves.

Greek tragedy and comedy have their roots in the representations of the Neolithic sacred solar legend. We can prove that these representations took place in ancient Crete. The grand staircases of the palaces served for them. Delineations of competitive games (leaping the bull and other athletic sports) have been preserved on all kinds of stone and metal objects, besides a phallic procession with phallic song and clown. The Achaeans, Danaoi, and Dorians brought the same sacred legend with its festivals and games from their northern home to Greece, where their own customs and heroes merged with those of their civilized Cretan predecessors in the land. Before Homer, in his time, and after him, there must have been processions and plays representing incidents in the sacred solar legend at the New Year (March) and probably at other times ; there would be harvest festivals, festivals of the dead, and Christmas or carnival ; these performances would be associated locally with various names of dying gods and with heroes variously designated. We can see the origin of tragedy and comedy plainly in these elements : all the subjects of Greek tragedy spring from the sacred solar legend, either through the medium of the epic or directly ; tragedy was the culmination and represents the legend in its profoundest significance and most diversified form. The satyric drama, too, at first drew all its subject matter from the same source. It remained the sole source of subjects for tragedy with the exception of very few national dramas, but comedy broke away from it and became first political, then bourgeois. In form, however, as well as in substance the connection between solar games and both tragedy and comedy is clearly traceable. Tragedy was a part of divine worship, the worship of Dionysus, and the priest of Dionysus presided. It was a New Year's game, for the Greater Dionysia when it was played fell in March ; it was competitive like the ancient solar games, and was confined to men. Comedy belonged to the vintage festival in January, the Lenaea,[1] and there were likewise rural games when the grapes were gathered in autumn, the rural Dionysia. But clear as the connection is, it is certainly not direct. Pisistratus first established the Greater Dionysia and brought in " tragedy " from the countryside. Before 650 B.C. Dionysus was not a great god, and he was never a sun-god in historic times ; moreover tragedy, the story of the dying god, did not originally belong to the New Year festival. Of course the connection of the tragic hero, and yet more of the heroes of the satyric drama, with the gods and religion, had become very loose. Former gods had been turned into scoundrels and even clowns, into human beings and boors.

In truth Homer and Hesiod had struck a blow at the very heart of the ancient solar religion when they evolved from it universal gods and heroes and a knightly, enlightened view of the universe. The religion of the upper classes became distinct from that of the people, and though the old sanctuaries and festivals remained and the nobility did not abandon traditional customs, yet they no longer fostered them with their former devotion and generosity. Tradition was robbed of its support ; at best it was not very strong and rich and there was no priestly caste to foster it. Some customs were scoffed at and persecuted by the rhapsodists and nobility as childish or immoral, and others fell into decay. The more exalted gods everywhere found their way into the new sanctuaries with the support of the ruling class ; they supplanted the Her divinities (as Pallas occupied the house of Erechtheus in Athens), thrust the fetishes, animals, trees, and stones into subsidiary chapels, and turned the dying gods into heroes (all just as it happened later on the Acropolis in Athens). The competitive games remained, but only their knightly element was still fostered, and the new arts were added, epic poetry and music. The processions fell into desuetude in so far as they represented the solar legend ; they came to be a crude peasant custom, and were re-interpreted from the point of view of the new, advancing religion of gods and heroes. About the middle of the seventh century the dissolution of the popular religion must have been complete and everywhere the gods of Homer and Hesiod were victorious. The religious movement crowned its victory ; temples and images were dedicated to the new gods, their cult took form, choric songs dominated and developed the processions.

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[1] The sportive and cunning tricks of the sun-child who grew up in concealment and danger and escaped all snares, until at last the clown became a king, belong to the time between Christmas and Shrovetide. They survive to-day in puppet and lantern plays ; Harlequin or Punch, the child Har, the little hare with long ears and a mock weapon (the sceptre), overcomes the tyrant Devil and death as the Easter hare overcomes the winter.

But this same religion produced Dionysan mysticism, the irrational element, the philosophy of salvation and deification, and the new orgies, and therewith the possibility of preserving and breathing new life into much that was old, emotional, and contrary to reason. The dying gods with their sufferings in the person of a dying Dionysus (Orphic mysteries) were linked with the pantheon, and the outworn fetishes, pillars, and stones, and the relics of popular processions and orgies were resuscitated in a romantic spirit, in spite of the protests of the earliest philosophers. The people had found a link with the Homeric religion and popular customs exercised a fertilizing influence on high art. But the decisive impulse towards the rise of tragedy and comedy sprang from the association of relics of ancient solar games with choric song. The Dionysan processions assumed the universal artistic form of festal processions and turned into choric performances, but with special disguises. The choric form was as much a matter of course for this ritual of divine worship as for all others, once Dionysus had become a great god. But it was peculiarly fruitful. The most pathetic and impressive parts of the heroic legends in the existing choric songs were on the subject of dying gods, variously transformed. To Dionysus, the god of vegetation and wine, a place was accorded in the choric songs ; the custom arose of celebrating the festivals of the New Year, the harvest, and the vintage with choric chants into which, therefore, there entered a new element of variety, due partly to popular mummery, partly to the alternating moods of mourning and exultation at the god's fate, of jest and buffoonery in the phallic processions ; thence it was only a small step to include the local heroes in the new dithyrambic poetry as Dionysan divinities, dying gods. " *Di-thyr-ambos*," " the procession of the two thyrs " or the " two-door procession ", must have been an old name for the New Year ceremony, the duel of the two year-brothers or their appearance together (Janus). Now it was turned into a name for Dionysus and the choric songs sung in his honour. It is said that it was in Sicyon that the city's hero Adrastus was first honoured in the processions in place of Dionysus ; in the dithyrambs of Bacchylides Theseus' journey to the denizons of the Underworld in the course of his struggle with Minos is described ; a soloist (King Aegeus) exchanges question and answer with a chorus of old men. All the wealth of moving and thrilling scenes, all the resources of choric song in form and expression, the freedom to develop the subject psychologically and ethically, and the alternating songs of the chorus and its leader enriched the Dionysus festivals and developed into drama under the emancipating and elevating influence of traditional disguises and the elements of emotion and action in the popular performances. The outcome was a composite product of the several arts ; choric songs and chants of lamentation and joy were the lyrical nucleus ; there was an epic residue in the tales of the miracles and fortunes of Dionysus and other heroes ; the dialogue between chorus and leader was the first step towards dramatic action, whilst wise maxims and piously moral deductions added a didactic element. The boisterous merriment of the rural festivals continued, too ; there was comedy side by side with tragedy, and Athenian taste replaced the phallic, pot-bellied, obscene jesters of the countryside by the goats in Dionysus' train.

The rural " goat-singing " (*Trag-oidia*) was brought to Athens from Icaria, a wine-growing district in Attica, by Pisistratus in 534 B.C. and made part of the Greater Dionysia. The solemn chant in honour of Dionysus performed by a chorus of citizens was separated from the comic sequel ; tragedy and comedy were still linked, but as constrasts (Pratinas). Phrynicus adopted the new style of choric poetry with disguises and an actor in addition to the chorus and leader, in order to represent all kinds of myths, and even the great events of the day like the fall of Miletus (494 B.C.) and the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). But it was Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.) who created tragedy ; his achievement was not primarily due to the introduction of a second speaking character and the augmentation of his properties (machinery and costumes), nor even to his portrayal of Fate at work in trilogies which embraced the subject matter of an entire epic—for instance the kernel of the *Iliad,* Achilles in wrath, Achilles mourning for Patroclus, and Achilles lamenting with Priam—or of the story of an entire clan like the Atridae (he also built up a whole tragedy from a few lines of the *Iliad,* the *Weighing of the Soul* at Hector's death) ; he found the way from epic and choric poetry to tragedy by thinking only in terms of action and passionate tension ; everything is action to him, seen not narrated ; and all narrative pours forth from the speaker's eager soul and rouses the audience to active participation. At the same time the chorus was the principal character in the earlier plays ; active or passive, its lot held the attention of the audience and carried them away. The daughters of Danus, the Thebans, and the Persians are the " heroes " of three plays, social organisms with kings as their mouthpiece. In great and simple pictures of static Being we see the terror of the Suppliants when Pelasgus hesitates, in accordance with the constitution, to admit them, their torments as they wait when the herald demands their surrender, their joy when the popular vote saves them ; we share their suffering to this very day, though now hospitable admittance to a foreign land is a matter of course. In the castle of the Persian king we listen shuddering to the divine judgment upon a people whose king is a blasphemer and tyrant, revealed by the mother of Xerxes who is troubled by fateful dreams and evil tidings and flies for help to the spirit of her great husband, but receives from him nothing but the assurance that the judgment will be fulfilled. With the people of Thebes we go through all the horrors of a siege by an overwhelmingly powerful enemy and experience their rescue when God's judgment falls upon the wanton aggressor and the betrayer of his country outside, but also upon the king of the city who sought to veil his bloodlust and hatred of his brother behind a pretence of patriotism and doom, and so falls a victim to the curse laid upon his house, because he has sinned like his ancestor. Subsequently, a procession of individual characters pass before our gaze, mighty in strength and defiance, Titans like Prometheus, primeval heroes like Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Individual man disputes with God, over strong, over arrogant, and infatuated, and as we watched the social organism, so now we watch the individual's passionate convulsions with terror and pity. Prometheus is plunged into the abyss. Agamemnon goes blindly into his wife's snare, a sacrifice to her injured mother love and her unbridled lust: a curse justified by sin, for we know from the *Iliad* that Agamemnon is a man of violence, only subdued by pestilence in the army, and we see Clytemnestra lie in wait and exult, and have a foreboding that now she is lost. Orestes appears, he too burdened by the curse, driven to vengeance by God himself; and that is his salvation; he kills but commits no sin, and his heart remains pure; and therefore God can and must save and redeem the matricide. Heracles has saved the Titan, the men of violence have destroyed themselves, and the day of a loftier humanity dawns when curses lose their power, the deed is judged by the intent, the Erinyes become Eumenides, and Athens is chosen as the refuge of humane justice. Aeschylus wrote this poem of Fate and a curse made powerless at the age of sixty-seven under the influence of Sophocles, and included the third speaker that his younger successor had introduced; it is profoundly moving, and that for the first time through the personal suffering of individuals: Cassandra goes open-eyed to the slaughter, because of the god's accursed gift; the unhappy brother and sister, Orestes and Electra, meet in the first great scene of recognition; these, and the torment of Orestes when he commits the murder, and his madness in flight grip our hearts differently and more personally than the group sorrows in the earlier plays. Even in *Prometheus* the chorus losses prominence, it strikes the same note as the heroes, it exhorts and forebodes in the character of conscience. The lyric and dramatic elements separate, the rôle of the active characters preponderates, whilst the chorus is till required to emphasize moods and announce ultimate conclusions.

That is how it was used by Sophocles (496–406 B.C.), with rare exceptions. He introduced the third actor and enlarged the chorus. He abandoned the uniform trilogy as a dramatic form, but instead the single play gained in delicacy of workmanship, technical and psychological, and in closely knit unity. The drama of catastrophe and revelation were the new forms of tragedy created by Sophocles. Aeschylus could take the whole plot of an epic as already determined, breathe into it a more spiritual and deeper meaning, and unfold it in rapid action before his audience, but to Sophocles the problem was how to thrill and fascinate anew in a single drama with a familiar plot; he solved it by psychological skill and intellectual power, as well as by logical and theatrical technique. This he did quite deliberately. In the days of Protagoras he was the first to render an account of his method and to write, for instance, on the subject of the chorus. His masterpiece, both in philosophy and technique, is *King Oedipus*, which we have already discussed at length, the drama of a glorious hero whom we see reduced to utter wretchedness, guiltlessly guilty, in a succession of scenes of unmatched power and tensity. Sophocles loved such suffering characters: Heracles, Philoctetes, Electra, Ajax, and in a sense Antigone, the two first suicides to be humanly defended, belong to the series. The defiant men of action in Aeschylus gave place to these sufferers, whose deeds preceded the play or were only the deeds of women in revolt against injustice. Sophocles means to shake and move us by the contrast between heroic glory and spiritual or bodily torment; the portrayal of heroes rising superior to suffering is designed to supplement the image of human misery by the elevating image of human strength in suffering and through suffering; in Heracles (intended as an antidote to Euripides' drama) it comes near to preaching a doctrine by force of example, in Ajax it is manly and heroic in spite of despair, in Oedipus Coloneus divine in the conquest of suffering and self. In each play and each destiny there is a twofold revelation: we catch a glimpse of the action of the world forces encompassing man, and we see a character. The gods with their oracles and interventions, wholly merciful and truthful, serve a Fate that is inscrutable but always just in the end. Man moves as part of the whole, but in such a way that if he were free and swayed only by his own character he would reach the same end. He *is* free, he could escape disaster, if he would listen and master himself wisely (all oracles are true, and Sophocles is free to state an ideal case so as to solve his philosophical problem in its pure essence); but his character will not let him. In portraying character Sophocles reveals static Being, but he sees it from within, stirred and troubled, a soul at variance with itself. For the first time conflicts are realized and fought out to the uttermost. The impassioned hero Oedipus is torn between his sense of innocence and of deepest pollution (which is ultimately the result of his hasty action). Ajax is offended by a just judgment (Odysseus is the greater man, as is proved by his conduct after the death of Ajax), and yields to the temptation of attempting a cowardly murder. The gods prevent its accomplishment and he falls a victim to his craving for honour (a tragedy of manliness and honour).

Neoptolemus, a noble youth, allows Odysseus the politician to tempt him to cheat Philoctetes ; but his love of truth makes the lie intolerable to him, he hands over the bow entrusted to him to the victim of his ruse and so enables the Deity to make good what policy had nearly ruined for ever. Creon, the just and rational man, violates divine justice for the sake of the human justice of policy and retribution ; he loses his son and heir through " foolish " love : for it is only so and not through spiritual purification that he can be touched. Beside these various masculine characters stand women of the same type ; they have sex, but are not portrayed in terms of sex. There is the virgin heroine Antigone, whose pious sense of justice overwhelms her natural reserve and gentleness, who stakes her life for the sake of divine justice and fraternal love (in spite of treason), but then lacks strength to await the help of the gods when she is walled in. There is Electra, a living sacrifice to the murder of Agamemnon, dehumanized by her sense of justice, her love of her father and hatred of her mother, and spurred to matricide, but saved from the worst by the help of the gods. In the *Trachiniae* we have the first drama of jealousy, though with a very submissive heroine. Sophocles was the father of psychological drama ; there was psychology in Aeschylus, but it was shackled by metaphysics ; in Sophocles it attained freedom and equality with metaphysics. In Aeschylus the first great speeches ring out, in Sophocles we see them disintegrating into Sophist polemics and the logical, sometimes almost litigious discussion of certain problems of justice and right ; for instance, the speeches on the occasion of the burial of Polyneces or Ajax, on Heracles' two courses, and so on. In the choric chants of Sophocles the reflective lyric attained free development. The landscape lyric, still curiously bound up with particular places and deities in Attica, won independent significance. In Sophocles Greek tragedy reached its consummation, its highest unity and harmony ; in him metaphysics and psychology are perfectly balanced. In place of the Titans of Aeschylus we have ideal human characters, and their sufferings stir pity, fear, and noble sympathy in the audience, their exaltation a humble pride. The poet admitted every human quality, but transfigured each, without distortion, in the harmony and beauty of an ideal world. His wide grasp of aesthetic principles and his firm resolve to attain the ideal served the cause of an unshakeable faith in good and beauty. The nearer the final collapse of Athens approached, the firmer that faith became. In *Ajax* Odysseus, the hero and friend of the gods, wise as a politician and humanely patient (Pericles ?) was still an ideal ; in

Philoctetes he has to yield to the naturally honourable and pure Neoptolemus, for the gods are with him in his love of mankind. And Oedipus, the innocent sufferer, who has not taken his own life but has borne his sorrows, the gods take to themselves; his body is to bring blessing upon Attica, his beloved country, and upon the Athenian people who, like himself, have desired what is good and done great deeds, have erred and suffered and sorrowed.

To the end Sophocles opposed the last great Athenian tragedian, Euripides (480–406 B.C.); he had learnt some things from him, but everything new that he contributed, human, psychological, dialectic, and technical, Sophocles held to be disastrously distorted, exaggerated, and inharmonious. Euripides made his own contribution to the machinery of tragedy, not by adding a new actor or enlarging the chorus, but by enhancing the musical element (the great solo aria was introduced and the instruments became more independent), by more realistic costume (the scenes depicting poverty), and by elaborate scenery (the burning of Troy). The introductory dialogue of Sophocles was replaced by the Prologue which introduced the preliminaries of the plot without ceremony; the conclusion was often brought about by a divine apparition, the *deus ex machina.* Both devices served to give the poet a freer hand in remoulding old plots; he could readily alter the situation and the characters, and a god saw to it that the customary conclusion emerged in due course and that the piece ended when it threatened to lose interest or become unfamiliar. Individual plots were beginning to fail and Euripides wrote collective dramas like *The Trojan Women* in which Hecuba, Cassandra, Andromache, and Helen each have a great scene on the theme of " Women's lot when the city falls ". He was a master of new devices and variations of old material; he was the author of whole original dramas, like that of Heracles saving his family or Hecuba's vengeance on the treacherous guest, and no plot passed through his hands without receiving the stamp of his own individuality; sometimes the innovation was merely startling and ingenious, but for the most part profound and enduring. Psychology now dominated tragedy, a psychology of the passions and of cold calculation. Contemporaries were portrayed without flattery or disguise—common tyrants (Lycus) and men of ambition (Orestes), honest soldiers (Xuthus), athletic youths (Hippolytus), and especially the women, the representatives of irrational forces. We have deeply moving pictures of the vengeance of woman betrayed (Medea) or despised (Phaedra) or crushed (Hecuba), of the jealousy of childless women (Creusa, Hermione), but also of married love faithful to death (Alcestis), of mother love and grief (Clytemnestra, Hecuba, Andromache, and the mothers of the Seven), and of fraternal love (Iphigenia). Euripides is the tragic poet of love and women. The divine begins to resolve itself into Fate and psychology ; Hera, who drove Heracles mad appears as "Lyssa" or "the raving disease", and Aphrodite when she takes vengeance on Hippolytus is the incarnation of Phaedra's frenzied love. The terrible power of chance and blind passion or cold, vulgar calculation—such are the forces of destiny. A few bright flowers bloom in their midst ; Ion the pure and gay-hearted youth at Apollo's santuary, Iphigenia the brave and lovely virgin, Andromache the brave mother, the innocent Palamedes —Euripides depicts them with melancholy emotion. He snatches his audience from the terrors of frenzy and crushing grief to moving child scenes and the pity of the scenes of poverty ; he is a master in contrasts. Sometimes, indeed, he gives us too much cruelty and tearfulness. On the other hand he was a master both of the dialectic of passion and of the logical and juridical dialectic that probes and searches almost scientifically and sometimes indulges in cold and subtle intellectual play. Just as the Deity lost importance in comparison with the human characters, but still survived, so the chorus grew less essential as compared with the passion, action, and conflict of the actors, but yet survived. It sang all manner of marvellous songs, but their presence at the particular place they occupy is often accidental ; organically the chorus withered. Stripped of gods and of the chorus, tragedy struggled for freedom and a number of future types of drama may be found in the germ in Euripides ; the bourgeois drama (*Iphigenia* and *Ion*), the tragedy of pure character (Phaedra), and tragi-comedy (*Alcestis*), where sorrow and frenzy, nobility and absurdity are intertwined as they are in life ; and not least in importance is grand opera with heroism and virtue as its subject. Euripides is the most tragic of the tragedians, the most humanly moving, the most suffering and sympathetic, the richest in future possibilities ; in him the vitality of Greek tragedy was exhausted. He was the most personal, too, and raved against himself most ruthlessly, a fanatic for truth and reality. In his portrait there is an expression of deep suffering in the mouth. His last works were the moving family picture *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *The Bacchae*, the terrible portrayal of women roused to a blaze of senseless religious frenzy. He himself was Pentheus, whom the blind mob rent, and to him that seemed the lot of mankind, the frenzy of excited instinct against its own flesh and blood and the destruction of clear reason.

Together with tragedy comedy came to birth. The world has a double aspect, and those who are mature enough in intellect and personality to see it tragically should be able to see it comically from the same heights. In fact, the satyric drama contained the germ of a transmutation of tragedy into universal comedy ; but the germ did not develop. The satyric drama parodied the epic and tragic plots, but we do not learn that they parodied the actual tragedies. Through laughter they refreshed and emancipated their audience and relaxed tension, but all in the sphere of everyday commonplace life ; the satyric drama was never more than a subsidiary type. Euripides' inspired effort in *Alcestis* to develop it into the tragi-comedy of real life remained isolated. Only Plato realized after him that tragedy and comedy should be the work of one and the same poet. And Shakespeare put it into practice.

But the germ contained in the satyric drama did not remain wholly undeveloped : About 400 B.C. the lyrical drama of the love-sick Cyclops emerged from the fooleries and platitudes of parodied myths ; it contained the seed of bucolic lyric poetry and various portrayals of ill-matched lovers. And the Middle Comedy delighted in comic imitations of tragedy ; true, the wit of the imitation was purely rationalist and literary, as, for instance, in *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, where the heroes of the *Iliad* are represented as frogs and mice, for the entertainment of the cultured and of society.

Though the highest type of comedy remained an undeveloped germ in the antique world, another type, that of political comedy, grew to full vigour and independence in Athens with the rise of democracy. It was not the counterpart of tragedy, but of serious politics in the capital of the rising Attic world empire and of Greek civilization ; it was, moreover, a considerable factor in politics, and not only Cleon had to reckon with it but also statesmen like Themistocles and Pericles. Comedy was admitted to the festival of Dionysus in 486 B.C., during the first great democratic era under the leadership of Themistocles, whilst the fleet was being built for Salamis and citizen rights extended so as to procure rowers for it. But it was not till sixty years later, during the Peloponnesian war, after the death of Pericles, that the great comic poet Aristophanes appeared (450–387 B.C.). Political comedy grew in stature as statesmen diminished, and celebrated its triumphs when the State collapsed. Aristophanes was the jesting genius of the Athenian people in this decadent period, with its wealth of brilliant individuals, a counterpart to the brilliant, unreflecting egoist Alcibiades. He represented ideals, but he possessed none. Instead he had a creative fancy which presented on the stage a strange and lifelike medley of great contemporaries distorted and lesser ones embellished ; a wealth of merry and malicious sallies, a hard-hitting mordant wit, a great formative talent, and considerable elegance ; he respected nothing in heaven or earth, and besides loving his craft, he honestly loved his great native city and the sweet populace whom he served. Thus he became the first of great political pamphleteers, living in the centre of the civilized world in the period which provided the most fertile soil for his talent. His opponents were Euripides and Socrates, and he pursued them shamelessly with the hatred of a smaller man, himself a thousand times more of a Sophist than Euripides and more unbelieving than Socrates. It was in his opposition to contemporary statesmen, the Cleons and Lamachi, that he proved to be in the right, though they were greater than he represented them ; they were at least the leaders of a cosmopolitan city. He carefully avoided attacking Alcibiades with his mockery ; doubtless that was too dangerous. But it is extraordinary to see how with time his genius for political satire gained assurance and took wings, beginning with the exuberant sallies of *The Acharnians* on the private peace concluded with Sparta by the worthy Dicæopolis. In *The Knights* he ventured an attack on Cleon, the Paphlagonian servant of the master " Demos ", whom a rascally pork-butcher out-rascals and supplants. In *The Clouds* he attacked modern Sophist education and in *The Wasps* judicial abuses and the well-paid public service of the citizens (very cautiously), and at last, at the time of the Sicilian expedition, his genius soared to the great and fascinating symbol of the Athenian character, the sketch of the bird State, Cloud Cuckooland, which is as eternal as Athens itself. After that, as with Athens, decadence finally set in ; the women's strike against marriage in *Lysistrata* in order to force the conclusion of peace is witty, but no longer great. The poet turned to literary satire and scored one more lasting success by representing Æschylus as killing Euripides, who had just died, over again. That was the end ; in decay he had nothing to offer his native city. No positive policy could issue from his profound indifference to religion and true morality and his cheap " ideals " of the Marathon period and little Mother Athens. The " good citizens ", with their capitalism and their old-established religion came into power, Socrates died, and Aristophanes wrote farces about the feminine State and the god of riches who had to be given eyesight so that he might enrich the right people. His comedies attained perfection of form and uniformity of structure, whilst the chorus was eliminated. Nor were wit and charm entirely lacking; but with democracy and the great men whom he persecuted the poet politician died too.

Except in the composite art-form of the drama, poetry made little progress in the fifth century. (Comedy contained a considerable lyrical element, which constituted one of the principal charms of *The Birds* of Aristophanes.) The early part of the century produced great choric poets in Pindar and Bacchylides; but later mass production took the field and one or more choric chants were produced for every festival. Epicharmus of Megara (Sicily) who wrote about 480 B.C. and probably a good deal later, produced little comic plays and scenes on a model of his own without a chorus, some parodies of epics, some Sophist discussions between Earth and Sea, the male and female word, debtor and creditor. Under the influence of more advanced logic the epigram grew out of the inscriptions on gifts and monuments that had long been customary; it was a separate branch of literature, which set out to enshrine some significant saying, complete, witty, and logically pointed, in a couplet (distich). Then prose advanced. Under the influence of Sophism Æsop's *Fables,* with their psychology and moral lessons, received their final formulation and diversity; the evolution of the parable was complete. *Hercules at the Crossroads* by the Sophist Prodicus (about 440 B.C.), based on a scene in Sophocles, may serve as an example of this type of moral didactic poetry. Herodotus' history enshrines the earliest short prose narratives; some are taken from alien epics (the story of Cyrus and possibly of Gyges), romances (Rhampsinitus ?), and historical narrations (Crœsus, possibly through the medium of choric songs); they are sober and instructive but always entertaining and attractively told; others spring from native verbal tradition (anecdotes, and examples of moral maxims) and were now written down for the first time. Herodotus was not by any means a mere collector of these little literary pieces, but the first master in that branch of literature; not only did he sift his subject matter critically as a man of enlightened views, and read into it a deeper religious and moral significance, but he had the gift of telling his tale with wonderful simplicity, reducing it to essentials and giving it point, presenting it as a story or farce, illustration or anecdote. We have already mentioned in passing the lyrical drama that developed from the satyric drama about 400 B.C. (Philoxenus), and the "citharodic *nomos*", the musico-rhetorical solo recital by a *citharœdus*, which evolved at the same time as the great arias in the musical drama of Euripides (*The Persæ* of Timotheus).

The fourth century produced little that was new in poetry; indeed that is always so when a civilization enters its revolutionary period. Plato in his *Dialogues* made an end of tragedy. Thucydides as an historian, the Pythagoreans and the Ionians (Anaxagoras) as mathematicians and physicists, founded schools. After the great statesmen who were orators came the great orators, pupils of the Sophists, who aspired to be statesmen (Æschines and Demosthenes). Science was dominant. The first all-round scientist to specialize in the particular domain of natural science, Democritus of Abdera (about 400 B.C.) was followed by Xenophon of Athens (430–355 B.C.), the first all-round representative of the separate cultural sciences. Xenophon vied with Thucydides as an historian and with Plato as a politician and student of ethics, and created new types in the educational romance (including a love episode) and the documentary (?) book of reminiscences (the *Memorabilia*) of a great man (Socrates). His recollections of the retreat of the ten thousand are the earliest autobiographical work in Greek literature that has been preserved. It was followed by the great memoirs of Alexander and his generals which unhappily have been lost.

At the end of the fourth century, when the second prime of the second phase of Greek civilization was beginning, Greek poetry flowered once more. The bourgeois dramas of Menander of Athens (342–292 B.C.) grew out of tragedy, especially the family and love dramas of Euripides. They were comedies, for tragedy was dead; serious conflicts of thought and soul belonged to a past age, and only "rational people" remained who knew how to master life, "decent people" with good bourgeois incomes and position, and "good people", pure, grateful, and loving, and deserving of the best lot in life. The plots were wholly bourgeois in structure, made up of the old theme—children exposed, recognition, love; girls are seduced, twins exposed and discovered, and in the end everybody is reconciled, marriages take place, and all is comfort and contentment, moral and sentimental satisfaction. The invisible gods so order things that all is restored to bourgeois order; but they do not intervene visibly. The whole action takes place quite naturally in the everyday world of bourgeois society; the characters determine the action. Menander definitely declares that the gods, who cannot take the trouble to attend to everything in person, have given each man his character (" his god ") as " commander ". This is the pure comedy of character, without divine intervention or chorus, altogether natural and psychological. The seeds latent in Euripides sprouted within a limited field; within the narrow bounds of bourgeois domestic interests and love affairs, which, however, must never become tragic, a man's own character is his fate—together with kind and providential Chance. But within this narrow circle Menander was a master. He must have borrowed a variety of types from earlier farces and comedies—parasites and braggarts (flatterers and boasters), old men enamoured and swindled, panders, courtesans, and wily or faithful slaves. He had models enough provided by Epimarchus, Euripides (lovers), and Aristophanes (slaves). Moreover, since Aristotle wrote his *Ethics* a psychology of types had been in the air, which Theophrastus developed empirically in his *Characters*, partly, perhaps, under the influence of comedy; it evinced something of the subtlety of Menander. Menander subtilized the earlier types and made delicate character studies from them (for instance, his avaricious characters). Always his aim was to depict human beings, individuals instead of types, and noble characters whose loftier humanity is rewarded by rising in the social scale. He loved children of Nature like the fiery and jealous but warm-hearted soldier Polemon or the slave Daos who takes upon himself the guilt of seducing his beloved and shows himself to be the moral superior of freemen. He disliked bourgeois dandies and seducers, although even they are human. It seems that he was the first to dramatize the self-sacrificing unmarried mother and honest, grateful countryfolk, but also the mother who repents too late that she exposed her child and the good-natured, benevolent courtesan, besides a variety of comic minor characters. He was as skilful in varying his simple plots, with their serious and rather sentimental humanity, as his characters; his style is clear, simple, fresh, with shades of expression for emotional and comic effect. If he lacked power to realize the highest possibilities in the new field, he nevertheless prepared the ground for Molière's *Misanthrope* and Schiller's *Luise Millerin*.

A contemporary of Menander was Asclepiades of Samos (about 300 B.C.) who composed little drinking and love songs and depicted passing moods in epigrammatic form. Lyric poetry, he thought, should be brief, original in form, severely restricted within the narrowest limits, with all the marks of unpremeditated occasional verse, personal inspiration, and the sure mastery of form. Even early lyrics had often been of the nature of occasional verse, political pamphleteering, an improvization at the banquet; so, too, were choric chants for particular festivals, on particular personal victories. Now the poets cultivated the personal note by giving expression to chance moods or witty conceits. A hundred years' practice in the play of dialectic had taught men to cast a light and fleeting fancy in the briefest, most polished form.

Another type of short poem was the idyll, the invention of Theocritus of Syracuse (about 270 B.C.), " little pictures " (that is what the word means) of life in town and country. Two women of the petty bourgeois from the great city of Alexandria are described as they push their way into the magnificent tent near the royal palace where the image of Adonis is displayed; the song of the famous poetess on the dead Adonis is the nucleus of this realistic description. Two city gentlemen, Mr. Snub-nose and Mr. Wolfkin, meet disguised as goatherds going to spend a holiday on a country estate ; a summer song follows in which poplars and maples rustle where they rest, crickets chirp and frogs croak and the harvest blessing is not forgotten. Two reapers, one old and one young, compete in song; one sings an ancient song of labour, the other a comic love song to his dark sweetheart, with whom he longs to stand before the golden image in the temple of Cypris, she piping on the flute, and bearing roses and apples, he in new boots. Or the death of the herdsman Daphnis is described, who will not love in springtime, and who dies of love but will not yield to it. Animals and shepherds, Hermes and Priapus, all weep for him ; he gives his shepherd's flute to Pan and dies. In the " little pictures " the old lyric types were served up anew in a guise agreeable to pampered palates—the arias and summer songs, the songs of labour and heroic lays (Daphnis follows Stesichorus, and other choric poets in his allusions to heroic myths). Society mixed with the populace in town and country, sought out " Nature " and found exquisite contrasts to set off old poems, a gay medley of types of little people and little songs, and the opportunity of expressing all manner of sentimentalities elegantly : Daphnis (the poet ?) was a later version of Hippolytus, a virginal little gentleman, " pure " and " touching ", a little lascivious and a little comic, presented in popular style. Moreover, these hybrids of lyric, epic, and drama contained much original observation of detail, a great sense of the popular and natural, and great artistic sensibility, besides genuine sentiment and archaic forms.

Almost contemporary with Theocritus was Callimachus of

Cyrene, who was principal of the library of Alexandria about 250 B.C. and the founder of bibliographical scholarship. He endowed the rising lyric school with a programme and produced several poems in the new elevated style that was to supplant the epic and the short epic (within the choric song). *The Feast of Demeter* describes in hexameters first the mood of the women awaiting the procession in the street, then its appearance, the people thronging into the temple, and lastly the awful story of Demeter's warning to Erisychthon, who is cutting down her grove, and how, when he will not listen and even threatens her, she puts the curse of voracity upon him. In the State she establishes harmony and gives fruitfulness and peace to the countryside, but he is condemned to devour all that he possesses, even his horse and his cat, and ends as a beggar. Here is an equal balance between the rationalism of an educated man and the political self-restraint of a courtier who will not disturb popular beliefs. To Apollo of Cyrene, his native city, he dedicated a thrilling and vivid account of his appearance before the assembled people, ending with Apollo's defence of the poems of Callimachus against envious detractors. The poem on the lock of Queen Berenice's hair, discovered as a constellation by the astronomer Conon, is a masterpiece of court poetry in which the lock itself gives an account of its adventures, describing rhetorically how it was cut from the head with steel, romantically how an ostrich carried it off, and learnedly its position in the sky ; nor are grace and wit wanting, and a touch of lasciviousness : here was the birth of court gallantry, as the poem to Apollo was of the loud pomp of baroque painting. A contemporary of Callimachus, Aratus, wrote a didactic poem on Eudoxus' chart of the heavens that retained its vogue for two thousand years. Cleanthes the Stoic (264–233 B.C.) was a little younger and the author of a deeply pious hymn to Zeus the almighty Governor of the universe " that revolves round the earth ", the Father in whom all things happen, " only not wickedness ". Man has been created solely in his image and ought to live wise and happy in him instead of striving after the delusions of fame and gain and sensual delights. The hymn ends with a prayer to " the guardian of happiness, wielder of the lightning, and gatherer of clouds " to take away delusion. It is an example of late philosophic piety of the monotheistic type ; it is fervent, but compared with the Jewish psalms it is too abstract, cosmological, and ethical. Amongst the philosophers (Bion ; and Menippus, 280 B.C.) satire evolved from dialogue, with the object of preaching morals in a popular, propagandist style ; it, too, was a hybrid of verse and prose, quotations from philosophers and poets, fables, anecdotes, and proverbs welded together by all the devices of art, antithesis and paradox, and spiced with little incidents from real life ; it was wisdom in an entertaining and instructive form, a criticism of society and people.

In the last century before Christ the hymns to Adonis (Bion) grew increasingly effeminate and saturated with blood, with the fluttering of little Cupids at every turn, whilst the love-poems came to be mere dainty trifling. Heroic epics and stories of the beginning of the world had developed into verbose romances in prose of the loves of Achilles and Polyxena, Ninus and Semiramis. The field was dominated by the mime, in which a single performer dressed up and acted, danced, recited, and sang ; it was a patchwork of classic drama and scurrilous commonplace, of cultured and uncultured elements, a combination of pure jugglery and the composite work of art in briefer form.

Music

In pre-Homeric days (up to about 750 B.C.) Greece must at least have had the music performed at the annual festivals of the solar religion of Her, and at the marriage and mourning ceremonies that were the corresponding festivals of ordinary life. But we can tell nothing of its character. Cretan and perhaps Oriental elements must have been combined with the Indo-Germanic music that the people brought with them. But we may assume fairly safely that hardly anything in the " primitive " airs of the seventh and sixth centuries dated back to pre-Homeric times. In music as in everything else the development that began with Homer must have completely outstripped and supplanted what went before.

Homer himself, the eighth century poet of the Wrath, composed and recited in long lines. Probably he neither " sang " nor " spoke " as we understand it, but recited in the elevated manner which was the origin of both sung and spoken verse. The long lines were probably hexameters, but not as rhythmically accurate as at a later date ; still, they would be lines with six stresses and a distinction between long and short syllables, and would be melodiously recited. As he was unacquainted with the foot, he may have used some musical instrument, perhaps the phorminx, as accompaniment.

In 700–675 B.C. differentiation began. Hesoid, always addicted to systematic scholarship, was the first rhapsodist to declaim epic hexameters with the foot, that is with the spoken element strongly stressed, though he did not speak as we understand it, but marked the fixed measure of the long and short syllables in what was still a decided chant. Terpander of Lesbos, who won the prize and crown at the Carneia in Sparta in 676–3 B.C., was the first bard who actually sang Homeric epic verses to the cithara. With Hesoid and Terpander the professional rhapsodists and *aoidoi* (minstrels) originated, and both styles of reciting epic poetry survived into the fifth century. Terpander is also said to have enlarged the four or six-stringed cithara and made a seven-stringed instrument of it, the proper Greek cithara. Its scale was doubtless the basis of the Dorian mode.

Henceforth Greek music existed. In the monotheistic outlook of Hesoid and the poet of the *Odyssey* it struck root earlier and better than plastic art (the same is true of the Jews and Persians), and in the more personal lyric poetry of the Greeks it rapidly evolved a more personal and varied character. It was an appanage of poetry, dependent for centuries on the spoken word. In practice Greek music was vocal music down to the fourth century, and it was only incidentally that theory and instrumental music evolved from the accompanying cithara and flute. In the new phase of human evolution music aspired to independence and sought for its own basis, its methods and structure. It began to find its true self with the help of language ; the verse gave it measure and rhythm and melody followed the meaning, the lingual expression. The melody was univocal (accompanied by the flute and emphasized and supported by the cithara), but it assumed a definite and distinct form that could be further differentiated and even separated from the words when the ear was sufficiently practised ; the bars had five, six, etc., beats according to the metre, and the highest stress in the bars followed the sense. It was still an unending melody without our pauses and repetitions after eight bars ; each syllable had a note and the highest note coincided with the most strongly stressed syllable.

It was the lyric poets who developed musical rhythm and measure by inventing new metres. The iambic and trochaic lines of Archilochus, the elegiac songs of love and war (with flute accompaniment, *aulos*) by Tyrtæus and Mimnermus, the dactylic-trochaic logaœdics of the two great Lesbians, Alcæus and Sappho, all involved great musical innovations. The choric songs of Alcman were the first to assume a fixed form determined by music, the succession of strophe, anti-strophe, and epode.

At the same time, the influence of the new lyric school spread to the old festal and workaday songs of pre-Homeric times. The cult of the great Homeric gods, especially Apollo, assumed its historical form. Under its influence *nomoi* or melodies developed and established themselves; they were attributed to the gods themselves, later to a legendary flutist, Olympus, or to Terpander; some even then embraced a variety of rhythms. Tyrtæus formulated the new style of marching song (with flute) and the war dances, Alcman and others of the hymns, pæans, and choric chants at marriages and funerals. Dionysan mysticism also exercised an important influence on music. The flute (*aulos*), as an exciting and intoxicating instrument, acquired special importance. Hitherto it had only been used to mark time and rouse enthusiasm in marching songs, and in other elegies as a soft accompaniment; it now became the instrument of ecstatic frenzy, engendering and healing corybantic madness. At a later date people could not conceive that Dionysus was native to Greece and the Homeric world, and so at a later date the flute, too, was held to be of alien origin, not indeed from Thrace, but from Phrygia. The cithara belonged to Apollo, the *aulos* to Dionysus. Beside the Dorian mode of the cithara there arose the Phrygian mode of the *aulos*, and it, too, contained the germ of a future scale; it is said to have been pentatonic, " incomplete " according to the Greek perfect system. In China pentatonic music was the fruit of early monism, and Greece seems to have passed through the same stage about 600 B.C. The *aulos* as a corybantic instrument that stirred and healed was the first independent instrument used by Greek composers; in 586 B.C. Sacades of Argos performed the first concerto (*Solosymphonie*) for the flute in five movements at the Pythian Games, a piece of descriptive music in which Apollo's New Year victory was represented purely instrumentally. Thus the earliest subject matter, even of pure music, as well as of epic and tragic poetry and plastic and pictorial art, was derived from the sacred solar legend; the flute-player depicted Apollo's appearance, his challenge to the dragon, the beginning of the fight, represented by trumpets and iambic measures (mocking speeches), then the triumphal song and dance. For centuries this " Pythian *nomos* " retained its fame and was regularly performed at the Pythian Games.

Pythagoras of Samos (570–500 B.C.) is of special importance in the history of music because he succeeded in bringing the elusive realm of musical sound within the grasp of science. He discovered the fact that relations between sounds were based upon simple ratios between the lengths of strings. The ratio of a key-note to its octave is 2 : 1, to the fifth it is 3 : 2, to the fourth 4 : 3, and to the third 5 : 4. Thus the world of sound is part of the general harmony of the universe. That is how the notion of " the harmonious " appeared in science and music. In the first instance it merely implied simple numerical ratios corresponding to definite intervals in the musical scale ; there was no question of concord but of gradations of sound. Concord did not pass unobserved, but musicians made no use of it, and theory neglected it. In practice the music of the ancients only knew the unison of octaves (when men's voices joined with boys' or women's). Of other harmonies, as we understand them, of concords and discords and their resolution, they were as ignorant as of definite melodic themes and their elaboration. The simple succession of notes, the unending melody, had first to be explored in all its possibilities before polyphony and the use of themes could emerge. To the ancients the fifth was " more harmonious " than the third, because the ratio 2 : 3 is nearer to the ideal enshrined in the octave (1 : 2) than 4 : 5 and they regarded the minor third as almost a disharmony. In spite of this limitation of its scope, the new scientific study of music exercised a very important influence on its development. The scale had hitherto been plotted out as a succession of notes determined by the strings of the cithara or the holes and pipes of the flute ; it was now calculated scientifically. The Dorian mode was based on the strings of the cithara and the Phrygian mode on the notes of the *aulos* in supplementing the pentatonic scale. A third, Lydian, mode was added. The whole world of music was based exclusively upon three principal scales with the semi-tones at different points (the Dorian after the third and seventh, the Phrygian after the second and sixth, the Lydian after the first and fifth note from the top). All possible ways of distributing the semitones in the series of eight notes (the diapason) were exhausted by introducing subsidiary modes, the hypo- and hyper-Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian. For the first time music was intellectually conceived ; all the notes were brought under observation and arranged in descending scales (*systema*) of an octave each. Each note could be written (musical notation), even the quarter tones of the string and wind instruments ; these were distinguished and recognized both by mathematics and the human ear, which was getting accustomed to finer and finer intervals.

The Greek system of scales was not as simple as ours. The octaves were still made up of " tretra-chords ", the modes were distinguished by the varying position of the semi-tones; they did not all have the first semi-tone after the second (minor) or third (major) and the second semi-tone after the sixth (minor) or seventh (major) from the bottom, by which means the key-note alone can be used to designate and distinguish different scales of identical structure. The first steps were, however, taken in that direction; Cleonides arranged the seven keys uniformly in the two-octave scale. But the modes were more independent of one another, and it was only possible to pass from one to another by re-tuning. Nevertheless enharmonic music was highly developed. But Greek music, being unisonal, had no need of greater uniformity; the intervals in the melodic succession were of prime importance and the Greek modes typified the chief possible varieties. But the most important effect of the introduction of scales was that the human ear grew accustomed to expect a beginning and an end on the key-note in the unending flow of melody that was simply eternal motion. In the sea of sound the human voice and human speech established a solid nucleus to which everything could be related and so ranged in order; the beginning and end of each piece was now musically determined. Hitherto music had begun and ended with the verbal text; it now had its own law, and every deviation, every development of the law enhanced the power of expression. Nothing further of equal significance occurred until harmony as we understand it was introduced, when the ear grew accustomed to wait for the completion of a harmony or the resolution of a discord.

Homer stood at the threshold of the first phase of Greek culture with his long-lined poetry declaimed in melodious speech, and a rhapsodic and an aoidic manner of epic recitation developed, together with a philosophic, rhetorical school of poetry beside a more musical (lyrical) school. Similarly Æschylus stood at the threshold of the second phase with tragedy, his composite blending of music and dialogue, and initiated the second evolutionary process destined to produce a further separation of the verbal and musical arts, on the one hand philosophy, lyrics to be recited or read, and rhetoric, on the other the musical play and the instrumental concert. Pythagoras' achievement in bringing theory to birth had also its counterpart in the second phase of culture: Plato brought the æsthetics of music to birth.

Tragedy, as we have seen, originated in choric chant sand especially in the dithyramb. With Æschylus the chorus still formed its nucleus. It was "musical drama", therefore the choric scenes were sung either by the chorus alone or by divisions of the chorus alternating with the leader. The actors, too, took part in this alternation of song, and since their spoken scenes merged with choric scenes we must imagine even the spoken passages declaimed in a kind of chant. But there was very little likeness between this " musical drama " and modern musical plays. There was no orchestra, but only a single flute played in unison with the chorus. Nor was there any score or book of words. In spite of the music the choric songs were quite easily understood by the audience ; when the appearance of the new dithyramb music began to make greater demands, and the style of declamation grew more varied, complaints arose at once that the words could no longer be understood ! Alike in tragedy and in choric lyrics, in which the words grew more and more complex and yet had to remain generally comprehensible, music was still no more than an elevated, melodious style of recitation. The rhythm of the verses inspired the music, and the musical intonation stressed the words (the most highly stressed word coincided with the highest note). We must not think of Wagner but of a Gregorian chant if we want to imagine how a Greek chorus sounded. And many characteristics of the Gregorian chant (modulation as a medium of expression) were introduced into tragedy by Euripides. As a matter of course, therefore, the poetic word was always of prime importance, and music was an element in production. The poet rehearsed both the choric and the spoken scenes, and determined the mode of each chorus (except in so far as that was automatically settled by their tenour—whether a lamentation, or solemn, or tender). Certain passages he ordered to be recited with special pathos, or lyrically, or with cries, and similarly the general style of singing was to produce certain varieties of effect. But down to the time of Euripides music was not necessary as part of the *written* drama ; everybody might supply his own in mode (the character of the modes) and in the pitch and flow of the melody.

Æschylus and Sophocles were not great composers as we understand the word. They were great lyric poets, masters of rhythm and mood, and great dramatists, masters of verbal expression and of sound. The music of their day was hardly more than rhythmical declamation, the melody of speech, and they, as poets, could give it its due, could manipulate and enrich it. Every art passes through phases when all educated people can master and practice it ; before Mozart every girl of talent composed her own little song ! Music entered such a phase about 500 B.C. and Æschylus and Sophocles were poets with special gifts of rhythm and declamation and were trained chorus-masters.

But the new and more independent music grew up side by side with them and in opposition to them. It was precisely dialogue and characterization, in other words the spoken part of tragedy, that Sophocles developed, whilst the choruses diminished in importance, although their lyric expression of moods and thoughts gained in depth ; he had no use for music that made the words more difficult to understand. But in the " new dithyramb ", which had been introduced into Athens in 508 B.C. such music appeared ; there the *aulos*, independent of the human voice, occasionally followed its own way, and the singers also wanted to display more skill and a more decorative style of performance. To us the innovations seem insignificant ; the flute once sighed in an interval or filled in a pause with grace notes, instead of confining itself strictly to the rôle of accompanist ; the singers introduced expressive modulations and cadences, or broke up the simple flow of sound with shorter notes. To the Athenians it was a revolution in music, parallel with the Sophist revolution in philosophy. People could no longer understand the words of the text, and they did not understand the new artistic methods. To perform this music, artists were needed who could read musical notation (for now it began to be customary to prescribe the exact melody), who sang and played brilliantly, and took pay like the Sophists. It was all unprecedented ; and in actual fact it did conceal the seeds of new developments ; a future polyphony and " absolute music ", and the new artistic methods of modulation and grace-notes, were being discovered. The unison characteristic of monotheism and monism could be left behind.

In 446 B.C. the greatest representative of the new style, Phrynis of Mytilene, won a victory in Athens. He was an innovator in expressive modulation and rhythm and the inventor of the nine-stringed cithara, and in him perhaps, the new style reached its consummation. In 438 B.C. in his *Alcestis*, which was, it is true, played as a satyric drama and not as a genuine tragedy, Euripides presented the first great solo aria on the stage. In 420 Timotheus of Miletus came to Athens, the creator of the solo cantata in several parts, also in the new style. He met with the full approval of Euripides, who now (in 415) produced *The Trojan Women* with freer, non-strophic choruses, made the fullest use in every way of new means of expression in tragedy, and so paved the way for the opera, even including such details as echo effects (*Andromeda*).

The only fragment of a score that we possess belongs to one of his plays, and from it we can form some notion of the new style ; perhaps its short, lyrical chorus already contained the germ of a finite type of melody, capable of retention in the memory.

The most important representative of the school that protested against these innovations was Damon of Athens (about 450 ?). He was both a politician and musician and saw in the older music and its ethical content the sole salvation for the State ; revolution in music meant revolution in the State. Plato was his pupil and combated the modern musicians as passionately as he combated the Sophists. In so doing he enunciated the doctrine of the moral and immoral character of the modes—the serious, solemn, and sublime quality of the Dorian mode, the inspiring and purifying effect of the Phrygian, and the weakening and disastrous ennervating influence of the Lydian. This was based on an examination of the psychological effects of music, in the sphere of pedagogy, politics, and medicine, which dominated all antique thinking on the subject. Beside the Pythagorean theory of harmony, Plato's doctrine of the ethics and æsthetics of music was the most important contribution of the Greeks to the theory of music.

But it had no more power to check the " degeneration " of music than Plato's philosophy had to save the city State. Music maintained its new conquests and rose to high importance in the Hellenistic empires as an essential part of personal culture (Aristotle) and as an indispensable source of pleasure to the new bourgeois society. But it advanced little beyond the point reached by Euripides ; the seeds latent in his works did not develop till the modern era. The centre of musical practice and study moved to Alexandria and remained there till the time of Augustus. It was in Alexandria that the professional musician (man or woman), singer, dancer, or instrumentalist, earned the fame necessary for a world tour, as formerly in Athens. Music was now represented entirely by professional artists. The texts for their arias and solo scenes were " libretti ", written for music ; some were very skilfully constructed, but they were not great poetry. The lyrics of Callimachus, Theocritus, and the epigrammists were no longer sung, but recited or read. The separation of musical from spoken poetry was complete. In Alexandria the first really great orchestral concerts were held, with the participation of hundreds of citharists. Here Ctesibius (after 300 B.C.) invented the water-organ, the instrument of the future. The greatest musical theorist among the Greeks, Aristoxenus of

Tarentum (about 320 B.C.) does not, indeed, seem to have lived in Alexandria. He, too, had a vision of a Promised Land when he declared emphatically that harmony to the ear (though only in the case of thirds) took precedence of mathematical harmony. But he did not set foot in it. Euclid of Alexandria, the great geometrician, also perfected the mathematical theory of musical sound. Hero (about 100 B.C.) wrote on the structure of the organ. The few Greek musical compositions that have been preserved show that about 200 B.C. modern methods of modulation had penetrated even quite archaic pieces, like the *Hymn to Apollo,* and that in the first century B.C. there were ditties, like that of Seicelus, in which a brief, simple melody was adapted to a short, unadorned text, and which were on the road to accentual instead of quantitative rhythm (compare also Bion's hexameters in the *Hymn to Adonis*), but hardly to the eight-bar themes of our own ditties ; for both in the *Hymn* and in the ditties the highest note still fell on the most highly stressed syllable.

ART

The plastic and pictorial arts and architecture developed extraordinarily slowly in Greece. At the time of Homer, the poet of the Wrath, in the eighth century, people still lived in the Mycenæan fortresses at Tiryns that had been handed down to them, and for the rest the ancient wooden hall of the north seems to have been their most ambitious architectural achievement. There were no temples ; the solar religion had no more need of them than of images, for its gods were worshipped without images on mountains, in groves, and in palace courtyards, and the gods of the Underworld in caves and ancestral cupola tombs. Funeral urns were now rarely buried in mounds ; for the most part it was in cemeteries. Pillars, sacred trees and animals, and other fetishes were still worshipped without change. Where Homer mentions anything considerable made of bronze and gold, such as bronze palaces (that is wooden palaces decorated and faced with bronze) or magnificent goblets and armour, they were the work or gift of the gods, not made by the people themselves.

It was Homer himself, the poet of the Wrath, who created prerequisite conditions for temples and divine images ; when the worship of the new great gods arose, they required dwellings ; vividly concrete as they were, they claimed concrete incarnation by the artist's hand in addition to their poetical form. After 700 B.C., therefore, the earliest wooden temples and wooden images appeared, sometimes, perhaps, faced with bronze. Colonization and trade introduced eastern models and technical methods which influenced the Greeks. But it was the piety and city manners of the period after 650 B.C. that carried the new religion to victory and led to the rivalry of the faithful in erecting stone temples and images.

In Egypt and Babylonia we find an exactly similar growth of the new religion out of the solar religion, which knew neither images nor temples. Nevertheless the first stone temples and tombs, the first divine images and representations of sacred stories in relief, appeared there as early as Menes and Ur-Nina, together with writing and poetry, indeed considerably earlier than the first great narrative poems. In Greece it was otherwise; here apparently the power of imagery found no hands (in poetry it found full expression); poetry and plastic art developed unequally. For this there is an explanation. It may be urged that the Dorian invasion made a complete break in the Cretan artistic tradition, and further that the knights and rhapsodists and smiths were entirely occupied with knightly concerns and left building and handicrafts to serfs; that there were no priests; and so on. But all that is true of the pre-Egyptians and pre-Babylonians. There the call for temples and images and priests arose with the new religion, in Greece after it. I can find no explanation but that the Greeks began their civilization on a monotheistic, or even a hyper-monotheistic, plane. In Judæa and Persia, in India and China, there was also an absence of interest in plastic and pictorial art, initially or permanently. The great realization of the one God as lord of the universe, as Zeus or Fate, forbade images and temples. It was only in course of time among those who had reached the monistic phase that the seeds of plastic and pictorial art recovered the free and effective vitality paralysed during the monotheistic phase.

The miniature arts of pottery and ceramic painting prove that at the time of Homer (about 750–700 B.C.) the Greeks would have been capable of remarkable achievements in the plastic arts. The funeral urns in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens may be contemporary with the poet of the Wrath. The subjects portrayed do not reveal any knowledge of the Homeric religion; their symbolism includes the animals (the horse, stag, and bird) and emblems (cross, swastica, labyrinthine line [meander], and undulating zigzag, wheel, and spiral) associated in the solar religion with death and resurrection.

In form they are cleanly and carefully moulded (showing perfect mastery of an old technique in pottery); their ornamentation consists of exuberant but altogether geometrical dark lines on a light ground. There is only one entirely new feature; great scenes of action are represented in beautiful and well-ordered succession—funeral processions with long trains of war-chariots and warriors, lamenting women and choruses, and combats in honour of the dead on land and water. Here is a stirring of pictorial powers in preparation for the performance of great things, powers that find expression in strong, clear, and purposeful progress. It is no less a thing than the beginnings of characteristically Greek ceramic painting, vases embellished with people and animals in action and with whole scenes; ceramic art was at grips with the loftiest problems. But these youthful powers, equal perhaps to Homer's, remained fettered by the limitations of a craft; the figures remained geometrical in form, and nobody thought of making them altogether lifelike. Compared with the knightly poetry this was art of the second rank, whilst the Nar-Mer palette is high art, treasured and sought after by kings to record their enduring fame.

Even in the seventh century vase painting was still oppressed by the weight of the monotheistic view of the universe; the geometrical style of ornament on vessels long persisted; neither Hesiod nor Archilochus had their equals amongst contemporary plastic artists, any more than the poet of the Wrath. The era of colonization dawned and the cities developed their trade. The first important articles of export of which we hear (besides agricultural products or special mineral wealth) were ceramic wares. Potteries sprang up in Miletus, in Corinth (Sicyon), in Samos and Chalcis, and here, especially after 650 B.C., the potters outgrew the Dipylon phase; here the new art threw off its shackles and developed, partly by borrowing from the East; certain subjects were borrowed (the Marduk dragon, the sphinx, and the lotus) besides form and ornamentation (leaves), but to a less extent than is generally assumed; for instance, there were gryphons in the Swedish rock drawings of about 1500 B.C. A variety of local forms developed, but the number was afterwards restricted to those that were found to be useful and popular among the buying public; probably the choice was influenced, too, by artistic considerations, and the desire to produce particular pleasing forms. The surface was no longer entirely covered with figures; the artists learned to distribute them in the space and to accentuate and emphasise the several parts of the vessel by means of ornamentation.

The designs were all dark on a light ground; some were non-geometrical figures of animals and people ranged in rows and performing simple actions together, some were purely decorative designs obeying laws of their own, spirals, meanders, palmettes, and buds. Under the influence of the religious movement figures of the gods and heroes of the rhapsodists' songs were introduced. The spell cast by a philosophic and religious outlook was broken and vase painting came to play an important part in shaping the Homeric world. About 600 B.C. pottery was at its first prime in Greece. There was still great variety in the form of the vases and in their ornamentation, but the process was in full swing by which a few principal styles and their organic adornment were perfected. There was freer movement in the natural and mythological scenes; the artists faced the problem of depicting quick running and even flying, and ventured upon great historical pictures, like the capture of Magnesia by the Cimmerians (Bulachus of Samos), and upon a great variety of mythical battle and hunting scenes. A few artists' names are recorded.

At this point Athens entered the field as a competitor in the manufacture and sale of articles of world commerce. Solon is said to have attracted foreign artists to Athens. At any rate the craft of pottery grew rapidly in Athens about 600 B.C. and competed in the world market against Miletus and Corinth, Samos and Chalcis. Its rise was helped by the policy of Solon, Pisistratus, and Cleisthenes, who deliberately promoted the spread of industry and commerce, and by various events abroad, such as the advance of the Persians, which was a serious blow to the Ionian cities and islands. But in the main the Athenian industry prevailed because of its superior work. Athens produced vessels in a small variety of shapes, but those few were brought to perfection. The separate figures and the special ornamentation on each part of the vessel were developed as classical types with taste and a thorough grasp of the functions of the several parts. This simplification liberated space and energy for the artistic treatment of what was most important, the surfaces left free for pictures. The painter's problem was now to display the utmost variety and abundance, beauty, taste, and intellectual power within a definite space. Dark figures were still portrayed on a light ground; in Athens a deep black luminous varnish was adopted in the potter's craft. It is said that the principle of distinguishing men from women by painting the men black and the women white was invented in Athens. This involved the possibility of depicting not only the internal structure of the outlined figures by a few incised lines, but also of indicating graphically the pattern and drapery of the garments. The subjects of the pictures were now for the most part mythological. Really great compositions were achieved, such as the decoration of the François vase which depicted the hunt of the Calydonian boar, the funeral games for Patroclus, the marriage train of Thetis, and other scenes from heroic legends, then a series of symbols of the conquest of death (New Year victory from the solar legend) in combat with animals and men, and finally, at the base, actually a parody of heroic combats, the battle of the cranes and pygmies. The date is about 560 B.C.

The other centres of manufacture struggled against the rising competition of Athens, and they, too, improved the artistic quality of their wares. In their eager rivalry the legends of gods and heroes were elaborated in detail and pictorially varied; the sacred solar legend provided the principal subject matter for the new branch of art (as with the Babylonian seals); but all the activities of daily life were depicted on the vases too. Nevertheless, Athens was the victor. None could equal the Attic masters in vigour and severity of their form and ornamentation, and in the dainty, sharply outlined little pictures of country life and the farmyard.

It was in Athens that the advance was made from black to red-painted figures on pots. This offered the artists the widest opportunities of vivid and manifold delineation and decided the victory of Athens in the world market. Miletus was eliminated, Corinth confined herself to mass production, and Chalcis became subordinate to Athens; about 500 B.C. the Attic export trade dominated the world market and maintained its supremacy till the Sicilian expedition in 413. The black outline figures with the structure indicated by a few incised interior lines came more and more to be supplanted by light figures left uncoloured on a background of the black varnish, with finely delineated structure. Vase painting profited by the whole development of great and plastic art, with its anatomical studies, and by men's liberated powers of comprehending and reproducing movement and drapery in a lifelike manner. Cimon of Cleonae (about 500 B.C.) is said to have invented fore-shortening (the oblique view); it was a greater painter who first made use of it. But no names are attached to the productions. Men and women were now no longer roughly distinguished by black and white, but the bodily outline was indicated beneath the finely delineated robe. The faces were still shown in profile, but the eyes were correctly drawn and some individual expression was indicated. The bodily movements lost their stiffness, and the artists aspired to show objects crossing and covering others and foreshortened. The main design was now worked out with complete success. Delicate detailed work and the masterly treatment of the whole, lifelike variety and the artistic distribution of the figures and ornaments of the vessels, all reached the height of perfection ; so, too, perfection of form was now achieved —the slender *lecythi* and dainty goblets. Euphronius, Brygus, Duris, and Macron of Athens belong to the " mature archaic " period of Aeschylus and Themistocles ; they were the most individual masters of ceramic art, great modellers and draughtsmen, masters alike of the mythical picture and the gay and lively social scene.

In their works ceramic art reached its consummation and produced something complete and unsurpassable ; the forms evolved in this period and their decoration, pictorial and ornamentative, remained as a model within the confines of ceramic art which, however, now lost its leading position among the plastic arts. It arose in the sixth century because it could image the whole wealth of figures of the Homeric world. Sculpture and relief were still struggling to master their material ; there were no books, and the artists' zeal was stimulated by commercial rivalry. But now epic poetry withered and tragedy inherited the elements of greatness in it ; but the draughtsmanship of the vase-painters could no more compete with tragedy than could the pure choric lyric ; large-scale painting, trained in the school of miniature art, grappled with the new plastic problems. It is significant that about 480 B.C. the great vase painters were already on occasion portraying scenes from tragedies instead of handling the myths direct. They wanted to extend their sphere, but their success was merely external. Miniature art was not equal to the task of painting man in his spiritual aspect and expressing emotion or character. Polygnotus, the pupil of Aeschylus, produced great frescoes. The choric lyric in the hands of Bacchylides and Pindar, as the rival of tragedy, developed the art and technique of song-writing for personal victories and all festal occasions. Ceramics in the hands of Brygus and Duris became a perfect social art ; the tasteful bowls and gay, or sometimes lascivious, pictures satisfied the demand of elegant society for luxury and grace, and served a variety of useful purposes, from the prize vase at the Panathenæa to the mourning and sepulchral *lecythi*. In the latter part of the fifth century the vase painters adopted all the innovations made in the province of large-scale painting ; they painted shadows, and faces viewed from the front, delineated character, the perspective of the human figure, and picturesque groups. But quite decidedly they no longer took the lead, merely adapting innovations in their own small sphere. After 413 B.C. Athens ceased to dominate the world market; that of Greater Greece was lost and was but inadequately replaced by the Pontic market. Moreover the vitality of the Athenian vase painting art was exhausted. It became vapid and gaudy and repetitive, and borrowed from plastic art and painting. As a pure and distinct art it withered and no more artists' names are recorded. The same fate overtook the manufacture of Southern Italy which had succeeded Athens in the fourth century; the power of breathing new life into the lifeless past was lost. There was a great deal of pomp and pathos, a great deal of white and gold, colossal vases and others of exaggerated daintiness and elegance. This style continued dominant in the Hellenistic period, with the addition of barbarian elements and an empty pretence of classical style. So, too, the miniature figures in clay were mere imitations of large scale art, and they were the best products of ceramic art in the fourth century. Figure modelling took the place of the outworn ceramic art; there were elegant, graceful, and burlesque figures, women, children, Erotes (*putti*) and satyrs, besides worthy handicraftsmen and citizens; Praxiteles and *genre* art faded into mere craftsmanship and fashion. The products of this craft have been preserved, thanks to the funeral customs of the citizen class.

(*a*) ARCHITECTURE

The great Homeric gods had ceased to be divinities of the sun and earth and were raised above the stars and clothed in ideal human form; they needed a dwelling like God in heaven, and a house like man on earth, a place where those who prayed could seek them in thought and suppliants could find them in a tangible image. Homer placed them on Olympus and afterwards, with Hesiod, above the clouds in heaven. Then the Greeks built them temples on earth. Homer and Hesiod knew well that these could not be dwellings in the strict sense, for the Deity is invisible and formless (and Fate even more emphatically so); a truth which is only symbolized by distance and many forms. Even the Homeric Greeks knew that the god did not dwell in the temple but was only worshipped there. They did not build living-rooms in the temple for his family and courtiers like the Babylonians. With their vivid and concrete imagery of things divine they were less subject to superstitious idolatry than the Jews, who were afraid of images because they were not sure that they would not confuse them with God himself.

The solar religion had no temples and only vague divine figures. The gods now took definite personal shape and at the same time were conceived in quite an abstract sense (Fate), and their houses and images touched the heights of artistic beauty and sacred symbolism. The oldest temples in Greece cannot be older than about 700 B.C. The wooden temple of Hera in Olympia can hardly be older than Olympia itself, which bears a Homeric name. We have in Tiryns an example of how the new custom of temple worship took possession of old sanctuaries; the old megaron there was turned into a temple in the seventh century and the old Her divinity, formerly adored in the open air, was worshipped as a pillar. It may well be that in other places besides this a Her sanctuary became a temple of Hera.

The earliest temples were wooden edifices in no regular style, but style must have developed rapidly. Even the temple of Hera in Olympia was set upon a foundation of several terraces and surrounded by a single row of columns, a *peripteros*. At the period when our definite knowledge begins, about 600 B.C., the Greeks had everywhere adopted stone as building material; under the stimulus of the religious movement they eagerly adopted this costly method of building, and growing trade prosperity provided the cities with the necessary resources; they needed treasure-houses, too, and united them with the fireproof temples. At that date both the oldest architectural styles, the Doric and Ionic, had evolved their main features, though it was only in the course of the fifth century that they reached their full maturity and final form. It was a period when men's minds were directed in every field to method and rule (Parmenides).

The Greek temple, like the Egyptian, was a pillared edifice, and like the Babylonian a hall to contain the divine image. The magnificence of Egyptian pillared temples and Babylonian (Phoenician) halls of the gods may well have exercised a stimulating influence. We cannot tell whether more was derived from the East than this general inspiration, for the old wooden temples with their facings of tile and bronze have not been preserved. The fully developed Greek temple contains nothing visibly borrowed. It is true that there are in Egypt models for the Doric column and in Babylonia (Assyria) for the Ionic, but whether these particular examples, which were apparently of rare occurrence, were "borrowed" is very doubtful; the form might equally well have been evolved afresh from the wooden pillars of the megaron. Altogether the Greek temple is quite different from the Oriental; it is not a forest of pillars around a box containing the fetish, nor a palace like the Babylonian temple divided into a number of chambers and chapels, with its many images and symbols; it is merely a reception and throne-room for a heavenly Being who comes in contact with earth in it; its nearest of kin is the Jewish temple.

The Greek temple was a throne-room surrounded by a pillared hall, originally built of wood. When stone was adopted the whole structure of the wooden building was retained, but appropriately adapted to the new material. The wooden pillars were replaced by taller and stronger stone pillars bearing a heavy stone entablature; above the main beam (architrave) the frieze was introduced; it was changed in character and divided into stone triglyphs by the ends of the beams that supported the roof. The roof ended on each side in an overhanging cornice (*gison*) and was finished at the pediments and adorned with acroteria. The new and great quality in these buildings was their marvellous simplicity and uniformity, the unforced and natural manner in which the same exceedingly simple structural elements were everywhere worked out, stressed, and transmuted into simple decorative forms in the same exceedingly simple edifice. At the same time certain parts (metopes and pediments) were clearly distinguished from the actual structural parts and marked out as suitable for ornamentation and rich artistic elaboration, whilst they yet remained organically one with the structure; for instance, blank surfaces in a structure call for pictorial decoration. The utmost exuberance and the fullest vitality within a simple whole was invariably the end in view. An Egyptian temple has many kinds of pillars and as much variety as possible is introduced in the selected predominant type. A Greek temple has one kind of pillar, always fluted, that is, repeated again and again, always with the same width of intercolumniation. There are many leading types of Egyptian pillar and the majority are plant columns. The Greek pillar is of two fundamental types, the Doric which is heavy and massive and primarily gives weight and support, and the Ionic, slenderer and slighter, aspiring upwards, light and tall, although it, too, gives support. The Greek column does not deny its origin in the tree, but it no longer proclaims that origin by its naturalism, but only its purpose; that is worked out with vigour in every detail in a manner at once ocular and abstract. The Doric column is too weighty to allow of a base, and the burden that it supports causes a thickening in the middle. The necking and torus beneath the abacus are perfectly plain, being simply an expression of the relation between pressure and resistance. On the other hand the lightly soaring Ionic column can have a base which, in spite of the indication of pressure, may be variously formed; the necking is decorated with a broad girdling band and there is room above the torus for an ovolo; above lie the double scrolls, elastic, cushion-like and ribbon-like, with a visible upward thrust. And as with the columns, so with all the parts the constructive aspect was stressed; all were simplified beautifully; beside the ends of the beams with their glyphs, the metopes on the frieze were surfaces requiring decoration. A border decoration was made of old pine-cones, nail-heads, or raindrops. Painted ribbon or leaf ornaments served to emphasize certain parts of the structure, and in the palmette on the pediment the whole edifice ends on an upward note. Here is ability to unify and beautify and conceive in terms of number, besides the devotion to Nature in her detail and beauty; it is the quality which characterized the philosophy of Pythagoras and Xenophanes: cosmos, harmony, law-governed beauty and vitality in the universe, manifold matter and spirit, a complete survey and elucidation of tasks to be accomplished, a simple statement of problems simply and beautifully solved. The power to generalize and unify appears in the reduction of architectural structure to type, in the two styles of column, whilst the power to differentiate detail appears in the elaboration of the parts, some being decorated with constructive purpose and some purposely left without decoration. Surfaces of which the sole purpose was decoration were filled with the richest variety of ornament as men's power grew and they were better and better able to master the problem of filling strips and squares and triangles at a great height with clear and beautiful designs appropriate to the space. For the first time simple and beautiful types appeared, perfectly designed in every part, with the loveliest proportions of the whole to the parts and of structure to ornament; they were ingeniously and beautifully varied and finally their possibilities were exhausted; for artistic as well as scientific problems may be logically stated and their possibilities exhausted.

The earliest Doric stone temples which represent the finished style are to be found in Corinth (the temple of Apollo, built under the Cypselids, before 581 B.C.?) and in Italo-Sicilian colonial territory (Selinus, about 600 B.C.). Such, too, was the temple of Athena, on the Acropolis (Pisistratus, about 550 B.C.). The earliest Ionic temple was the Heraion in Samos, begun before 600 B.C. by Rhoecus. The great architectural plan of Apollo's temple at Didyma near Miletus and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus were probably as old, but the building was a very slow process.

When Apollo's temple at Delphi, which had been burnt down, was rebuilt, the Alcmaeonidae of Athens had the first marble façade made in a mainland temple in 548 B.C., and after that marble was more and more used in the erection of temples, first on the islands and then on the mainland. Before this the wooden buildings and even later the edifices of inferior stone were painted throughout, though with the perfecting of design the decoration of the parts probably became less gaudy than in Oriental buildings. But now the noble stone was hardly painted at all, leaving the pure architectural form and choice ornamentation the more impressive.

Temple design continued to grow in magnitude and splendour, but in addition other public buildings were begun in the sixth century as experience of building in stone increased ; there were splendid little edifices like the treasure-houses of the Cnidians and Siphnians in Delphi, and utilitarian buildings like aqueducts and wells, walls and harbours, for example in Samos.

About 500 B.C. (at the time of Parmenides) the Doric style reached its first classic culmination, after flourishing for a century ; there is one architectural style, that of the Doric temple, that is faultless in design, for in it the loveliest proportions of height and length and width, the perfect number of columns and the perfect width of intercolumniation (symmetries) had been discovered. The ideal, once found, was summed up in rules and a norm was established. In the first instance it was a mere stonemason's science, a canon of certain measurements, but it was inspired by the philosophical ideal of Pythagorean harmony. Moreover, the interior of the temples, which at first was very simple and unadorned, gained in importance and ornament as the buildings grew in size. It came to be the rule that the *naos* should be divided into three by two rows of columns ; of these the middle was by far the most important, being lighted by the door, whilst the side aisles were narrow and dark like passages.

The Ionic style was still in process of development ; the trend of the times was away from mass and towards a slenderer and loftier style, more variety and ornament. In 506 the first little Ionic building was erected in Athens, which now assumed the leadership in architecture as in other fields. This was a hall of victory to commemorate the defeat of Chalcis. Then the Persians came and the whole city was razed to the ground, and the greatest architectural problem arose that Hellas had yet faced. True, plenty of colonial cities had been laid out in the seventh century, but to rebuild a cosmopolitan city with all the resources of art and science, a metropolis of culture and trade, this was a new achievement. After Themistocles had first restored the walls and Cimon the fortified citadel, and after the residential quarter had been rebuilt in 480 B.C., Pericles devoted himself to the task. He erected the long walls between Athens and Piraeus and made the city a great fortress ; he developed Piraeus systematically as a naval and commercial port. Hippodamus the Sophist, who was the earliest scientific town-planner, designed the plan for this and for the colony of Thurii which was sent out in 544 B.C. Here we first find the ideal of broad, regularly rectangular, straight streets. But of primary importance was Pericles' resolve to make of the Acropolis a world wonder, designed on a uniform plan. In 450 the temple of Nike was built. The Parthenon, the great temple of Athena, was begun in 447 and completed in 432 ; the Propylaea were begun in 437 ; in 434 work was started on the Erechtheum. The mightiest and most graceful temples, all in marble, adorned the citadel of Athens. The great architect of the Parthenon was Ictinus, who blended Doric and Ionic features in a temple instinct with beauty, intellect, freedom, and delicacy. Doric severity is softened, Ionic grace rises to magnificence, and both are perfectly harmonized. The lofty edifice was also built very wide and the interior gained breadth and height. It was designed to receive the upright image of the god in worthy surroundings and allow space to enjoy its contemplation. So, too, the Propylaea (Mnesicles) were designed in the combined Doric and Ionic, the Pan-Hellenic, style. The temple of Nike by Callicrates is a masterpiece of Ionic in small proportions. So, too, the Erechtheum of Philocles with its Caryatic prostyle, containing the ancient sacred objects of the citadel, displays the most delicate Ionic forms, the richest ornamentation, and the surest solution of difficult technical problems.

In these temples Greek architecture reached its zenith. In the Parthenon and the votive temple at Eleusis Ictinus produced the first interiors that were fully equal to the perfect exterior. Just as philosophy first mastered Nature, then man from the standpoint of Nature, and lastly Nature and the universe from the standpoint of man, so temple architecture began with a coloured edifice and simple interior, then proceeded to a larger interior, and finally achieved a perfect interior worthy of the most glorious edifice; and there it reached its limits; nothing further was achieved until the late Roman period by the roundabout road of the secular basilica. A second road to the same destination by way of the arch was attempted at the time of Ictinus at least in theory, for it was then that the first theory of arched architecture appeared. Ictinus also blended the Doric and Ionic style in a new harmony and supplemented it with new Lesbian features. In a temple built by him at Bassae in Arcadia about 435 B.C. we have the earliest Corinthian column with almost natural acanthus foliage on the capital. The free creative genius of Ictinus rose above the limitations of particular styles, and new and beautiful forms sprang up under his hand; but under his successors the old styles became stereotyped (at this point strict rules were laid down for Ionic) or disintegrated into hybrid forms. Another innovation was that of Caryatides, female figures bearing weight in place of columns; and after that came decadence.

The Corinthian style, which is still sometimes placed on an equality with the Doric and Ionic, is nothing but a late form of Ionic. The scrolls on the Ionic column grow small, multiple, and dainty, and spring as tendrils out of two rows of acanthus (brook-ursin) leaves. Possibly Scopas developed this style from a hint put out by Ictinus. At any rate he blended it appropriately with the two others in Athena's temple at Tegea by using Doric columns outside, Corinthian in the *pronaos*, and Ionic in the interior. The Greeks attributed the invention of the new column to Callimachus of Corinth; the first example that has been preserved is in the monument to Lysicrates in Athens (334 B.C.). The freedom and delicacy of the new form exercised fascination in a period that made grace and elegance its aim. Probably the new type of pillar figured more frequently in private buildings than in the larger edifices, where it did not become dominant till Roman times. In the fourth and third centuries the Greeks repeated the two earlier styles, variously blended, magnified, or adorned, in temples which were now built of marble throughout. Ionic held its own better than Doric, which degenerated further and further. Occasional Oriental features were introduced, especially in Egypt, though what happened was rather the introduction of Greek features in Oriental buildings than the reverse. For in the third century Greek science had established a control over the styles of architecture. In 250 B.C. Hermogenes laid down the rules for Ionic, and many architects who wrote after him safeguarded Greek purity of style at least from barbarian innovations.

Whilst temple architecture, under the influence of rationalism and court patronage, was thus becoming stereotyped into rules and mechanism, and trifling in the guise of personality, the private building of citizens' houses, and the erection of palaces and towns by great rulers did not really begin to flourish till after the fourth century. Of the former unhappily little has been preserved; in it individual character found expression in the new era of cultured world citizenship, as well as purse-proud snobbery. In Pompeii we can see the end of this process of development in the interior structure (columned courtyard and hall) and interior decoration (vistas) of houses that often had several storeys. Of the erection of palaces and cities we hear and see rather more; it was an outlet for the energy of the newly established monarchs, who engaged the resources of science and art in great architectural works for the public good and their own fame. Epaminondas (370 B.C.) laid out three new cities in "Hippodamic" style, that is, according to a regular, general plan; these were Megalopolis, Mantinea, and Messina. Alexander the Great laid out some seventy cities, noting with the eye of genius the best strategic and commercial position; a number of them are still standing. The Hellenistic princes followed his example, especially the Seleucids, but also the kings of Pergamum (about 280 B.C.). Every prince was ambitious to equip at least his capital magnificently with palaces, temples, market-halls, law courts, gymnasia, libraries, theatres, and fountains. In all this exuberant building activity that which had the greatest future before it was the basilica, the great hall lighted by lofty windows in the central body (Egyptian influence ?); it was a new style of interior used for royal halls and law courts. Of the utilitarian buildings of the Hellenistic period the lighthouse of Alexandria, the Pharos (about 280 B.C.), was celebrated as a world wonder; it was over 100 metres high and remained in use for 1500 years. Great tombs also played a part once more, like the mausoleum at Halicarnassus (350 B.C.). The architects endeavoured to harmonize buildings with the landscape. Vast plans were sketched of a plastic art in landscape, like the scheme of moulding Mount Athos to an image of Alexander.

In landscape gardening great parks were laid out with waterworks and vistas of buildings and monuments. In house decoration art produced the illusion of outdoor prospects. So, too, a courtly art flourished in the construction of splendid ships and gorgeous tents.

(*b*) PLASTIC ART AND PAINTING

The plastic art of the Greeks does not really date back further than 600 B.C. Its great subjects were derived from the religious movement that came after 650, from the world of Homeric gods and heroes, and thence, too, sprang its religious inspiration, whilst the rise of the cities provided plentiful wealth for its support. It developed together with the temples; architecture, sculpture in the round, relief, and painting formed an integral whole. At first the Greeks no more distinguished separate arts and a particular technique—say sculpture in the round from relief—than the Egyptians or Babylonians. It was not till the sixth century that a practical distinction arose, and the purely constructive and ornamental parts of an edifice were differentiated from those to be adorned with figures; pediments were adorned with high relief, metopes with nearly high relief, and friezes with bas relief. It was not till about 500 B.C. that plastic art was differentiated from large scale painting, which now found its own sphere, and that people came to realize that different rules of style applied to sculpture in the round and to relief. To investigate how this practical discovery of the several purposes and styles of the particular arts came about, is the business of the historian of Greek art. It is a question almost exclusively of statuary, for Greek sculptors followed in the footsteps of Homer and the tragedians and took as their theme the human figure, singly or in small groups—first conceived externally in the representation of the principal movements, then spiritually in the minuter expression of the emotions. That theme was reduced to simple forms, but was then widely varied in its simplicity: man was represented as an ideal and as part of Nature, as a general type, as norm, as an individual, and as a character. As with temple architecture, the artist faced a problem of construction and embellishment, of simplification and the utmost enrichment of simplicity, and having faced it, proceeded to its complete solution. As in music one thing only was perfected, the univocal, unending melody, so in art the single human figure; all the rest, polyphony and harmony (in our sense of the word) and landscape were hardly touched upon. In order to accomplish one thing properly the rest had to be neglected; it was not done deliberately but instinctively, as a matter of course. The problem in hand was how to compose for a single voice and how to model single figures, and that problem was first grasped in all its fulness. It was a problem so great, so clearly outlined, so arresting, its advancing solution was so satisfying, it made such exalted demands for the fulfilment of so noble a task, that men's minds were concentrated upon it alone ; and meantime the nation was aging and its taste and rules were growing stereotyped. In the plastic representation of single human figures and quite small groups the Greeks achieved the perfection of sculpture in the round. Following in Homer's footsteps, they portrayed gods (heroes) in human form, and with all the passion of their piety and adoration of Nature they aspired to an ideal image of perfect and beautiful humanity, Being instinct with life. Their divine images were natural and yet grand, prototypes of the beautiful and sublime, and later of the tender and graceful. Then the process of differentiation went further and they became too natural, too personal, too human. It proved that religion could not be maintained by such methods (in philosophy this had already been recognized). But they did create man in all his natural diversity, the first ideal of the beautiful human form and the multiplicity of separate individuals : Homer had enshrined humanity in his divinities, and had thus endowed alike plastic art and poetry with the ideal of humanity. Together with sculpture in the round went relief—single human figures and groups in bas relief beautifully distributed over a surface, processions and dances and vivid, stirring battle-scenes. Here, too, Greek achievements are unsurpassed. When the subject was transferred to the sphere of painting the limitations of this stage of evolution came to light : the figures do not fit into the landscape, and even linear perspective was not fully mastered. As in philosophy, Being was conceived wholly in eternal types and special traits ; this was true even of Being seen as movement and emotional expression. But there the process of development came to a standstill. In a sense it was only completed by Leonardo and Michaelangelo.

The earliest Greek sculptures in the round that we possess are strictly front-face, one may almost say more so than the old Egyptian and Babylonian sculptures. The legs are fast to the ground, the arms to the body, the hips are equal in height even where one leg is advanced, the faces are expressionless and impersonal. But there are entirely naked men (we cannot tell whether they are gods [Apollo], or sacrificial, funereal figures or the images of victors). The women are clothed and their skirts are without folds. In spite of their stiffness, these figures have charm. The energy with which the one front-face aspect is modelled with the intention that it shall be seen from one viewpoint alone (the Berlin goddess must have stood in a niche) to the neglect of the rest (sometimes the figures are nearly flat), and the care with which the bones and masses of muscles are modelled and the hair and garments executed tell of artists wrestling with problems. The eyes are more open and the lips more curved than is necessary, for the aim is expression. Already the names of individual masters appear as the founders of schools. In the Peloponnesus and Crete where Doric prevailed, an athletic ideal seemed dominant, angular, lean, and vigorous. In Ionia (Asia Minor and the Islands) slenderer and suppler figures were popular. In the statues of Cleobis and Biton carved by Polymedes of Argos for Delphi the eyes were large, the edge of the ribs marked, and the arms bent; the arms soon attained complete freedom and were stretched forward, and the legs were looser. It was in Ionic figures that the female form was first stressed and attention devoted to drapery. About 560 B.C. Archermus of Chios ventured on the representation of a winged victory goddess in rapid motion.

Unhappily the earliest bronze reliefs have been lost. It is said that about 600 B.C. Giliades adorned the walls of a temple to Pallas with representations of the deeds of gods and heroes (the process of soldering had just been invented); these figures we must imagine rather stiffer and more uniform than those on the François vase. A Spartan gravestone possibly gives us an idea of the stone reliefs of this period; a dead couple are seen enthroned side by side, the man covered by the woman. The two are kept quite distinct by the front-face aspect of the woman's head and the profile of the man's, by different positions of the arms, and by the displacement of the man's legs. The worshippers are seen in profile.

The later figures in the metopes of the temple C on the citadel of Selinus are very clumsy and heavy in movement. The rectangles are packed full, the profiles are still mixed, yet the artist has ventured on such difficult subjects as the birth of Pegasus. What remains of the pediments of temples prior to Pisistratus on the Acropolis shows that the problem of filling the pediment surfaces organically had not yet been mastered; the corners had to be filled with the bodies of serpents, but figures in the round were already set in the pediment, Hercules, for instance, stretched across the dragon in the attitude of a wrestler. The first organic solution of the problem of filling the pediment is found in the representation of the giants' battle on one pediment of the first temple of Athena, built under Pisistratus after 550 B.C.; the movement is centripetal and culminates in the figure of Athena ; and the corners are no longer filled with serpents' bodies but with falling and prostrate giants.

Between 540 and 480 B.C. was the most vigorous period of productivity and development in Greek architecture and sculpture. Sculpture in the round became freer and more natural. The front-face aspect began to be varied, heads were turned and the limbs moved more freely ; the artists attained complete mastery of the naked male body, beautiful and slim. The leg bearing the body's weight and the leg represented in motion are plainly distinguished. At last the sculptors made themselves master of every bodily movement, standing and walking, kneeling, falling, bending to grasp, and lying prone. The faces, too, are harmonious and beautiful and the smile disappears. The women's figures are quite feminine in form ; their garments fall in rich, natural folds and they hold their robe or a flower ; finally the affected smile of a doll-like face gives way to a calm and serious expression. At this point the earliest famous groups were modelled, such as Antenor's Tyrannicides, and the earliest great pediment designs, such as those at Aegina and Olympia ; in the latter the fierce battle on the western side contrasts with the solemn tranquillity and quiet tensity on the other. It is clear that the artists felt the difference between sculpture in the round applied to single figures and to pediments. Although the single figures were not yet modelled in a three-dimensional aspect, they were fully rounded. The figures on the pediments appear round and are modelled in accordance with the laws of perspective, but in Olympia, for example, the back is not carefully modelled. The metopes, too, were beautifully filled with a sure hand. It came to be the custom to adorn the several metopes on the same temple with figures from a single legendary cycle. During the same period relief advanced from the Athenian gravestones of the Discobolus, the helmeted racer, and Aristion to the marvellous throne of Aphrodite at the Villa Ludovisi which, indeed, with its naked flute-playing girl might belong to the middle of the fifth century.

All preparatory phases were complete, and the time was ripe for the master-hand of the artists to achieve outward perfection in the figures and breathe spirit and individuality into them. The first great masters of sculpture belonged to the Periclean age and were the contemporaries of Sophocles, Protagoras, and Socrates. Plastic art and painting followed separate paths, though the marble statues were still partly coloured and Plato, the first founder of a science of aesthetics, held that their attractiveness depended upon the colouring; ideal norms were established for the human figure, and a clear distinction was drawn, if only in the practice of the masters, between the styles of sculpture in the round and of relief.

The first artist of this period was Phideas of Athens (500–435 B.C. ?), the friend of Pericles and his chief adviser on artistic matters; he had absorbed the culture of his age to the full (Aeschylus) and was eminent in every branch of plastic and pictorial art, bronze casting (a pupil of Hegias), sculpture in marble and in gold and ivory, and painting (a pupil of Polygnotus). All the highest expressions of praise applied to classic art by great men of later ages seem to have been coined for his work—noble simplicity and serene grandeur, and sublime severity instinct with human beauty. Like Sophocles, he consciously submitted to the bonds of religion and consciously asserted his freedom in the expression of feeling and the moulding of form; and all that he did was harmonious. His design for the adornment of the Parthenon is a masterpiece, perfectly homogeneous in idea and yet delightful in its rich diversity. It centred round the image of the goddess, standing erect in a wide decorated hall; she was clad in mail, strong, light, mobile, and yet sublimely tranquil. Athena was the protectress of civilized mankind and of their metropolis, and is marked as such by her shield bearing the head of Medusa and by representations of the defeat of the powers of Chaos and the barbarians; the goddess of victory stands upon her hand and beneath her shield the serpent as the symbol of created beings takes refuge. The adornment of the temple repeats again and again, always in fresh images and artistic media, the idea conveyed in the gold and ivory figure and of bronze-work and painting of the shield. On the eastern pediment Athena is shown springing from the head of Zeus, and the day of the new civilized race of men dawns; on the western pediment she is represented creating the olive-tree, the symbol of peace and wealth and industry, and so gaining the victory over Poseiden of the Underworld, who created the horse for savage warfare. On the metopes the defeat is portrayed of giants, centaurs, Amazons, and Trojans or Persians (quite recent history). The great frieze that runs round the interior portrays mankind and the people of Athens. Preparations are being made for the festival of the goddess, a procession of citizens is marching along and being received at their destination by the gods; beginning with the primeval days when gods were born and the world order was established, we are led through the heroic age and the Persian era on to the living democratic present and the people of Athens, proud of their faith and their culture, celebrating their dearest and proudest festival. With the utmost sense of style each particular subject is allotted to a particular part; and each artistic medium, whether the gold and ivory of the standing image, the sculpture of the pediments, the metopes, the frieze, or the bronze work and painting of the shield, is handled with a perfect and masterly power of adaptation.

Homer had delineated the great gods through the medium of poetry; Phidias perfected their images through the medium of sculpture, closely following Homer and satisfying the demands of an ancient religion, whilst yet he was animated by a new spirit: God is great, overwhelmingly great; he is the refuge of mankind and civilization, the guardian of order and reason and virtue, sublime and beautiful, remote from men, yet close to them. Before the temple with the gold and ivory virgin stood the great bronze Athena, also the work of Phidias and cast from the booty of Plataea, seven metres in height; it watched over the city and citadel and dominated the landscape; it was the first classical colossus. In Olympia the gold and ivory image of Zeus, seven times greater than life size, filled the temple as the living god filled the universe: the god sat enthroned in a natural posture, without his lightning (there are only lilies, or lightning flowers, on his mantle), and above the arm of his chair stood Graces and Horae, the representatives of beauty and law in the universe; portrayed on the pedestal of the throne was the birth of Aphrodite, the love force that moved the world. And besides these gigantic statues there were lesser ones of women and maidens in their bloom, an Aphrodite, an Athena turning to take her helmet, a Urania. No imitation was ever attempted of the gold and ivory sacred images; they were a final and supreme achievement; only in externals could posterity surpass the bronze colossus of Athena. The blooming female figures and life-like images in the festal procession led on to further achievements; this art had reached its full maturity and now took the whole of life as its subject.

Side by side with Phidias stands Myron of Eleutherae (Attica, about 450 B.C.); he perfected the work of the older school which aimed at mastery of the whole compass of Nature. His Discobolus is an example of the ability to seize and perpetuate the most vigorous and rapid movement at the most fruitful moment; his young cow was famed for its fresh truth to Nature; his group, "Athena and Marsyas" is a charming example of life-like characterization through contrast; the dainty yet divine maiden is displeased that she cannot play the flute and angry that a semi-brute, half man, half animal, should be her superior in the art; the satyr is all joyful astonishment and eager desire for the singing wood, and yet fearful of the angry divinity and her spear—the whole is simple and fresh and yet animated by a living spirit; it lacks the pure idealism of the figures of Phidias and Sophocles, but is more naturalistic.

The third great master of plastic art in this period was Polyclitus of Argos (about 480–420 B.C.). He perfected the Peloponnesian bronze sculpture with its cultivation of an athletic ideal, and he specialized in statues of youths and victors. His victor crowning himself and his spearman are models of masculine strength, of manly and handsome bearing, whilst his Amazon gave a feminine version of the same ideal, and his Hera statute for Argos a divine version. Polycletus followed the example of the sculptor Pythagoras of Samos, who was the first to work on scientific lines (between 480 and 450 B.C.); he chose subjects between rest and motion, worked out single movements with logical completeness, and investigated proportions; he took measurements, too, of a number of beautiful bodies and so established a canon of beauty of which he wrote a mathematical account. Socrates praised his scientific spirit.

Plastic art had reached maturity; in part it was past maturity and was developing into a scientific theory and a mere craftsman's rule of its new standard of beauty. The pupils of Phidias and Myron were the idealists in whose hands a simple theme produced its effect by simple means, and naturalists in whose statues mature women and beautiful boys took more sensuous form; they were the creators of the most beautiful gravestones with sad, calm partings, and touching family groups; they, too, produced the first ideal and lifelike portrait statues (of Pericles and Thucydides, and more realistic of Herodotus, Socrates, and Plato) and the first representations of everyday life (the man cooking offal).

We may regard Phidias as a pupil of Aeschylus; we may regard him, too, as the equal of Sophocles and his counterpart in the artistic field; in that case Scopas of Paros (?) (in Athens about 380–350 B.C. ?) would be a pupil of Euripides. He achieved his creative work in the field of architecture (perhaps he was the last great master after Ictinus) and sculpture. He carved statues of gods, but his figures of heroes and women are more celebrated. Like Euripides he was great in the representation of the irrational, of unrestrained passion (the Bacchante), which now came to be recognized as the right of the individual, and of philosophic melancholy (Meleager). In his human faces and bodies all the *pathos* (suffering) and all the most vigorous movement comes from within ; the eyes gaze profoundly from angular sockets, the lips are tremulous and half open. He could express every kind of pain and torment (the children of Niobe) and horror, but likewise maternal feeling and other lofty human emotions. He delighted in youthful bodies and women, in impassioned suffering and adoration. He modelled an Aphrodite Pandemus seated on a goat altogether in the style of Euripides. He was doubtless the first to achieve the free grouping of large numbers ; we hear of an Achilles being taken across to the Islands of the Blessed, with all manner of sea creatures ; and the children of Niobe must have been such a group. But he also gave outward shape in marble to logical distinctions, as for instance, in the group Love and Longing and Desire ; there, too, he resembled Euripides.

Beside this master of ecstatic passion stands Praxiteles of Athens (active 365–335 B.C.) as a master of tranquil and blissful calm. He, too, imaged the gods as glorious human beings in the bloom of health and ideally beautiful, but they are beings who know nothing of suffering and pain. He was far less many-sided than Scopas ; he erected no buildings and rarely modelled groups ; he aimed singly and solely at the beauty of the senses, pure grace ; but that he presented in ever new and exuberant form. His gods are naked youths with all the charms of youth, sunk in vague, foreboding meditation and calm, or idly playing : Hermes dallies with the child Bacchus ; Apollo aims with his terrible bow at a lizard running up a tree-trunk ; Eros is seen at rest. Even his satyrs are handsome youths leaning gracefully against a tree or pouring out wine. His goddesses are beautiful women with the like tender and exuberant youth ; Artemis puts on the robe that the women have offered at her altar, and Aphrodite, naked for the first time in sculpture, steps into the bath unembarrassed and smiling. Praxiteles never failed to devise fresh minor themes and by his scrupulously careful treatment of them to mould images of gentle, graceful movement. He used tree stumps and other accessories, not as supports, but as means of varying the position of the body. The gods of Praxiteles and the heroes of Scopas are instinct with beauty and humanity ; they are the products of an age that had mastered all the methods of expression and technique, and was at the same time seeking a refuge from public life in the personal and individual. Scopas, like Praxiteles, created works that were beautiful and unpolitical, but he was too passionate, too melancholy, too restless. Praxiteles gave his age what it needed, calm and the enjoyment of beauty. His gods do not trouble about the government of the world, they offer no refuge to civilization and humanity; they are the gods of dainty women and cultured men, the gods of Epicurus; and then again they are only lovely human creatures in the prime of their beauty, gracefully tranquil, ideal images of the heart's desire; indeed Praxiteles made two statues of Phryne.

The third great sculptor of the fourth century was Lysippus of Sicyon (whose working years were from 340 till after 330 B.C.). He was primarily a sculptor of male figures in bronze. He made statues of gods (a Zeus colossus 17 metres in height), of the giant Hercules, Alexander the Great and his generals, and a number of victorious soldiers. He created a new canon of beauty differing from that of Polyclitus; the head is smaller, the body slenderer and more elegant; all the characteristics of relief vanish and the third dimension is emphasized; statues in the round are now designed to be viewed from several aspects and the play of light and shade is deliberately taken into account; the sculptor studies postures of repose, relaxed and yet animated, and the faces are real portraits. Lysippus became Alexander's favourite sculptor and made him the subject of several famous works, standing alone, looking up to heaven, carrying a lance, standing among a group, hunting lions, and in battle; always he appears at once natural and divine. Lysippus was the author of the typical bearded Hercules with his club. Of his victory statues the most famous is that of Apoxyomenus, the athlete, scraping the sweat and dust from his body. Closely akin to it are his statues of gods—Ares and Hermes at rest and Hermes fastening his sandals. They depict inner mobility and tension in a posture of repose, not as the expression of the soul but through the play of muscle under the skin.

The plastic art of the Hellenistic centuries had its origin in the three great masters of the fourth century. Scopas' passion and emotionalism continued to inspire works of distinction like the Belvedere Apollo, the Laocoon, and the Battle of Giants on the Pergamum altar, whilst his symbolism inspired such "landscape allegories" as the Nile. The best Aphrodite and Hermaphrodite statues were inspired by Praxiteles, the best statues of rulers and a number of colossi by Lysippus. All three exercised a strong influence on the crafts. The Hellenistic period developed to the full the naturalism of everyday life and the allegory; we find *genre* treatment of popular types, little scenes from childlife, etc. The " old drunkard " and the morra-player are as closely linked with Theocritus as the multitude of courtly allegories are with Callimachus and the countless Erotes with Bion.

The great period of Greek painting begins in the fifth century with Polygnotus of Thasos, the senior and teacher of Phidias; he was at work from about 475 to 450 B.C. Previous to him Greek tradition, which produces an inventor for everything, can only tell of two great painters, Eumarus of Athens (about 550 B.C.) who is said to have " invented " the method of distinguishing between men and women—long familiar in the East—and Cimon of Cleonae (alive after 500 B.C.) who is said to have mastered the technique of painting oblique aspects (foreshortening) and such head movements as determine the direction of the eyes, besides other refinements in the modelling of the body and of drapery. Both may perhaps have painted great clay slabs (used to adorn tombs and embellished with burial scenes like the Dipylon vases). We hear nothing of independent pictures with mythological or other subjects. Only with the coming of tragedy could painting stand alone as a great independent art. Polygnotus was a disciple of Aeschylus, and as such he grasped the particular purpose of painting; he saw that the painter can produce great compositions, even beyond the scope of a pediment, rapidly and as a single whole; he can delineate the most varied characters in the most varied play of movement and facial expression with dignity and emphasis and in a grand style. The whole problem of tragedy, to breathe new life and spirit into legendary subjects, working in bold strokes, could here be solved by the painter's art, and the possibility of rapid production was greeted with joy by the conquerors of the Persians; they gladly took the opportunity of recording their feats by paintings in Plataea and Athens (the market hall of Plistoanax, now called the Stoa Poecile). When Michaelangelo was commissioned to paint the Sistine Chapel an infinity of plastic figures sprang to life within a few years; it is hardly likely that they would have been carved in stone (Polygnotus was a sculptor as well as a painter). Great Hellenic painting was at first wholly occupied with the problems of sculpture and tragedy, and was the rival of both; yet it always betrayed a consciousness of its own peculiar character and grew continually more independent. If the pictures on vases that are said to be derived from the paintings of Polygnotus are at all true reproductions, they must have consisted of single figures and small groups distinct in outline, standing out too melancholy, too restless. Praxiteles gave his age what it needed, calm and the enjoyment of beauty. His gods do not trouble about the government of the world, they offer no refuge to civilization and humanity; they are the gods of dainty women and cultured men, the gods of Epicurus; and then again they are only lovely human creatures in the prime of their beauty, gracefully tranquil, ideal images of the heart's desire; indeed Praxiteles made two statues of Phryne.

The third great sculptor of the fourth century was Lysippus of Sicyon (whose working years were from 340 till after 330 B.C.). He was primarily a sculptor of male figures in bronze. He made statues of gods (a Zeus colossus 17 metres in height), of the giant Hercules, Alexander the Great and his generals, and a number of victorious soldiers. He created a new canon of beauty differing from that of Polyclitus; the head is smaller, the body slenderer and more elegant; all the characteristics of relief vanish and the third dimension is emphasized; statues in the round are now designed to be viewed from several aspects and the play of light and shade is deliberately taken into account; the sculptor studies postures of repose, relaxed and yet animated, and the faces are real portraits. Lysippus became Alexander's favourite sculptor and made him the subject of several famous works, standing alone, looking up to heaven, carrying a lance, standing among a group, hunting lions, and in battle; always he appears at once natural and divine. Lysippus was the author of the typical bearded Hercules with his club. Of his victory statues the most famous is that of Apoxyomenus, the athlete, scraping the sweat and dust from his body. Closely akin to it are his statues of gods—Ares and Hermes at rest and Hermes fastening his sandals. They depict inner mobility and tension in a posture of repose, not as the expression of the soul but through the play of muscle under the skin.

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The colouring of these pictures was simple; only yellow and occasionally blue were used in addition to the colours of the vase painters; the demon of decay and death was painted bluish-black like a bluebottle.

Painting, having become an independent art, maintained its independence. In the age of Pericles Apollodorus of Athens absolutely severed its connection with architecture, for he began to paint in tempera on wood blocks instead of in fresco on walls.

It was an individual development in an age that was everywhere generating and liberating the forces of individuality. He also "invented" the "grading of shadow and the shading of colours", that is, he supplied to painted objects the lights and shadows that were the natural adjunct ofs culpture. Zeuxis of Heraclea and Parrhasius of Ephesus (contemporary with the Peloponnesian war), according to the anecdotes about them, painted single objects with an exact resemblance to the originals. Such accounts of the subjects of their pictures as have been handed down indicate that Zeuxis was a painter of ideal sensuous beauty (Helen and Eros crowned with roses) and of burlesque mythological family groups (a family of centaurs and the child Hercules with the serpents). Parrhasius aspired to the psychological portrayal of character; the sufferings of Philoctetes, the cure of Telephus, the simulated madness of Odysseus, or the Athenian Demos, gifted and infatuated—such were his subjects. All these paintings depicted single figures or small groups; there was probably more skilful use of colour than in the works of Polygnotus; sometimes they showed light and shadow on a background of varying lightness; they were more homogeneous, if only because of their smaller size, but they do not seem to have had a room or landscape as background. The houses of wealthy citizens, however, afforded great opportunities for mural painting; in this branch of art progress towards pictorial unity continued. Timanthes of Sicyon appears to have treated one of Polygnotus' subjects, the varying types of grief amongst those present at the sacrifice of Iphigenia; here the background of the human figures was a naturalistically painted landscape, whilst the gods were small and soared in the air. In the same style Nicias (fourth century) seems to have placed his Io in front of a rock round which Hermes is creeping, whilst Hera stands aloft on a pillar: particular figures still occasionally stand one above the other in the manner of Polygnotus, but only gods stand or soar in the air; human beings are planted upon the common earth. The battle pictures of the Attic school (fourth century, Euphranor) must have portrayed such moving scenes as the baby at the breast of the dying mother, and also the phalanx, the affray, and the crowd. The mosaic of the battle of Issus (school of Euphranor) represents cavalry fighting, with indications of landscape; but the artist has made the deeply moving episode of Alexander and Darius stand out clear and distinct against the general affray. Pausias (fourth century), the first painter of arched roofs, was also the originator of encaustic painting, which enables the artist to produce singularly glowing colour effects and great softness of outline. The invention was applied with good results not only to large pictures but to exquisite and delicate miniature paintings of flowers and still-life subjects and the colouring of transparent glasses. The last great master of the fourth century was Apelles of Colophon, who painted charming and lifelike idealized pictures (Aphrodite wringing her wet hair), but first and foremost great portraits of princes (Alexander as the son of Zeus and Antigonus on horseback) and ingenious allegories (Calumny), with careful draughtsmanship and a new technique in the use of azure to produce a unifying effect. After 300 B.C. the tradition was broken. No more great masters appeared, it seems. But certain developments proceeded. Sculptures like the Laocoon and the Farnese bull show that groups were arranged by mathematical computation; theorists, too, turned their attention to such questions.

In the Roman period (about 100 B.C.) there were landscape paintings (in Pompeii) which may have originated in Alexandria, and very individual portraits from Egypt (A.D. 100). It is most probable that the final forward step in both fields was the work of artists of the late Greek school. The monism of Xenophanes really continued in the germ the power of grasping Nature alike in her widest aspect and in the minutest detail. This power only partially evolved in the great Hellenic era; other developments were actually checked by the classical perfection of what did emerge. In the choric chants of tragedy the feeling for landscape is curiously bound up with Attic sanctuaries and their gods, and there is no getting rid of the human element represented by the divine figure. The result is rude landscape allegories, for instance that of the Nile. In Theocritus landscape is more freely treated; Daphnis the herdsman dies and the two friends sing and enjoy their rural jollity in natural surroundings of a more general character. Then came shocks from without: Rome conquered the east and artistic production adapted itself to Roman requirements. In Rome in the first century (Lucretius) there was plenty of spontaneous love of Nature and just as much appreciation of individual portraiture. The old technique was applied in the new field, and though it did not achieve perfection, it did produce the innovation of landscapes with mythological figures and sacred trees, with animals and quite small heroes; it produced portraits fully true to nature which in Egypt enjoyed a religious sanction besides being fashionable in Roman society. One other germ came to fruition, though late and in the ranks of a weary and ageing people. It is strange that in China, too, landscape painting developed quite late, after Lao Tzu, towards the end of the Han period, and did not reach its prime till the T'ang and Sung periods. It never came to full flower in Greece ; it seemed to be merely decorative, a view from the window, but spiritless and lifeless as pure landscape.

SUMMARY

The Greeks took the final step leading to full monism, and therewith to an all-embracing view of the universe, to conscious method and world-survey in art and science, to the ideal and to Nature, to mature individuality. Philosophy came to birth and all the great principles were discovered which were to direct the scientific survey and explanation of the universe, alike in separate sciences, in the evaluating sciences of later eras, and in logic, metaphysics, and aesthetics (*Bearbeitungswissenschaften*). Logic, too, came to birth and taught men to reach sure conclusions by the method of mutually exclusive opposities, definitions, and syllogisms. Finally the "Idea" or concept was introduced as the nucleus of any scientific world survey and a system of the universe in static concepts (but allowing for motion) was established. Geometry, astronomy, mechanics, and history, as well as the psychology of character, were detached from philosophy and treated as exact sciences. Ethics and the theory of non-ethical values also tended to become independent. In poetry the heroic epic and the fable were perfected ; tragedy and comedy developed on the basis of contrast and growing individuality, and didactic poetry made its appearance. Lyric poetry grew more personal. The brief and witty epigram was perfected. In architecture the columned temple was perfected, in sculpture the single figure in the round and the small group. Painting attained independence but did not pass beyond the portrayal of single figures and their emotional expression ; the problems of landscape were barely touched. In music the univocal, unending melody and the corresponding theory (mathematical and ethical) were built up. In public life a value was set for the first time on patriotism and honour, whilst democracy and free industry were tested. Finally a monarchy emerged supported by an educated class and standing for cosmopolitan ideals of humanity and civilization.

No advance is possible in fundamentals beyond Greek civilization. A lasting basis had been discovered for all scientific and artistic assimilation of the objective world. The Romans enshrined Greek civilization in their world empire and made it a worldwide possession. What the Greeks began, the modern nations are bringing to completion in each separate field.

D. THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ROMANS, ROMAEANS, AND BYZANTINES

Racial Formation and Political History

The relation of Roman to Greek civilization exactly corresponds to that of Assyrian to Babylonian : a younger race, geographically in a favourable position, subjected the older race but were precivilized by them and became the representatives of the older culture. The younger race founded a world empire dominated by the older civilization ; they transmitted it to distant peoples, spread it throughout their dominions, and made it the civilization of the masses. The Assyrians revered the Babylonians and accorded them equal rights, as the Romans did the Greeks. The resemblance can be traced in detail ; for instance, the Sargonids had many traits in common with the good emperors after Nerva, and again with those about the time of Diocletian. But this time the world empire was larger and civilization in all its aspects was considerably higher. The great mission of the Romans has been to transmit a higher civilization to many lands and to the popular masses, including northern peoples (to ourselves even at the present day) and Arabs. But they added their own contribution ; they did not merely adapt but carried on the creative process. Probably the Assyrians did so too, though it is difficult to give proof of it ; certainly their successors in world empire, the Neo-Babylonians (Chaldaeans), added theirs. The new elements were nothing fundamental. Romans and Greeks were on the same cultural level, as were Chaldaeans and Babylonians ; but standing on the shoulders of earlier thinkers and artists, later comers carried on the work, consummating and developing greater personality. It is, therefore, right and proper to treat of Roman civilization independently, not only because all the fruits of the older Greek and Jewish civilizations were handed down to us through it, but because it added its own characteristic contribution. But we can treat the subject briefly. The Romans did not produce an entirely new phase of civilization, but merely advanced that in which they lived.

Roman civilization was likewise the product of two racial mixtures, or rather three. Roman civilization proper sprang from a fusion of Italic peoples (Latins, Sabines, and Umbrians) with

Etruscans, Greek colonists, and others, beginning about 750 B.C. Its first classic was Plautus (born 254 B.C.); its revolutionary period is between 150 and 50 B.C. and its second flowering-time from 50 B.C. to A.D. 150. It is remarkable that the classics of the second prime are greater than those of the first. The explanation may be that Greek achievements, exercising a growing influence on the rising civilization, were so greatly superior and so entirely satisfying to the youthful nation that its creative powers, which in any case did not belong to a higher cultural level, could find no employment but in the work of adaptation; only when that was complete, in the second prime, could the advance of the Romans themselves be discerned. The Spaniards are a similar case in the modern world; in their classical period (about 1400) they were almost stifled by the Italians (Dante and Petrarch), but in their second prime they developed their own genius in literature (the novel and drama) and in painting on a higher level than the Italians.

The second Roman civilization was not really Roman, nor racially uniform. Its chief representatives were the Alexandrian race, that is the fusion of Greeks with Persians, inhabitants of Asia Minor, and Orientals as well as Illyrians, Thracians, and others; this fusion had been going on apace ever since Alexander's campaigns. It began somewhere between 350 and 320 B.C. and came to maturity, therefore, about A.D. 150 to 280. We may regard Epictetus as the classic who heralded this culture (as Leibnitz was in Germany) and Lucian as its classic. Its revolutionary period lay between A.D. 200 and 300 and Constantine (A.D. 306) marks its end. The greatest achievements were those of the century of revolution, the work of Plotinus (died A.D. 270) and Origen (died A.D. 250); it was a matter of the philosophical reconciliation of Judaism and Hellenism. The last great works fall in the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527–565). I call this racial fusion of the Alexandrian era Byzantine because the centre of the empire that produced it was Constantine's city, Byzantium.

But during the period from the fourth to the sixth century cultural elements matured in the western Roman empire too, and these people cannot be regarded as Roman colonists like the Spaniards of the first and second centuries (Seneca, Quintilian, Trajan). In the ancient dominion of Carthage in Africa, Roman colonists had settled since 200 B.C. and had gradually undergone racial fusion; the same had been happening in Gaul since 121 or 50 B.C. Several great Fathers of the Church were of African origin, such as Tertullian (died 220), but first and foremost Augustine (born 354). The Gallic racial mixture rose to importance in the Merovingian era. We must not overlook these elements, though the increasingly impersonal character of Christianity and the devastations caused by the emigration of peoples make it impossible to trace precisely the racial mixtures from which they sprang. To them I should wish to apply the name of " Romaeans " by which the Greeks and Byzantines called the Romans.

Amongst the seafaring peoples who flooded into Egypt about 1200 B.C. and were repulsed, there were Etruscans, Siculi, and Sardinians, as well as Achaeans and Danaoi. Before 1100 B.C., at about the same time as the Dorian migration, therefore, they must have occupied parts of Italy which were thenceforward called after them. The Etruscans occupied the fertile hills and plains between the Apennines and the western sea, which was called the Tyrrhene Sea after them; it was the area comprising Tuscany, Latium, and Campania. The mouth of the Tiber was about the centre of this territorial unit. Here on the navigable river a city must certainly have sprung up at an early date, and may have been called " Ruma ". Doubtless, too, it played a political part in any efforts to unite the whole territory. We know very little of the Etruscan empire before 500 B.C. But its rôle must have been an important one. In 534 B.C. it was still the greatest sea power beside Carthage, and without doubt it must have dominated the whole " Etruscan Sea " in the era preceding the Greeks and Carthaginians. On land the Etruscans pushed across the Apennines into the basin of the Po; their settlements are said to have spread to Mantua beyond the Po, to the Adriatic and up to the Alpine passes. Naturally they intermarried with the earlier inhabitants whom they subjected, and about 700 to 600 B.C. the racial mixture was culturally mature. But by that time the empire was hard pressed on all sides by Greeks and barbarians. Etruscan civilization both in war and peace was strongly influenced by Greece through the medium of trade relations, and was overrun by barbarians. What we can trace of its individual character seems to be about on the Babylonian level. There were a number of small States in juxtaposition, sometimes united in leagues, sometimes separate. Divination and magic played an important part, and apparently correspondences too (*mundus*, the temple and the world). It is true that the Etruscans' elaborate cult of the dead, with its solid, richly adorned burial mounds, suggests a somewhat lower level than the Babylonian. God and man were not fundamentally differentiated by death ; moreover, there were demons in the Etruscan Underworld. It would seem, therefore, that the Etruscans came to a halt between the Egyptian and Babylonian phase. Their artistic sense was Egyptian in its freedom, and Greek influence produced an early pre-ripening ; their science of divination was Babylonian. In religion we must assume that they elaborated the solar cult. Tarquin (the name is Etruscan) is said to have established a temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and to have instituted the " circus ", a mountain cult and games in honour of the sun-hero. On the Palatine there was a mountain sanctuary with the cave (grave ? hut) of the solar twins, a sacred shield (the sun), a fig-tree and animal (wolf), together with a black stone, later regarded as a tomb. Moreover the burial mounds accord with the solar religion (the Latins were the first to practise cremation), as well as the number twelve in the city leagues of the Roman period.

If there ever was a great Etruscan empire that extended into the basin of the Po and into the mountains north and east of Tuscany, Latium and Campania, its territory must have been greatly diminished about 800 B.C. at latest. About that date the Indo-Germanic Umbrians, Latins, Sabines, and Samnites were the established masters of the Apennines and were pushing down into the plains and cities. They must have made their way into Italy from the north across the Alps, probably over the Brenner, but we cannot tell when. They brought with them a solar religion and the custom of cremation (" Jupiter "= Father Ju ; " Ma-vors "). On their way to the Apennines they must have occupied and colonized the basin of the Po. South of the Po Etruscans and Umbrians are said to have mingled.

The Etruscans in Tuscany, Latium, and Campania held their own for a time. Immigration ceased. The waiting Umbrians hung like a cloud over Tuscany, the Sabines over Latium, and the Samnites over Campania after 800 B.C. Possibly there were cities in the basins of the Po and the Mincio that held their own or recovered their freedom. But during the eighth century a gradual infiltration into the plains began, and the fusion of Italic peoples and Etruscans set in.

The date of the " foundation of Rome " (753 B.C.) was a late invention. The Roman era, like that of Nabonassar and the Greeks, has been associated with the sign of the Ram by a process of induction. But it does indicate more or less correctly the beginning of the new racial mixture in Latium. Rome had long existed and must have been the goal of the advancing Latins—a goal which involved a serious menace to the Etruscans, for, if it were captured, they would lose one of their chief ports and their homogeneous territory would be rent asunder.

Latium is said to mean " land of cattle " ; if so, it would be a name given by the waiting tribes to the land of their dreams ; but possibly " Latin " is a tribal name designating a " cattle tribe ", with a bull god. At any rate the Latins were a branch of the Sabines. Their first settlement in Latium must have been Alba Longa on the Alban Mount. For a long period this was the centre of their worship. Whether they found admittance to Rome as early as the eighth and seventh centuries, not as masters but as " dwellers-round " or lawful traders, we cannot tell. It was not till the sixth century that they captured Rome and held it, when the civilized Greeks came to their support.

The Greeks had been colonizing Southern Italy and Sicily since the end of the eighth century. Syracuse is said to have been founded in 734 B.C. (?), Sybaris, Croton, and Tarentum before 700. In 650 Catania followed, and Selinus in 629. Cumae in Campania was founded before 600, and Massilia (Marseilles) about 600. The cities were peaceably established as trading settlements, but they rapidly rose to importance and sent out fresh colonies. Sea power was soon added to commercial power, and then territorial power. Hitherto the Phoenicians had contented themselves with agencies, but now Carthage, too, proceeded to establish herself as a territorial power in Sicily. The Etruscans suddenly found themselves menaced from the sea as well as the land ; in Campania and in Tuscany (near Caere) Greek cities and trading centres sprang up. In 537 B.C. the Carthaginians and Etruscans entered into an alliance against the Greeks, and their naval victory off Corsica put an end to further colonization on the shores of the Tyrrhene Sea. No Greek colonies of any account sprang up in Tuscany, or " Northern Etruria ". But Cumae entered into an alliance with the Latins and in 524 B.C. (?) defeated an Etruscan army under Porsena of Clusium at Aricia. During these struggles, of which we hear an echo in Hesiod (" Latinos, the lord of the Etruscans "), Rome must have fallen into the hands of the Latins. We may yet learn, when we can understand Etruscan, whether " Tarku " (Tarquin), who was then driven out, was a god and the predecessor of the Latin Jupiter, or a prince. In the fifth century the Greeks and Latins on one side stood opposed to the Etruscans and Carthaginians on the other. The Greeks bore the main brunt of the struggle and the barbarian Latins contented themselves with Rome. In 480 B.C. the tyrants Gelon and Theron defeated the Carthaginians at Himera and in 474 Hieron, in alliance with Cumæ, gained a naval victory over the Etruscans (of Campania ?) Thereby the power of the Campanian Etruscans was broken and they only survived as pirates. The Tuscan Etruscans also abandoned Rome and the struggle. They offered no resistance to the political ascendancy of Syracuse, Cumæ, and Latium, nor to the commercial penetration of their country by Greek wares (vases). Only when Syracuse fell out with Athens they sent ships to the assistance of Athens in 416 B.C.; but Syracuse came off victorious.

From 500 to 350 B.C. the Greeks counted Rome as one of their own cities, and when in 390 the Gauls captured it they noted and deplored the event as a Greek loss. The Greeks civilized the Latin barbarians and Cumæ must have played a prominent part. In return the Latins defended the people of Cumæ and Campania against the Etruscans and against their own kindred, the Sabines. For when waiting peoples gain the mastery of a civilized country, they always repel the kindred tribes pushing on directly behind them.

Even when it was an Etruscan city Rome must have been subject to strong cultural Greek influence, and now it adopted Greek institutions altogether. The Servian constitution is said to have divided the citizens into classes with military obligations varying according to the extent of their landed property, like Greek constitutions since Solon. The Twelve Tables must have been modelled on Greek city codes, and lists of magistrates on the Greek model were introduced in the fifth century. The vague deities of the solar religion were assimilated to the great gods of the Greeks; and Greek wares must have dominated the market. This Greek cultural influence was very strong in Rome from the outset; national tradition denied it the more vehemently. It was an influence exercised over Etruscans and Latins, who now mingled in Rome. The Etruscans made some contribution to the new civilization (temples and omens), but it came to be regarded as Latin. The Latins contributed their language, the names of their gods, and their tribal institutions: for instance, the consuls (two chiefs, as in Sparta), their political structure in clans, and their camp.

The first century of Roman history (500–400 B.C.) passed in the consolidation of the newly captured city against the outer world and its organization within on the Greek model. After repulsing the Etruscans, who tried to recapture Rome, the citizens devoted their main energies to reaching a settlement with kindred tribes. Causes of friction arose between the Latins in Rome and those in Alba Longa and the country districts, just as they did between the Judæans in Jerusalem, in Baal-Juda, and among the southern tribes. In the end the great city was the victor, Alba Longa was destroyed, the Latins in the country districts submitted, and other tribes—the Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines, who were pushing on behind them—were pacified. Before 400 B.C. the new State, which was at once a city and a little nation, was strong enough to think of expansion. The Etruscans in the north, who were probably attacked simultaneously by the Gauls, were the first objects of Rome's territorial ambitions. Veii was captured, and legend has made it a kind of Troy. Then the Gauls burst in upon Rome in 390 after conquering Clusium, the leading power in Etruria (Tuscany); a flood of migrating peoples poured into Latium. It rapidly receded, for the Gauls founded an empire in the basin of the Po (after 400 B.C.) which obstructed the Alpine passes and deflected other kindred tribes eastwards to Greece and Asia Minor. But on five more occasions between 367 and 350 B.C. Gallic tribes appeared at the gates of Rome before the north settled down peacefully. For a century and a half there was a Gallic empire in northern Italy. Etruria (Tuscany) had recovered its liberty, but had become politically negligible.

Rome emerged from her struggle with the Gauls as a newly organized State; she must have thrown off Gallic suzerainty between 367 and 350 B.C. In 358 the Latin League was revived. Then the first extension of Roman power began; between 350 and 290 B.C. a Roman empire was established in central Italy, the nucleus of the later world empire. A large hinterland inhabited by kindred tribes was occupied in the mountains and so the city was protected in the rear, whilst at the same time a powerful and firmly consolidated domain was acquired for purposes of colonization and recruitment. City policy developed into national policy. Colonists and road construction followed in the train of the Roman armies which pressed forward into the territory of the kindred tribes. Alliances were concluded with greater powers, temporarily or permanently; the she-wolf giving suck made her appearance on the coins. First the Hernici joined the Latin League; then (358–351 B.C.) Tarquinii, Cære, and Falerii were captured. But the main onset was southwards into the rich Greek domain. Rome was able to come as the

" liberator of the Greeks ". The Volsci and Samnites had gained the mastery of southern Latium and Campania; they were akin to the Latins but were now rivals for the possession of Greek wealth and were more barbarous than the Romans. In 350 B.C. the Volsci were subdued and the maritime cities of southern Latium fell into Roman hands. Next it was the turn of the Samnites. In three hard-fought wars between 343 and 290 B.C. all Campania and the mountainous hinterland were conquered (first Capua, and Naples in 327). In the last war the Gauls intervened; Rome retorted with the conquest of Umbria, pushing onwards to the Adriatic. She secured the military possession of what she had won by constructing the Appian Way (312 B.C.) ending at Brindisi (244 B.C.) and the Flaminian Way (third century) ending at Rimini. She had concluded a treaty with Carthage in 348 delimiting their spheres of influence. Rome actually seemed to be helping Carthage, though not as an ally, in her effort to subjugate Sicily.

She used the mountains as a jumping-off board, as the barbarians had done before her, and her armies burst into the Apulian plain where Tarentum was the strongest power. After the conclusion of a treaty to delimit frontiers in 303 (such treaties always precede a decisive struggle) the Tarentine war was fought from 280 to 272 B.C. The Tarentine general was Pyrrhus, a mercenary prince of the school of the Diadochi who would have liked to found an Alexandrian empire in the west and was simultaneously stretching out his hand to seize Sicily. When the war was ended, Rome was mistress of southern Italy; she had entered the ranks of the world powers, was bound to Carthage in a peaceful alliance, and was just about to come into warlike contact with the Hellenistic military monarchies. Moreover, this was her first commercial war; the period of peasant colonization was past. Internal conflicts had ended in the equality of all citizens, whether patrician landowners or plebeians. Monetary economy and commerce became the dominant forces.

Now began the struggle with the other world powers (270–146 or 290–146 B.C.). This was also the period of Rome's cultural prime; Plautus was born in 254. It falls into two main divisions, the struggle against Carthage in the first and second Punic wars, and the struggle against the great Hellenistic powers, Macedon and the Seleucid empire. The first Punic war was fought for the possession of Sicily (264–241 B.C.) which Rome " liberated " and held. Thereby she became a sea power and introduced a new method of naval warfare, substituting boarding for manœuvring. On the occasion of a revolt of mercenaries in Carthage (238 B.C.) she occupied Sardinia, which Malchus had captured for Carthage in 554, and Corsica. Thereby she made the Tyrrhene Sea her own. The Gauls, too, in the basin of the Po and northern Etruria were now subjugated (225–222 B.C.). All Italy was to be Roman. Hamilcar Barcas won Spain to compensate Carthage for the loss of Sicily, and in the second Punic war his son Hannibal invaded Italy (218–202 B.C.) and stirred all the half-subdued and unsubdued tribes to revolt against Rome, especially the Gauls in the basin of the Po ; but he also won the support of the cities in southern Italy. The war ended with the landing of P. Cornelius Scipio in Africa and the fall of Carthage. Rome retained Italy and the large islands and won half Spain and the control of the western Mediterranean. As the capital of the new world empire, Rome was growing into a great city. A new aristocracy sprang up in consequence of the introduction of money economy into trade and the management of great estates. On the other hand, Italy was beginning to develop national unity.

An alliance between Macedon and Hannibal and the reception of the fugitive Hannibal by Antiochus III gave occasion for a breach with the great Hellenistic powers. Rome came to Greece as a " liberator from the Macedonian yoke ". Between 200 and 197 B.C. she defeated Macedon, and between 192 and 189 Antiochus III, who had intervened in Greek affairs. From the outset the Ptolemies took the part of Rome. In 146 Carthage was annihilated in the interests of Roman wholesale trade, and Africa became a Roman province. The complete conquest of Spain followed (143–133 B.C.), and of the land route thither (Narbonne, 121 B.C.). In 146 Corinth was destroyed also in the interests of commerce ; Rhodes, the third great commercial city, had already been disposed of. Macedon and Greece became provinces, whilst the whole of Asia Minor and the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires were now the allies and clients of Rome. The great general and statesman of this period was P. Cornelius Scipio II Emilianus. In his circle the great conception of Polybius (who was in Rome in 167) that Rome was appointed by Fate to rule the world, and that it was the mission of the Greeks to endow this world empire with a lofty culture, came to be the guiding idea in the conquest of the east. The ruling class in the future united empire was to be Graeco-Roman. But side by side with these ideal impulses, very practical forces were at work : a ruthless capitalism which crushed all competition and exploited the provinces, and soon Rome and Italy as well. The revolutionary period set in.

Scipio himself seems to have been murdered. In 135 B.C. the first Slave War broke out in Sicily. Between 133 and 122 the Gracchi came forward as reformers and were overthrown.

The period from 280 to 150 B.C. is the great era of the Roman Republic; it is fully recorded by history, but it had the ancient Roman quality of simplicity as contrasted with the luxury of a later age. The aristocratic upper class of citizens who rose to power during this period and were, therefore, well satisfied with it, idealized it as a golden age in their struggle against the revolution and the forces to which they attributed the coming revolution, namely, universal education (Greek) and money economy. In their family legends this ideal was accordingly represented as dating from a still more "ancient Rome" of the dim past, until at last it cast its spell upon Livy and Tacitus. In actual fact Greek influence had subsisted from the beginning, and money economy and the latifundia were beginning to exercise an influence as early as 280 B.C. What we have here is a party legend.

The Roman revolution between 140 and 40 B.C. was bourgeois in character. The nobility (optimates), those of the citizens, that is, who had managed to remain or become rich since 280 whilst a great wave bore a new class to political power on its crest, and who constituted a new senatorial and landed aristocracy, were attacked in their privileges by the people, the wider circle of citizens who had been left behind in the race; the freedmen, too, joined in the attack, and especially multitudes of free small landowners whom the system of large estates had turned into landless proletarians, or who had been lured to Rome by the prospects of life in the great city. This new class profited by the new culture and new money economy to rise in the world. The "knights" were such moneyed men who claimed political influence. The army offered the landless peasants opportunities of bettering their position. At the same time the Italian "allies" were struggling for full citizen rights. The throngs of slaves who worked the great estates and were often prisoners of war, had constantly attempted revolt and revolution ever since 133 B.C., but were crushed again and again by both parties. They were not an estate but an inorganic mass from which freedmen rose by lawful means to the position of citizens.

Both parties soon found leaders in certain individuals who were ambitious for glory and power and used the power of the party to assist their own rise. The greatest among them were of the Alcibiades type, but richly endowed with creative genius (Cæsar); even the lesser were great generals and administrators (Marius, Cicero). In these struggles the unity of the empire was achieved in accordance with the ideal of Scipio II, by Roman force and Greek culture; in accordance with the ideal of the Gracchi the power of the Senate was broken and equality established; all Italians acquired citizen rights, the landless masses a strip of soil, and an educated, well-to-do, upper class political power with the monarchy as its apex and crown.

The first great party leader thrown up by the revolution was Marius (155–86 B.C.) who defended the empire against the Cimbri and Teutoni, the new enemies from the north (104–100 B.C.). He reorganized the army and opened its ranks to the landless masses. He was a great general, devoid of political ideas, who joined the popular party and was the first (86 B.C.) to resort to the proscription of political opponents as a means of releasing land on which to settle his soldiers; he proceeded in the first instance without legal formalities. He met with opposition from Sulla (137–78 B.C.) a scion of the family of the Cornelii (Scipio). Sulla was an optimate bent on reform and had established peace in the east by his campaign against Mithradates (87–84 B.C.). Then he conquered Rome, made himself dictator, reorganized the Senate, the administration, and the judicial system, and planned the first great settlement of veterans on inalienable land in Italy, which he cleared by means of legally illegal proscriptions.

In the Social War (91–88 B.C.) the political equality of all free Italians had been secured, though with restrictions. The way was open for Italy to supplant Rome, a country instead of the City State. Other ideas of the Gracchi had been realized in the reforms and the agrarian laws. In the person of Cicero (106–43 B.C.) a representative of the rising, educated, citizen class became Consul, one desirous of maintaining the full powers of the reorganized Senate in accordance with Sulla's intentions. His class now united with the optimates as defenders of the Republic and its ideology.

But the old forms were outworn and the times cried for a monarchy. The original aim of Pompey (106–48 B.C.), an optimate and partisan of Sulla, was to be only the servant of the Senate (and master through it). He established Rome's ascendency in Spain, organized the eastern provinces (after the third war against Mithradates), and subdued the slaves (Spartacus in 71) and pirates. But in the end he could not even extort from the Senate the pay for the troops that he had disbanded. He therefore changed his ground and allied himself with Crassus, the biggest land jobber in Rome, and with Cæsar, and formed the first triumverate (60–53 B.C.) or triple dictatorship. It had become plain that only a military monarchy could save the State and carry its growth to completion. The triple dictatorship was bound to end as a monarchy. The three prepared their armies for the decisive struggle, each in his own province.

Crassus fell in his struggle against the Parthians in whose hands Pompey had left Mesopotamia (53 B.C.) and whose strong military power was plainly a menace to the east. Cæsar (100–44 B.C.) marched against the yet more menacing power of the Germans who had once already invaded Italy (the Teutoni and Cimbri) and were now engaged in conquering Gaul. He succeeded in incorporating Gaul in the Roman empire between 58 and 51 B.C. and transforming it from a dangerous stronghold of lurking barbarians to a bulwark against Germans and Britons ; meanwhile he was building up an army and occupying himself during the waiting period till his plans were matured.

After an apprenticeship in which he gambled cautiously on uncertain stakes (Catiline), Cæsar had evolved quite a sober, realistic policy. With an equal genius for war, diplomacy, and organization, and greatness enough to survey and pursue a widely ramified scheme, he made tools of Pompey, the general and poor diplomat, and of Crassus, the landed magnate. When Crassus had died and Pompey had gone over to the Senate again in order to become dictator, Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, the river which marked the boundary of his province, and began the Civil War in which Pompey was defeated and murdered. Cæsar as *Princeps* subdued the whole empire in person ; he devoted his attention specially to the east, and secured it by a peace treaty with the Parthians. Then he effected a reconciliation with the Senate (Cicero) ; between 46 and 44 B.C. he organized the empire on a monarchical basis, and as Imperator assumed supreme power for life. The army, finances, and administration, besides the right of initiative and control in every other sphere, were in his hands. The Senate became a merely advisory body.

Provincial government was reorganized and at last the provinces were protected against exploitation. The first census was taken for purposes of taxation. The policy of agrarian settlement was resumed by the distribution of land and the establishment of colonies. The calendar was put in order. Just as he was about to march against the Parthians, to round off the empire in the east and close its frontiers against the barbarians, Cæsar was murdered in the year 44 B.C.

His heir was his nephew Octavianus, called Augustus (62 B.C.–A.D. 14). For the moment he had to share the empire with Antony. It was not till 31 B.C. that he united the whole under his own rule by conquering the east. Egypt became a province. It was time to complete the process of empire building.

Beyond the frontiers the Germans were now held completely in check, since the attempt to subdue them had failed (the battle of Silva Teutoburgensis, A.D. 9). The German province beyond the Rhine was occupied as buffer territory. The Alpine countries were made provinces (Rhætia, Noricum, and Vindelicia), and the frontiers of the empire advanced to the Danube, including its lower reaches, Moesia and Pannonia (Hungary). The Parthians recognized the eastern frontiers. In domestic affairs the sovereignty of the people was recognized, but the Senate was altogether reduced to subordination. After the Imperator the city and prætorian prefects were the most important persons in Rome. All the chief provinces were designated imperial provinces and were ruled by legates. Administration and finance were unified and an imperial postal service introduced. But the chief endeavour of Augustus was to create a uniform Italian culture by adopting the republican ideology of the " ancient Rome " and of Rome's appointed mission to rule the world, by encouraging patriotic literature in Latin, and fostering a stern moral code, thus winning a large educated class as the bulwark and support of the State. Rome was to be the centre of Italy, Italy of the world empire, and the west was to be Italianized. But there were Roman citizens everywhere, even in the Hellenistic provinces, and the class imbued with Greek culture was nowhere subjected to restrictions. The monarchy was everywhere supported by an educated, capitalist bourgeoisie, whilst its armies and officials ensured peace and order.

The imperial golden age (from 30 B.C. to A.D. 180) was an era of peace and prosperity in a world-wide Roman empire, and lasted nearly two hundred years. A long succession of remarkable men ruled the empire. Tiberius followed Augustus, then Vespasian and Titus and then the astonishing succession of emperors of the " dynasty " of Nerva (A.D. 96–180), when on four occasions exceptionally able rulers succeeded to the throne by adoption (Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius). The few incompetent imperial megalomaniacs in the first century A.D. were disastrous to Rome and Roman society, but not to the empire as a whole. The second prime of Roman civilization passed in a period of profound peace.

Outwardly the empire reached its widest extent during this epoch. Britain was conquered (from A.D. 43 onwards). Trajan (A.D. 90–117) added the province of Dacia (Rumania) and established military settlements there. He also made Arabia a province and really subjugated the Parthians (Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria) for a time; in A.D. 63 they had acknowledged Roman sovereignty once more. But Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) voluntarily withdrew the eastern frontier to the Euphrates, and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) had to wage defensive wars against the Germanic tribes on the Danube and against the Parthians. The empire had outlived the period of its widest extension. Ever since the reign of Augustus extension had really been only a consequence of the process of defence and the endeavour to round off the frontiers for reasons of security. Now strong defensive walls were built to keep out the barbarians in the north (*Limes*; the Scottish wall). The change was in preparation which led to the collapse of the world empire, first in the German then in the Arabic migration of peoples.

In the domestic sphere the unity of the monarchy was consolidated. The emperors became absolute masters, ruling by divine right and accorded divine honours. A class of professional officers and administrators sprang up, and the armies (mercenaries and often barbarians) and border provinces increased in importance. The administration began to assume a military character. In 212 Caracalla granted citizen rights to all freemen in the provinces; there was now one uniform status for all free citizen-subjects throughout the empire. From the time of Nero (A.D. 64) onwards Christians were persecuted. Jewish sects who were in fact Christians dared to refuse to offer sacrifice to the emperor, and this revealed the opposition between the ruling classes in the empire and the rising proletarian masses, which now included slaves. About the same time, A.D. 70 (under Titus), the Jews lost their temple and their holy city, but their principal communities were bourgeois and a force tending to preserve the State. The persecutions, however, were insignificant (according to Christian admissions) so long as the emperors were strong and the imperial frontiers secure. There was no assimilation between the Hellenized east and the increasingly Romanized west of the empire. Latin was understood everywhere; in the west, Greek was essential to culture; in the main each half of the empire adhered to its own dominant language.

Meanwhile the new mixed race in the east had come to maturity. At the same time the tempestuous migration of peoples began on the

German frontiers and social conflict increased at home. A new era dawned in which emperors from the east, especially Illyria, ascended the throne—Elagabalus and Alexander Severus—with eastern advisers and a new notion of divinity.

Their first task was to defend the empire against the Germans and Neo-Persians. Besides the Goths, who appeared on the Danube in 214, there were the Alemanni and Franks on the Rhine. About 250 the Goths invaded the Balkan peninsula and the Alemanni Italy. From 226 onwards the Sassanids were pursuing an aggressive policy in the east. About 260 the empire broke up completely amidst the domestic quarrels of the generals. The revolutionary period of the new race coincided with external attacks. A succession of able generals, especially Aurelian (270–275) who built walls round Rome, restored the imperial frontiers, but Dacia and the German bulwark were lost. Diocletian (284–305), the greatest of the military leaders, endeavoured to protect the frontiers permanently by introducing a regular system of divided rule (two Cæsars and two Augusti). He himself retained the supreme authority in the east, and made his residence in Nicomedia near Byzantium. Constantius Chlorus was allotted Gaul, Britain, and Spain, with his residence at Treves, whilst the third regent received Italy and Africa, and the fourth Illyria and the Balkan peninsula with his residence at Sirmium. Nobody made Rome his residence, for the ruler of Italy resided at Milan. The intention was to protect the empire from external attack, in spite of its wide extent, by making this division permanent and so establishing a permanent major force and a capital near each of the principal threatened frontiers (Milan guarded the Alpine front), and rendering impossible a situation in which the throne would be altogether vacant. Domestic strife was to be prevented by a strong league between the rulers, based upon moral obligation, honour and religion, and the limitation of every man's rule to a period of twenty years. And Diocletian was magnanimous and strong enough to abdicate at the end of his period of office and compel his fellow "Augustus" to do likewise.

During the revolutionary period of this Byzantine race the Christian proletariat was the rising class. They played no discernible part in the struggles among the generals, but gained in strength as the vitalizing ideas of the empire decayed. The Christians were indifferent to barbarian invasions and their outlook was pacifist and apocalyptic; they regarded the heathen emperors as tyrants marking the era of the world's destruction, and their worship as an abomination. But it was precisely the best emperors who felt that in maintaining the empire, order, peace, and civilization they were serving God and subduing self in a spirit of magnanimity and piety. They were fanatical believers in Rome as the kingdom of God. The result was increasingly severe persecution of the Christians (Decius, in 250) and finally the climax of persecution under Diocletian. Absolute monarchy which claims to represent the one God (Zeus-Tyche or Mithras ?) and establishes a religious court ceremonial and a hierarchy of officers and administrators with military and religious notions of duty, obedience, and honour, does not and cannot tolerate other gods who cause disorder and themselves claim to be the one God.

Diocletian, the Cæsar of his age, pointed the way to escape from the revolutionary era. Constantine the Great (306 [323]–337), the Augustus of this Cæsar, trod it to the end. The proud idealism which believed it possible to find four rulers perpetually who would cooperate freely, freely choose the best successor, and freely abdicate, had proved untenable. One ruler was the appointed deputy of God, and his family was divine. And the god, hitherto Zeus or Mithras or some other name, might equally well be the Christian God. Constantine became the sole ruler and recognized Christianity, thus winning the masses to the support of the State and restoring domestic peace. At the Council of Nicæa (325) the creed of the Christian State Church was formulated. The new class dominated the State and the second cultural prime was essentially Christian in character; For the rest, Constantine was Diocletian's heir. He made his residence at Byzantium, the centre of the new racial mixture and the most dangerous point of barbarian attack, being at the heart of the empire. He completed the repartition and new administration of the empire : the Augusti and Cæsars came to be his sons and nephews. A uniform direction was secured by the new body of religious and military officers and administrators.

Subsequently the weight of authority swung back once more to heathenism (Julian 361–363, Constantine's nephew), and then in the logical course the emperor became definitely Christian and heathenism was forbidden by Theodosius the Great (379–395). Henceforward religious and philosophical conflicts ceased to be class struggles, and took the form of quarrels between the Christian sects, whose hatred of one another certainly became a political menace. Rome soon became the rival of Byzantium in the Church. The Romæan racial fusion of Africans and Gauls grew to cultural maturity and produced native leaders for the Latin half of the empire and the old cosmopolitan capital.

The attacks of the barbarians recurred and increased in fury. In 375 the Visigoths crossed the Danube and in 378 they penetrated to Adrianople. That is the customary date assigned as the beginning of the migration of peoples. They established themselves in Moesia and Thrace as " allies " of Theodosius. He was the last emperor to rule the whole empire, and was obliged to leave the Sassanids a free hand in Mesopotamia. After his death the divided empire rapidly disintegrated. The Visigoths under Alaric captured Rome in 410 and then established an empire of their own in the south of France (Toulouse) and Spain (Toledo). The Vandals (Genseric) occupied Africa in 429. The Burgundians came to Burgundy in 443 (the upper Rhone and Saone), the Alemanni to Alsace and Switzerland in 443, the Angles and Saxons to Britain in 449. After the onset of Attila's Huns (451–53) the Franks conquered Gaul (Clovis in 486) and the Ostrogoths Italy (Theoderic was in Ravenna in 493). The western Roman empire came to an end in 476. The eastern Roman empire asserted itself and experienced a St. Martin's summer under Justin I (518–527) and his nephew Justinian (527–565). Belisarius and Narses defeated theVandals and Ostrogoths and the Langobardi penetrated into northern Italy. St. Sophia and the *corpus juris* were completed. About 600 or 700 the cultural vitality of the Alexandrian race was wholly exhausted. Between 634 and 644 the Caliph Omar conquered Syria, Mesopotamia (the end of the Sassanids), and Egypt. The Byzantines lost Africa, and in 711 the Visigoths lost Spain. But the Byzantine empire survived, though it was more and more hemmed in by the eastern peoples (the Seljuks, later the Turks) till in 1453 Muhammed II captured Constantinople

CONSTITUTION AND GROWTH OF SOCIAL CLASSES

Neither in Rome nor in Athens can we penetrate back to primitive conditions. The whole monarchical period rests on pure supposition and only a few records before 400 B.C. are really historical. Not till about 360 does dawn begin to break in Roman history, and not till 250 have we the full light of day.

There were probably kings in Etruscan Rome, but we know nothing of them. It is very doubtful whether the Latins had kings ; a lifelong *rex sacrorum* in Rome might be the relic of such an institution. All that we can make out about the period of conquest is that for a time the mountain sanctuary at Alba Longa (Monte Cavo) was at least equal in importance to the temple of Jupiter in Rome. There the Latins held their principal assemblies till the Romans destroyed Alba Longa. And there at quite a late date victorious generals held their triumphs when they were denied a triumph in the city.

Of the Roman constitution in the fifth century we can tell that the noble families (patricians) with their common messes and assemblies (*comitia curiata*) were all-powerful. They formed the Senate and filled all offices, especially the military tribunate. The plebians, it is true, had popular assemblies (*comitia tribunata*, called after the *tribus* or residential districts), relics of ancient Latin free communities preserved by the petty bourgeois and the peasants. They seem, also, to have had representatives in the tribunes and aediles of the people, who continued to embody ancient rights of the freemen in a modified, urbanized form. But in the main they were powerless. A re-shuffling took place in which the Latin and the earlier Etruscan elements were fused, resulting in an aristocracy of large landowners confronted by a mass of small peasants and a landless populace. Efforts may have been made by the plebeians to establish law on the basis of Greek city laws. Traces of such attempts may be embodied in the Twelve Tables and in the Servian constitution. But Roman accounts of this period are largely invention, especially as regards the Servian constitution.

A change came after the great collapse under the Gallic assault, which was doubtless followed by a prolonged period of Gallic rule and then a war of liberation (367–350 B.C.). At the beginning of the war of liberation the first plebeian consul was elected (366). At the end of that war the censorship (a counterpart of the ephor's office in the Spartan aristocratic State) was also thrown open to the plebeians. Naturally the army was reorganized during this period, and the earliest legions defeated the Gauls. The landowning citizens fought in their ranks, and possibly now enjoyed different rights according to the extent of their landed property, on the Greek model. We hear, too, of the remission of debts.

Once a beginning had been made in uniting all citizens, and plebeians, as office-holders, had become eligible for the Senate, the march of events proceeded rapidly. In 337 the praetorship or office of city judge was thrown open to the plebeians, and about 300 the pontificate or supreme priestly office. Once again it was the exigencies of war that brought matters to a climax. The second Samnite war (326–304 B.C.) called for the utmost sacrifice from the citizens. A distinguished statesman, Appius Claudius Caecus, even admitted the landless to assemblies of the tribes in 312. Security against imprisonment for debt was granted. Finally, in 287, by withdrawing to the Janiculum, the plebeians secured general binding authority for the decisions of the tribal *comitia*.

At the head of the State were the two consuls, as executive officers of the Senate and people. In times of extremity a dictatorship was established. The Senate was not elected, but vacancies were filled by the censors, generally from among those who had held high office, and every five years it underwent a sifting process. It was responsible for the expert conduct of foreign affairs and financial administration in particular. The election of the magistrates, legislation, and some judicial functions were in the hands of the popular assemblies. But there were different electoral systems for the higher and lower magistrates; the higher ranks of officers were appointed by the commander-in-chief, and the judiciary had a professional representative in the praetor. Thus authority was divided and the co-operation of the several authorities was secured by a method at once fair and practical.

Even whilst this constitution was in process of formation domestic unity led to successes abroad. In the end all citizens capable of bearing arms were equal within the legion, but were variously equipped according to their position in the ranks; a new formation had evolved from the phalanx, one designed for fighting by cut and thrust and with missiles. With these legions the Romans conquered central Italy, and obtained land for colonists who enjoyed full civic rights in cities of their own situated on roads which secured the conquered territory (the Appian Way, 312, on the Greek model ?). Aliens were attached to Rome as inhabitants of *municipia* with restricted civic rights, and as allies who only enjoyed the right of protection and were bound to render assistance in war. In this way a Roman territory was established.

After 360 B.C. there was a Roman "fatherland" inspiring a common interest in all citizens, and from 287 onwards the citizens formed an integral unit free from internal dissensions, extending beyond the city boundaries of Rome and scattered throughout the city colonies. The opposition of patricians to plebeians was no longer important; that of fully enfranchised citizens to the semi-enfranchised and subjects with no citizen rights still persisted, with every justification. In the third and second centuries the State was at the zenith of its vitality and all the newly liberated forces of unification came into play. There was enough surplus population for the armies and colonies.

But within Rome itself re-shuffling began anew. The *nobilitas* or *optimates* arose, a new aristocracy sprung from those patrician and plebeian families that regularly put forward candidates for the highest offices and those which possessed the largest estates or made the greatest profits in trade. This class profited most by conquests ; when State lands (domains) were distributed they acquired leases, and commercial wars benefited them (Tarentum). In contrast with them the other citizens came to be a mere populace, a lower class that was gradually excluded from high office and so from one source of enrichment. Moreover, new impoverished masses arose, without land or rights (allies).

During the fourth century the *nobilitas* worked their way up from the masses. When first Tarentum and southern Italy, then Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and lastly the whole of northern Italy, was incorporated in the empire there were great domains, trading rights, and in particular lucrative governorships in the new provinces. During the second Punic war the whole edifice tottered ; but all the citizens, including those of the securely annexed central Italian territory, stood together in the hour of need. Afterwards the process continued at an accelerated pace. The conquered territories extended rapidly and there were constantly new provinces to administer. Carthage, and finally Corinth and Rhodes, lost their primacy in world trade. There were countless lucrative offices to be filled all over the world. The extent of the dominial lands was immense. Rome was growing a cosmopolitan city and that, too, gave opportunities for profit.

The new ruling class held firmly together in defence of its capitalist interests. Since the end of the first Punic war it had been customary for the aedile, who organized the public games, to bear their cost instead of the State. But the office of aedile was the qualification for the praetorship and consulate. Thus only rich men could be aediles and rise to the highest offices. They alone had a claim to seats in the Senate and to governorships. The money spent on their great careers by members of the ruling families, who controlled a throng of clients, must be recouped. The cost of elections and games were paid by the provinces or by the revenues of ambassadorial posts and State domains. Capital was invested in large estates worked by slave labour (the wars provided slaves) and extended by the eviction of peasants.

In 180 B.C. the succession of offices had been made conditional on the attainment of a minimum age (37 for an aedile, 40 for a praetor, and 43 for a consul) in order to prevent too rapid promotion. In 149 the first permanent court of justice was set up in Rome for cases of extortion (the spoliation of the provinces), and others soon followed for dishonesty in securing office, high treason, and embezzlement in office. Distinguished members of the optimate class, such as M. Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.), put up a fight against the lust for office, the avarice, and the extravagance of their fellows.

P. Cornelius Scipio II Emilianus (died 129 B.C.) was a kind of Roman Pericles, not as a representative of democracy but as a great general, diplomat, and framer of cultural policy. Like Pericles he declared in favour of development into a world empire and tried to promote it in the cultural sphere. He wanted to exorcise the dangers of power and money economy by means of higher education. He hoped that association with Greek civilization would not only bear fruit in a unified empire with Greek methods of administration but also in a cultured citizen class. A great ideal was to inspire and unify the process of world conquest.

The popular party which gradually formed in opposition to the ruling class was likewise bourgeois. It consisted primarily of those citizens who were excluded from office and wealth by the dominant families. Between 150 and 50 B.C. a large class of educated citizens sprang up (Cicero) and used their culture as a means of rising in the world. Small groups obtained wealth as tax-farmers, land-jobbers, and traders even without family influence; some, indeed, were freedmen. Finally there came a stream of landless citizens, free peasants who had sold their farms or lost them through the action of the large landowners. The opposition was also supported by the semi-enfranchised inhabitants of the *municipia*, and the unenfranchised allies; many of these had remained faithful in the struggle against Hannibal, but had not been accorded the privileges of full citizenship.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (163–133 B.C.) was the first great popular leader of the bourgeois revolution. He wanted to check the desertion of the countryside and the growth of the proletarian class by a generous policy of land-settlement. The domains were to be largely leased as peasant holdings, each holding to be moderately stocked, and the consequent military service to be reduced in length. After his murder his brother, C. Sempronius Gracchus (153–123 B.C.), who was equally an idealist and equally great as an orator, but more of a realist, tried to achieve the reforms by creating a party. He won the support of the knights, capitalists who were not eligible for the Senate, by advocating their control of the permanent courts (with jurisdiction over Senators?) and their eligibility as tax-farmers, he won the Italians by demanding full citizen rights for them, and the landless by renewing his brother's agrarian law and by endeavours to found a colony in Carthage ; the masses in the capital he won by reducing military service and introducing cheap corn for the citizens. He, too, was murdered, but the party he had founded continued to be a force.

In the Social War from 91 to 88 B.C. all Italians secured citizen rights, but their suffrage was restricted to eight *tribus*. Sulla's reforms (82–79 B.C.) professed to restore the power of the Senate. But the Senate, seriously compromised in the Jugurtha trial of 111 B.C., was thrown open to the educated citizens by the election of three hundred new members. The number of permanent courts of justice was increased to eight (for murder and the forgery of wills and coinage) and they were withdrawn from the control of the knights, but reorganized. The first great settlement of veterans on inalienable land followed.

But the Senate was unable to maintain its power. It was not only after Sulla's death that the empire fell asunder amidst the revolts of citizens, pirates, and slaves. When Pompey had restored order the rulers were incapable even of controlling their general, much less carrying on Sulla's constitution-building labours. Even Cicero was devoid of ideas or power. A military monarchy was needed and Cæsar established it (46–44 B.C.) by causing himself to be appointed lifelong dictator with the official title Imperator. He controlled the army, imperial administration, and finance. As Pontifex he was supreme in religious matters, as Chief Justice in judicial affairs. As Censor he reconstituted the Senate, and as Tribune of the People his person was inviolable and he enjoyed the right of initiative in legislation. The Senate was merely a Council of State and the popular assembly a ratifying machine. In Rome the free distribution of corn was restricted, and the settlement of veterans in Italy was resumed on a large scale ; colonies were also sent out (Corinth). Criminal legislation was taken in hand, a sumptuary law enacted, and the calendar re-arranged. The difference between Romans and other Italians in the matter of the suffrage was now negligible, for nothing of importance was left to elect ; consequently there was one single type of citizenship throughout Italy. Provincial government was reorganized, and the abuse of spoliation ceased with the Senate's control over governorships and the appointment of tax-farmers. The Emperor supervised the proper collection of taxes and the maintenance of the provinces' taxable capacity. Citizen rights could be acquired everywhere, and everywhere the educated bourgeoisie supported the State.

Augustus completed these reforms. He left the Senate its honourable position, but the consulate became a titular office and membership of the Senate a privilege of the wealthy conferred by the Emperor's favour. The Emperor was only *princeps*, but of divine ancestry, glorified by Virgil, an object of veneration to society and the populace, the bringer of salvation. The organization of provincial government was completed. All the chief provinces of the empire, those where armies were stationed or which were essential to Rome as sources of her food-supply (Egypt) were "imperial provinces", stays of the dynastic power and governed by legates. Beside the State treasury (*aerarium*) there was the imperial treasury. The Senate had a say only in the administration of senatorial provinces and the State treasury. The Emperor chose his legates and prefects from among the senators and knights, and he made freedmen fiscal procurators. Thus a class of imperial officials sprang up. All officials, including those in senatorial positions and those serving in the *aerarium*, were paid regularly. The standing army was organized afresh and stationed in the frontier provinces. The prætorian guard remained in Rome. The most important persons in the capital were Prefects of Police and of the Guard.

Thus the growth of the empire ended in a military monarchy and a bourgeois, monetary economic system. Italy was the nucleus of a homogeneous world empire.

In the early days of the empire the religious veneration of the Emperor increased. With Cæsar it rested on his authority as tribune, with Augustus on myth and sacrificial custom accepted by society; but later it was enforced by trials for *lèse-majesté*. Domitian was fully sensible of his position as a ruler by divine right, a strict court ceremonial was introduced, and the Senate suffered ill-treatment. The Emperors who followed Nerva restored the dignity of the Senate, but in actual fact they were absolute rulers. They were held in check only by public opinion and their own piety, by the sincere desire to be worthy of their divine election and the veneration paid to them, and to serve the empire as deputies of a divine power. Especially Hadrian, who travelled continually, did much to make the monarchical conception supreme, to establish the ideal of a peaceful and rational State, and to train a faultless body of officials.

The empire was welded to greater uniformity by the annexation of the client kingdoms (last of all Petra under Trajan), by the restriction of city liberties (though self-government remained and the citizens guaranteed the taxes), by a uniform system of provincial taxation, and by the grant of citizen rights to whole provinces (by Claudius to Gaul, by Vespasian to Spain, by Hadrian to Pannonia and a number of towns).

In republican days Italy had been almost entirely free of taxes, but since the establishment of the empire death duties and taxes on sales had been introduced. She retained the important privilege of exemption from land-tax, poll-tax, licence duties, and income-tax right down to the reign of Severus. Then in 212 Caracalla granted citizen rights to all freemen in the empire ; all now, without exception, were simply subjects. The emperors depended on the army ; based upon it and upon the legal system that was approaching completion (Ulpian was a minister of Alexander Severus [222]), their constitutional position changed to a new and direct divine right. Elagabalus was the child of the sun.

If we may liken Scipio I to Themistocles and Scipio II to Pericles, then the great pretenders of the revolutionary period may be said roughly to correspond to Alcibiades and Pausanias. But they, living in outworn Athens and Sparta, accomplished nothing creative ; that was left to Alexander the Macedonian. In Rome, on the contrary, the march of evolution continued unbroken. Cæsar, corresponding to Alexander, was the founder of a homogeneous and enduring world empire. The free-thinking and self-disciplined monarchy of Augustus was a higher form of government than that of the Ptolemies, and the loftiest ideal attainable by a monarchy was realized in the succession of great adoptive emperors of the second century, with their sense of rational duty and responsibility and their free religious enlightenment and humanity. If Augustus resembled Louis XIV in many ways, Marcus Aurelius was akin to Frederick the Great, and that not only in the sense that he was a philosopher on the throne.

Following the bourgeois class that had won the ascendancy in the Roman empire of Augustus, a new proletarian class grew up during the first century A.D. It consisted of masses of small handicraft workers and landless town-dwellers, workmen of every description, freemen and slaves. The great slave risings on the latifundia of

Sicily and later of Italy in the revolutionary period had nothing to do with this movement. The revolting slaves had been largely prisoners of war who profited by disorders in the State to attempt to win freedom and bring about revolution. In the interval the State had grown strong and prisoners of war no longer constituted the majority of slaves. Culture and humanity had gained the ascendant, slaves were regarded as human beings, and many rose quite easily and regularly to the ranks of the bourgeoisie. But the circumstances of the bourgeoisie themselves were more constricted. The contrast of rich and poor grew stronger. A small very wealthy class confronted large numbers of impoverished citizens, and these latter had learned to demand civilized conditions of life. They claimed a life of their own, and they were told by the leading men of the time such as Seneca and Tacitus that the age and its rulers were degenerate. Then came Pauline Christianity with its doctrine of the kingdom of God, of a judgment to fall upon the superstitious and the children of this world, of the conquest of death and the power of God's children ; it gave to the masses their own complete and vigorous philosophy of life which coincided in all its main features with the religion of the most progressive section of the bourgeoisie (monotheism, the reign of reason and peace, virtue, the hope of immortality), but consistently repudiated the existing faith as outworn and demanded not tolerance but a break with traditional religion. The Jewish God was to be *the* God and his Son the sole God of mysteries, he who had been a crucified criminal in the days of Augustus. The imperial reign of reason and peace was to cease, its civilization and prosperity were contemptible, and the worship of the Emperor a sin. These people repudiated the State root and branch and preached anti-national, anti-religious pacifism, the refusal of military service, and the denial of divine honours to the Emperor. On the one hand the State was striving towards its ultimate religious and military unity, on the other it was breaking down under blows from without and the burden of internal disorder ; at such a time the men who were occupied with saving and perfecting the State ideal could least of all tolerate these fanatics, just because they themselves were inevitably fanatics. The conflict led to open rebellion and martydom, to the persecution of Christians by Decius in 250 and Diocletian in 303. This only led to a more thorough organization of the Christians. About 300 the various free communities which worshipped together, educating and directing their members, and helping them in distress, developed into a church extending over the whole empire; a mass party sprang from a religious movement of enlightenment among the masses.

Diocletian (284–305) achieved the consummation of absolute monarchy and the imperial unity based upon religion and the army. That had been lacking in the earlier monarchies—a religious and military discipline extending from the Emperor down to the lowest administrator and officer, a yoke to which the best submitted voluntarily and the lesser sort by habit and tradition. Diocletian and his circle (he rose from among a group of generals) served some such God of light as Mithras who called upon his servants to destroy darkness (in this secret cult there were grades and ranks among the faithful). They were fully convinced of their mission, convinced that they were fulfilling a duty and exercising self-discipline by their service, and they required service, the fulfilment of duty, and self-discipline from all others. The Emperor was no longer *Princeps* but *Dominus*, the Lord like God himself, " Jovius," the deputy of Zeus. He wore the vestments of godhead, the diadem and golden robe, and lived in seclusion, like God himself only accessible to the elect. He had no children but only successors worthy of the throne. He ruled for a limited period of twenty years, then made the supreme sacrifice and resigned his power because his time was past and his task accomplished. The empire was divided into four parts for purposes of defence and administration. At the head of each was a general, one Augustus and two Cæsars, but they rendered absolute obedience to the " Lord ", and were strictly subject to the same law regarding the succession and the limited period of their power. Rome was altogether eliminated.

In order that taxes and recruits might be forthcoming, the peasants and handicraft workers were denied freedom of movement. A man's son was compelled to succeed him on his little farm or in his trade. No man who was performing service might desert his post, and all were performing service. A grandiose scheme for fixing wages and the prices of all foodstuffs and goods was to make an end of every sort of exploitation.

Those whose whole souls were thus filled with an idea could not call a halt when they came in conflict with Christianity. Like a general on active service, or the prophet of a universal God of light, they were bound to crush this revolt which made a duty of the universal evasion of State obligations. Diocletian's idealism was defeated in the struggle, as also in his struggle against the great landowners, who always eluded his grip, and against the profiteers and the small peasants and handicraft workers who refused to be fettered.[1]

Constantine (323–337), however, shaped his ideas into something practicable : a unitary State supported by the two pillars of the Christian Church and the body of officers and administrators with their military discipline. The empire was now divided into four prefectures with fourteen dioceses and 116 provinces. The Emperor had seven chief court officials in his entourage, and a Council of State to advise him. Military and civil administration were separated ; in both grades were introduced of the higher and lower officials, with regular promotion. The Church with its bishoprics fitted into this system. All power lay in the hands of the Emperor who commanded the officers and administrators and presided over the Church as its protector. The army was greatly strengthened (it was four times as large as in the time of Augustus) ; part of it was distributed throughout the frontier provinces (duchies) where it was stationed in fortresses and garrison towns, and part was kept together in picked companies available at any moment. The barbarians in the army, who made their appearance in the early days of the empire, continued to increase in number.

In the course of further development the Christian religion and its organization were completely merged in the State. The State did not thereby gain much strength for its own defence ; no united effort was made to repulse the barbarians in the name of Christianity. On the contrary, the schisms within the Christian church favoured the barbarians. The Athanasians and Arians, Montanists and Manichaeans hated one another more bitterly than their country's enemies, who soon appeared as Christian converts and intervened in these quarrels. And the bishops of Rome were glad to dissociate themselves from the papal Emperor at Byzantium.

Nor did the body of officers and administrators long hold together. Diocletian's idea of service was not replaced by any effective Christian substitute. Professional duty and honour, which to the ancient Romans had meant pride in their country, were lost in the strife of sects and intriguing court parties. But the structure of Diocletian's and Constantine's State, with its organization of the court and administration, has served as a model for all modern monarchies. The Greeks failed to produce any such organized and disciplined body of State servants.

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[1] Neither heathens nor Christians were " social " in our sense of advocating an ideal of general service to the whole community, or the even distribution of wealth and power on earth. The emperors came nearest to the idea of service and welfare, for they sought to build up an aristocracy of the servants of the State and civilization. The earlier Roman Stoics wanted an aristocracy of the able and energetic, of the patriotic and well-to-do. The Christians confronted both with the ideal of a religious aristocracy, of universal equality, and communism in the service of a " Kingdom " that was essentially of the hereafter. All of these ideals contained the germ of Socialism, but in none did it appear mature and perfect, for all were individualists.

Religion and Philosophy

The great wave of Italic peoples, comprising the Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, and Latins, came from the realm of solar civilization. Their speech was Indo-Germanic, and nearest akin to Greek. The religion that they brought to Italy must have been the solar religion of about 1000 B.C. with a paternal god of light (Jupiter) corresponding to Father Zeus, a divine hero and leader corresponding to Hercules, and the custom of cremation. The Alban Mount with its double peak and lake must have been an ideal mountain sanctuary for tribal solar worship. Many later usages and many scattered references to the names and customs of the Italic tribes are reminiscent of a pure solar cult—for example, the twelve axes of the consuls, the triumphal processions on Monte Cavo, the custom of *vera sacra*, and the cult of the bull of which occasional mention is made. " Ju-piter " corresponds philologically and in meaning to " Father Zeus ", and Juno is most closely akin to Hera. There is also a god of the depths (Neptune, Pluto) associated with this wedded brother and sister. In other cases the names are phonetically akin to Man, Min, Hor, Her, (Mavors, Minerva). Janus, the two-headed god of the month that begins with Christmas, may safely be regarded as a solar twin. We recognize, too, the New Year festival in March preceded by the Saturnalia, though subsequently the date of both was changed and the Saturnalia made to precede the birth of the sun-child instead of his victorious appearance. The young sun-god as Hor has been translated into an actual historical figure. But when " Horatius " dedicates the temple to Jupiter after the ejection of Tarku (508 ? or better 530) and is made the first consul or lord of the newly conquered city, when the Horatii win Alba Longa by their victory over the Curiatii, it is plain that the deeds of the ancient sun-hero Hor, his conquest of Alba Longa and Rome, his victory over dark and alien gods, are a new version of his New Year victory (sister) and coming to power, represented by a noble house as the great deeds performed by its members in Roman history.

Unfortunately we cannot claim the Roman local cults as native to the Italic peoples. Romulus and Remus, the twin founders, begotten by Mars, born fatherless, exposed, suckled by the she-wolf, persecuted by the tyrant, then victorious, restorers of justice, founders of the State, and lastly estranged to the point of fracticide, are probably of Etruscan rather than Latin origin. But how near both peoples were to the solar religion is proved by the fact that the Latins could not only adopt these solar brothers as heroes, together with the whole sacred legend, but could continue to worship them in their mountain sanctuary on the Palatine, and could adopt them in place of their own Hor-Cur couple. In the sanctuary on the Palatine, like the Erechtheus sanctuary in Athens, all the sacred objects of the solar cult were still worshipped in historic times—the cave (hut) of the sun-children, the marriage tree (fig-tree), the sacred animal (the she-wolf as nurse), the sacred stone (the " black stone " regarded as a tomb), and the sun-shield. Here the " leapers " assembled, youths who were to serve the youthful Her. Between the Palatine and the outer city there was a yearly battle for the horse's head on the occasion of the great equine sacrifice.

I do not think there can be any doubt that the Latins brought a variety of the solar religion from the north and from Alba Longa and that in Rome they found a form of solar worship developed to the level of the religions of Egypt and Babylon. Jupiter supplanted the principal god of the defeated people (a Ra divinity ?) on the Capitol or citadel, but on the Palatine the worship of the city's founders was adopted by its new masters as a hero cult. Beside these their own Hor faded away, thanks especially to the jealousy between Rome and Alba Longa, the latter founded by Hor. The Italic sons of Romulus destroyed Hor's city of Alba Longa, the first Italic capital in Latium.

The subsequent development of Roman religion was primarily the result of Greek influence, to which it must have been subject. It may be that even Jupiter's Etruscan predecessor in the temple on the Capitol had undergone Hellenization, and Jupiter may only have stepped into his spiritual heritage, as he stepped into his house and cult. It may be that Hellenization only began before 500 B.C. under the influence of Cumae. The former view is supported by the fact that Jupiter's temple was Etruscan, not Greek, and that in many respects an Etruscan ceremonial persisted. At any rate before Rome's new masters reached cultural maturity the Latin gods underwent Hellenization; the process was quite prosaic and merely involved the adaptation and transference of several of the principal Greek divinities to Latin names: Zeus-Jupiter, Poseidon-Neptune, Hera-Juno, Ares-Mars, Hermes-Mercury, Aphrodite-Venus, and Athena-Minerva were thus translated. "Great gods" were attributed to the two principal divisions of the universe, to the State, the warriors, merchants, and handicraft workers, to fathers, sons, wedded mothers, harlots, and virgins. It is very significant that Apollo and Dionysus, the central figures of genuine religious development in Greece, were absent. Ares-Mars retained all his dignity, and only Mercury rose to importance beside him. Minerva had none of the spirited loveliness and luminous wisdom of the Greek city patroness. The transference took place before the period of cultural maturity and was external and almost passive. It gave the Romans great and civilized gods in place of vague solar divinities, city gods worthy and able to fulfil the city's needs, clear images and ideas; and they were content. At the same time the ceremonial of worship seems to have continued very primitive, at least in parts; it was a Latin heritage and underwent little change (or was it only a later age that searched out primitive customs again?). The people retained the custom of cremation in their cult of the dead, but the Etruscans continued burial as well. The Etruscan customs of setting up images of ancestors and carrying them at ceremonies in honour of the dead seem to have found a place in the people's ancestor cult. No real dividing line was drawn between great gods and heroes; it was accepted but not spontaneously realized anew. The purely mechanical adoption of higher forms from Greece and Etruria before the new racial fusion had borne fruit explains the poverty of Roman religion during its growth.

When the new mixed race reach maturity their borrowing was more vital, but they still borrowed; their borrowings, however, were on a higher plane—monotheism and an ethical and philosophical religion. In this sphere the Romans could themselves have been creators, as they were at a later period. But for the time being they produced little that was visible and tangible on the monotheistic plane, only gaining inward, moral strength. That is why the ancient ideas of the gods were not given more vital form by the civilized Romans, but remained entirely prosaic. Greek artists might be employed to mould images with more æsthetic charm, steps might be taken to Hellenize worship, but what the Romans really aimed at was to simplify and leave visual presentation and mythology behind them. This tendency, however, was checked by political influences, by their own past, and by the example of the Greeks; moreover the loftier ideas that they borrowed from Greece always came a little too soon and damped the energy of the innovators. The mature Romans, therefore, definitely accepted the simple and practical gods that they possessed. They gave a profounder moral, political, and intellectual significance to their worship, tending towards the belief in a national, universal Deity; in practical life they made a thousand colourless divinities appear as helpers on every occasion in men's lives (allegorizing systematically). But myth was turned into history.

During the period when Rome was approaching the maturity of her first prime (beginning about 250 B.C.), she entered the ranks of world powers. The intoxication of her first great victories over Pyrrhus, the Greek military king, the Alexander of the West, and over Carthage, the leading Phœnician power, developed into a frenzy of enthusiasm for the greatness and might of her god Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Capitolinus. He was the universal god, the best and greatest, the Father and God of the Capitol, who would make his city mistress of the whole world. A monotheistic religion comparable with that of the Jews, but more political, rather freer in its subjectivity and at the same time more objective, bore the Romans from victory to victory, inspired them with pride in their country and willingness to make patriotic sacrifices, and built up a Roman world empire subject to their Roman god and yet to the one world ruler; there was no jealousy of other gods; Jupiter was also Zeus—and yet the god of Rome. Nowhere was this monotheism intellectually thought out; it was merely an effective force that made itself felt in practical life; to its professors Rome was sacred, and Rome's gods. These gods were all similar and did not merely constitute a family; each was the protector of some aspect of Rome's life and being. Stress was laid on their ancient origin; their Roman character, and the old-time baldness of their cult and sacrificial ritual were a matter of deliberate choice. On the other hand, an endless multiplicity of Roman gods contrasted with the one and the few, and all alike were poorly visualized, all were guardians of some fragment of Roman life, all were Roman and practical. In contrast with Jupiter Optimus, the one supreme god of patriotic religion, we find countless personifications of every activity associated with agriculture, crafts, or civic life. The faculty to conceive the One was identical with a faculty to conceive systematic multiplicity. The one great god was the god of the universe and of Rome, protecting the city and increasing its power. The several great gods protected Rome through her various classes and organizations (and incidentally these were the same throughout the world). The countless patron gods of every occupation protected the individual and, once again, the Roman first and foremost (as gods of his fathers and his fatherland) in his every action. In all these divinities the one God took visible shape, revealed as one in Jupiter and in his many aspects through the impersonal personification of every action. There has been a tendency to regard these personifications of actions, especially those associated with agriculture, as very primitive, in fact, as belonging to the earliest Romans. That is an error. There are single examples of the kind appearing at an early period, but only amongst peoples who were ripe for pure monotheism and monism. Thus we find a few in Persia, and more in India and Greece, but in Rome they were creations of the intellect (some, perhaps, borrowed from Greece and adapted at the same time as Zeus); they were fully elaborated, and stood guard, personal yet formless, over every activity of the individual and the nation. Everywhere there were invisible gods—individualized in concept, a practical force—and everywhere the pious man might find the Deity, patriotic, forceful, and helpful. This strange monotheism of everyday life clothed in a thousand shapes (just as Thales saw gods or forces in every thing), this piously practical, natural, civic, and patriotic monism, must first have arisen and taken shape in the third century. It is altogether in harmony with the outlook of the first great thinker produced by Rome, or better, he thought in the same spirit, drew his inspiration from the same ideas, so that his life, which was the mirror of his teaching, incorporated that spirit and those ideas. Such was the religious movement inspired by M. Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.).

The Hellenization of Rome began, if we ignore Greek influence on Etruscan Rome, with the capture and retention of the city by the Latins supported by Cumæ. During the first period of Hellenization the great gods were fashioned on the Greek model; lists of magistrates and laws were introduced; in trade Greek commercial houses and Greek wares must have played a part, as well as Greek money. Institutions were Hellenized, whilst the more highly civilized Greeks provided models, on the one hand, of intellectual achievement, and on the other did profitable business. About 450 the Romans must have presented somewhat the same rude and semi-civilized appearance as the Germans in Cologne in the latter days of imperial Rome. This state of affairs continued into the Gallic era. Under the barbarian rule of the Gauls, and during its overthrow by armed force, Rome ceased to be a Greek city; she was welded into a united band of citizens with a fatherland and an army. Antagonism to the Gauls was followed by antagonism to the Volsci and Samnites, and finally to the Greeks. The " liberation of the Greeks " from the oppression of the Volsci, Samnites, and Carthaginians meant no more in the long run than the substitution of a different oppressor and master. The Romans now inherited Greek commercial supremacy (the Tarentine war). They began to wish for a specifically Roman culture with the language of Rome as its medium, for in this period of Rome's first victorious expansion and its consolidation (360–202 B.C.) ideals took shape based upon the way of life of earlier generations. The wish could be fulfilled, for Roman civilization was just entering upon its maturity, and in 254 B.C. Plautus, the first classic, was born. But it appeared directly that a specifically Roman culture was impossible without Greek models (no nation creates what it can borrow). A second era of Greek influence dawned, and this time it was not institutions but literary subjects and forms that were borrowed. Inhabitants of the Greek cities in Southern Italy were the channel of mediation ; some of these cities had been established just five hundred years (Tarentum), and had reached cultural maturity. After their conquest they became bilingual and transmitted Greek culture to the Romans in Latin. Livius Andronicus came from Tarentum, and Ennius was a native of the same district. The former introduced the literary forms of the epic and comedy, which the first Roman classics, Naevius and Plautus, then acclimatized in Rome by creating a living literary language and singing of Latin heroes. The latter, Ennius, introduced Hellenistic rationalism in Rome. He entered the city in 204 in Cato's retinue, and became a Roman citizen in 184. Cato, the first Roman thinker of mark, was his contemporary and friend.

M. Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.) may be likened to Socrates,—although he was the Socrates of a people ignorant of theory, an " untheoretical " Socrates. The Sophism of his day was Hellenism ; politically he came in contact with it as a victorious opponent, culturally it was treasure of unmistakable worth. For a time his hostility was softened, for the enemy of his youth was Carthage, the hereditary enemy of the Sicilian Greeks (to the end he was a fire-eater as regards Carthage). As a politician he came to appreciate the cultural value of Hellenism : an equally lofty civilization, Latin in tongue and Roman in spirit, must fortify Rome. Thus he became a Hellenist in the sense in which Socrates was a Sophist ; he adopted critically what could be used as material for Roman culture. He welcomed an increase of national forces, but nothing emasculating. He wanted to maintain the simplicity, manners, and vigour of his forefathers, their rationality and their training (just as Amos and Zoroaster wanted to restore primitive religion). In actual fact, it was he who first created those ideals by breathing a deeper and more spiritual meaning into ancient tradition, impelled by a strong feeling for natural, rational, patriotic religion and morality. His ideals of patriotic and official duty (as censor) and of duty towards his family, children, and slaves were regarded by later generations as characteristic of ancient Rome. But he set up a standard of right conduct based upon the best customary practice, and gave it a rational foundation. For his fervent faith in patriotism and morality was not merely emotional; like Socrates, he was also a devotee of reason and enlightenment. He advocated " simple traditional " worship of God; in daily service and custom he worshipped the Father, the Capitoline God who entrusted Rome with her worldwide mission, the God of good citizens and peasants and of families. But he was likewise the author of the saying about the augurs smiling when they met one another. As censor he stood for inexorable moral discipline when he purified the Senate, but his reasons were partly political. He was master in his family, wielding authority over life and death, not, however, as head of the house, but in his personal capacity. He required faithfulness in marriage and parental training of the children, especially by the father, as being in harmony with Nature. In this enlightened attitude he was at one with the Greeks. He brought Ennius to Rome and welcomed his national epic in hexameters on the history of primitive Rome. He fully approved the rational transformation of all primitive myths into history, and the spiritualization of all gods, their assimilation to the One in an ethical, theoretical, and allegorical sense.[1] But he did not learn Greek and was opposed to young people learning it. He wished to establish a canon of knowledge worth possessing, which should include Greek elements in so far as they were indispensable, but all Roman in character and for the Romans. It comprised a *Mirror of Morals* and *Rules of Living expressed in Aphorisms* addressed to his son, *Speeches* without Greek effeminacy and affectation, and *Stories of the Earliest Times* from the past of Rome; this was a work of his old age and the first prose history of Rome from the beginning to the author's own day. Moreover, his life exemplified his ideal, like that of Socrates, though he approved of the condemnation of Socrates as being for the good of the State. He was the censor and paterfamilias of his day.

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[1] Here the Roman ideal approached very near to the Chinese and Cato to Confucius; but in China theory was more powerful and the political element was not bound up with any " Rome ", for there was no conflict with a super-national, Hellenistic ideal.

About 200 B.C., just after the battle of Zama, Cato must have seemed very modern and Hellenic, in spite of his brusque repudiation of the Greek language, Greek super-national humanity, and Greek arts of rhetoric and life. He originated the ideal of Rome's mission as ruler of the world, and he accepted natural reason, enlightenment, culture, and encyclopædic knowledge as instruments, though in a Roman form and restricted to the practical sphere. " Right conduct is advantageous conduct conducive to happiness, and only piety and virtue conduce to happiness." These Socratic maxims he could accept, if not enunciate himself. But he saw Greek culture, with all its unpatriotic theorizing and individualism, following in his wake and gaining ground. Terence (190–159 B.C.) translated Menander literally instead of recasting his plays freely and Latinizing them in letter and spirit. Lucilius wrote whole books of philological satires. In 167 B.C. Greek hostages made their appearance in Rome (among them Polybius), and were received in the highest society. A philosophic mission in 156 B.C. turned all Rome crazy, so that Cato had to demand their expulsion. But others followed, and remained, for P. Cornelius Scipio Emilianus (190–129 B.C.) was a philhellene. He gathered around him a company of like-minded Romans and Greeks. The ideal of Rome's world-domination based on military and moral ascendancy developed into an ideal of world domination based on Roman power and Greek culture. The leading statesman and general of the age, Scipio II, advocated the new ideal and triumphed. In opposition to him, Cato became at the end of his life as passionately hostile to the Greeks as he was to the Carthaginians. He began to learn Greek in order to be able to combat the new culture—all the theory and idle chatter, the effeminacy and luxury—with its own weapons in the name of ancient Roman rationality, virtue, and conduct. But he was defeated. The third era of Rome's Hellenization had dawned, the Hellenization of Roman culture. It came about in the revolutionary century, and in the issue Rome became possessed of Greek culture in its entirety and then developed it and was herself a creative force.

Stoicism was brought to Rome by Panætius of Rhodes (180–110 B.C.) as a religious form of rationalism. He taught the belief in one God, one rational Providence and world soul; idle theories of a world conflagration and exaggerated demands for perfect virtue were to be rejected, augury was a fraud, myths were to be interpreted historically or allegorically. Man as an individual was to perfect himself rationally and morally, learning to fulfil his duty to the State and to attain rational and natural happiness. This was a broader, more uniform, more scholarly, and more personal doctrine than Cato's, and yet it was easily brought into harmony with the Roman patriotic faith. In Rome the Greek doctrine of the simple salvation of the individual through acceptance of his appointed place in the march of the world and the endeavour to attain unshakable equanimity, and the Roman doctrine of unquestioning service to the fatherland, combined in the Stoic doctrine which we regard as the ideal of Roman conduct. Academic and ascetic moral theory was permeated by the sentiment associated with Roman world conquest and with a vital personality in the service of a great cause, and was thereby vitalized and exalted. To take one's place as appointed by universal law now meant to serve Fate in the consummation of her fairest work, the world dominion of Roman arms and of Greek wisdom and art. Action and the fulfilment of patriotic duty would bring salvation. Happiness meant the pride of Romans in serving Rome's might and thereby establishing the kingdom of God. To live and die freely and grandly with a tranquil soul were only means to the great end of personal and national achievement and self-realization. Stoics in this spirit were Scipio II, and latterly Cato of Utica and Brutus when the days of world conquest and national limitations were past.

Just as the Stoic doctrine of salvation was revitalized in Rome, rendered creative and personal, and restated as a code of duty and morality for a ruling class (A. Mucius Scævola, died 82 B.C.), so, too, was the Epicurean doctrine of salvation which Zeno of Sidon had brought to Rome. It was restated in Rome by T. Lucretius Carus (96–55 B.C.), who was also the first Roman poet to compose a philosophical epic. He, too, was a disciple of Greek thinker-poets. His masters in the art of poetry were Xenophanes and Empedocles with their epics *On Nature*, as Epicurus was in the intellectual sphere. Lucretius was the Xenophanes of Roman culture, a great theorist (visionary), an ardent disciple of Universal Nature, an enemy of all superstition, false gods, and false fear of death, a prophet in poetic garb (not a rhapsodist, however, but a literary epic poet). But he no longer had the capacity to lose himself in direct and blissful union with the Universal revealed as divine Nature. He could not feel himself the child of a God immanent in every piece of bread, every draught of wine, and in the clear water, a god worshipped at every meal and in every act of loving. To find Nature he had to strip her of her divinity; he enjoyed her as a marvellous piece of mechanism subject to law, an æsthetic spectacle; he found refuge from the fear of death and retribution in the assurance that she was mere blind mechanism. Lucretius felt himself to be a weak, tormented man. He lived in a revolutionary period and had personal sorrows in a life of alternating passionate exaltation and depression (circular insanity ?) now suffered, now enjoyed. He had lost the vision of God and the love of Rome. He yearned for peace and salvation from fear; Epicurus gave him both, and imparted the only peace worth having, the freedom from every kind of superstitious dread. And so he became the evangelist of the prophet Epicurus. In every sphere the times cried out for great mediators and saviours: Cæsar as a political, Lucretius as a personal saviour. Lucretius aspired to convey the doctrine of Epicurus to his people clothed in the fairest and noblest form, that of an epic poem. It was not a poem *On Nature* but *On the Nature of Things*, the innermost essence of the world. Like Parmenides, his aim was salvation through knowledge of essential Being, not from death but from the fear of death. He made use of science and rationalism to rid himself of the God whom he could not discover, and of his contemplation of Nature to see only mechanism and the work of man or civilization. He took no pride in enlightenment, in knowledge of the physical world, and in cultural achievements. He only sought the happiness of casting off fear through clear and certain knowledge; and that the great redeemer from fear gave him. He attached no value to civic virtue and his people's struggle for liberty (as Xenophanes had done). His contemporary, Sallust, wrote that everyone knew what "civic virtue" counted for in the public market and that "freedom" was only a catchword in the struggle for power. Lucretius, the disciple of Epicurus, did not even seek delight, only the absence of pain and desire. He had grasped his master's highest teaching.

But more than that, he had experienced all the suffering of the world, more personally than Epicurus, in the passion of love and the fear of the gods and death. He experienced Nature, in her grandeur as a mechanism and image of the senses, a whirl of pain and pleasure to man who is a part of her, a mingled birth-cry and lamentation for the dead, and in miniature as a marvellous spectacle, moving and entrancing. United with the cry of exultation: "I am free, truly free from fear," we hear the exclamation: "How beautiful, how great, how terrible, and how lovely is this world devoid of gods!" At this point Lucretius the poet comes near to Xenophanes, rises above him—and even more above Epicurus—and loses himself in Nature. He was the first modern who saw Nature with modern eyes, without the mediation of human symbols (nymphs, satyrs); he realized her grandeur, enjoyed her terror and loveliness, and was ripe for full delight in Nature as an end in itself. His Epicurean elimination of the gods led not to atheism but to an æsthetic and religious feeling for Nature.

More impassioned personality, the grandeur of the new vision of Nature, keen fellow-feeling with human suffering, and pantheism without God—these were the Roman elements in the Epicureanism of Lucretius. He transformed a science of individual redemption into a redeeming religion of Nature. The intensity of his fear, his thankful joy in salvation, his human sympathy, and his delight in Nature, mark his close kinship with the first great self-revealing lyric poet in human history, his contemporary, Catullus. Not all the Roman Epicureans were great and pure like Lucretius. But our ideal image of the Epicurean, great in enjoyment, acknowledging and affirming his humanity, draining life to the dregs, is Roman rather than Greek. And in such distinguished men as Petronius, the arbiter of taste at Nero's court, force of personality and clear, impassioned observation of Nature (though embodied in a romance of social satire) appeared once more, incarnate and powerful, as formerly in Lucretius.[1]

M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was the author of a philosophical encyclopædia for the Romans. He began life as a politician. As the representative of an educated bourgeois class that was struggling to rise by means of culture (rhetoric in the new sense) and hard work, he started his career as an eager student of literature, made himself feared and famous by his cautious boldness as a pleader, and at last by the favour of fortune "saved the State". He was not a great statesman; he failed to recognize the real forces of the age and therefore, after his one great deed, he was always on the losing side. But he was skilled in the art of holding his own, not without personal courage, and, what was most important, he represented a class that every dictator wanted to win over; and so he suffered death by violence with dignity at an advanced age. When he was excluded from political life he wrote, first on the subject that he best understood: oratory and the ideal orator and cultured politician. He wrote on the State, too, and then, in his old age, to comfort himself after the passing of the Republic, on philosophy. Thus he provided the Romans with works on rhetoric and philosophy to supplant those of the Greeks. As Plautus endowed them with comedy, Lucretius with a philosophy of Nature, and Catullus with lyric poetry, all after the Greek model but in their own style and tongue, so Cicero endowed them with a whole philosophic system.

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[1] Both Roman Stoicism and Roman Epicureanism clearly recognized the two possible means of salvation in this life—happiness in the performance of social duty (to the fatherland and to humanity, which came to be identical), and happiness within oneself through the full enjoyment of natural life.

It was a compilation of whatever seemed good to the leading representatives of Graeco-Roman culture in the first century B.C., a " philosophy of the bourgeois Centre ", not very profound or forceful, but skilfully selected, carefully thought out, and set forth with masterly clarity, elegance, and force of expression. No theory of cognition served as an introduction, but instead a demonstration of the use and beauty of philosophy (*Hortensius*). There followed a discussion of the most discreet, consistent, and scientific method of philosophizing (which was the sceptical-eclectic; *Academica*), then the doctrine of the supreme good and evil and of happiness (*Tusculanæ*), of gods, oracles, and Fate; of duties, virtues, fame, friendship, and age. Cicero said little that was new; almost every one of his works has a known Greek source (Panætius and the Academics) which often he seems simply to have translated. Nor was his selection original; everywhere he sought a rational balance that would give their due to the community and the individual, to duty, virtue, and pleasure, and found it in temperance, noble humanity, and republican freedom and virtue. Nevertheless, it was a great achievement; the standard philosophical work of Latin literature had been written, the source from which all future philosophy in Rome must necessarily spring, and, moreover, a masterpiece of classical Latinity. Its influence was justly enormous. It served as a medium through which Greek speculations, summed up by a Roman intellect and cast in simple and elegant form, exercised an influence on the mediaeval and modern world.

No great Latin philosopher followed Cicero immediately. The conflict of religious and philosophic views was fought out in the Augustan age in poetry, not in philosophic works. Virgil, followed by Horace and Livy, stood for the ideal of social reform that Augustus strove to effect. Tibullus, Propertius, and especially Ovid were in opposition. The Augustan world paid tribute to Cicero; the ideal of the Republic, its orators and statesmen, still had validity, and the barbarian neglect of personality was no part of the new order. But imperial romanticism did not find in Cicero what satisfied the needs of the age ; instead the Roman character as portrayed by Cato, the ancient Roman simplicity and virtue believed to date back to the time of Romulus, was blended with a new religious loyalty to the imperial house and faithful determination to complete and carry on its great work of salvation. Aeneas, Julius Cæsar, and Octavian were the great exemplars. Every man should submit piously to the will of the gods, attain moral self-mastery, and serve eternal Rome and the divine imperial house, and that not only on the battlefield and in the council chamber but through a pure family life and the procreation of children. The claims of youthful spirits and gaiety, of social and amorous trifling, of the Greek spirit, could only be admitted within this framework of moral and religious duty. To Cicero it was all too self-evident that temperance was natural and virtue the fruit of reason. He was too Greek. Augustus knew that grace and self-conquest and a resolute struggle against passions were needed, if his generation was to maintain the newly created State. Like Cato, he wanted Romans, not Greek individualists, naturalists, and pacifists. He mastered himself, created an imperative in the great ideal vision of his State, and himself submitted to it ; all the forces of civic education (history) and art, society and justice, were to induce others to follow his example, or at least frighten them away from divergent courses.

But in those others the new Roman spirit of Lucretius and Catullus was stirring, the spirit which called for the absolute emancipation of personality from gods and social restrictions and urged natural self-expression by surrender to Nature, love, and indifference towards the State and other bugbears of the past. Tibullus hated war and arms ; man was destined by Nature for peaceful, tranquil, country life and love, in simplicity and concord. Propertius was more passionate ; he lived in society, sought amorous adventures, and mocked at Parthian victories and marriage laws. Ovid risked extremes of graceful, impudent, social and poetic antagonism to the court ideals, and always managed to beat an audacious retreat into flattering submission or respectable verses on the calendar. Nevertheless, he did at last incur the wrath of the Emperor, who had failed to impose his ideal of reform upon his own family. The new spirit won the day against Augustus as also against Tiberius. To call a halt was no longer possible, for the extreme development of individuality was precisely the new contribution that the Romans had to make, rising above the Greeks and standing upon their shoulders. Nobody who counted for anything, whether he accepted or repudiated it, could remain unaffected. It found extreme expression in the madness of Caligula and the excesses of Nero and Domitian, as also in the great self-mastery of Titus, Nerva, and Marcus Aurelius, in Seneca's moral teaching and the contemporary history of Tacitus.

Seneca's philosophy, which belongs to the period of the last emperors of the house of Augustus (or the Claudii), recognized the disastrous character of the new subjectivism and paved the way for its supersession, not, however, as Augustus would have it, in the service of the State, but in a purely personal sense in the cause of religious and moral self-perfection, though that, of course, was destined to benefit the whole community. L. Annæus Seneca (4 B.C. to A.D. 65), like Quintilian and Trajan, was a native of a Roman settlement in Spain, but he was of pure Italian blood. He came to Rome as a pleader in the Senate under Caligula. From A.D. 41–49 he was an exile. Then he was made tutor and afterwards minister to the youthful Nero; in 65 he fell into disfavour and was forced to commit suicide. His life has an important bearing on his teaching. He was a man of the world and a courtier endowed with all the gifts necessary to hold his own in the busy world; passionate, clever, versatile, craving and winning honour, power, and wealth; always a theorist even in his capacity of pleader, royal tutor, and statesman; an idealist for all his worldly interests, anxious to better the world by training the ruler of the world as a religious, gentle, kindly, and yet forceful sage. He wrote much as a disciple of the Stoic school and always modelled himself on the Greeks; but he produced no system, only essays and letters on religion (*On the Brevity of Life*, *On Providence*) and ethics (*On Benefits*, *On Clemency*, addressed to Nero, *On Anger*, *On Tranquility of Soul*, *On the Blissful Life*), besides *Physical Investigations* (popular philosophy) and rhetorical tragedies. His most characteristic quality emerges from his expansive but never wearisome writings only as a general outlook and the sum total of the vigorous, almost aphoristic phrases that he coined. (His style was brillant and arresting, the fruit of careful rhetorical and psychological calculation.) He never succeeded wholly in detaching this characteristic outlook from the Stoicism that was the common property of his time.

Seneca acknowledged that the full development of human individuality was justified; like Catallus he was pleasurably conscious of himself as a personality, as a being of individual stamp in an age that was his own; he did not desire to revert to the past, and regretted neither the narrowness of the Rome of his forefathers nor the war and glory of former days. Rome was the world, world citizenship and pacifism were accepted, as was also the right to individuality. Nor did he desire " self-conquest ", for it was impossible in conflict with man's own nature, and therefore not to be required of him. Augustus had proved wrong, Tibullus right.

And yet Seneca desired virtue and hoped to establish it more successfully than Augustus by working with Nature and not against her. He felt that being himself a part of Nature he was irrational when he was passionate, self-seeking, and vain, but rational when he was wise and good. The same Ego craves to drain life and passion to the dregs and to serve mankind as a man; it is naturally weak and naturally strong, always divided, but always human, always man, an equal amongst millions. All men are naturally equal: the strong personality, the highborn, powerful, rich man is essentially no more than a man in everything that counts, like all the rest; to be a Roman and a born ruler is of no account, for all are naturally equal, all must fight the fight that is called life and leads to success or defeat, all wish to escape from a world of contradiction and attain unity and a life of bliss.

And they can succeed if they follow Nature with judgment, that is to say their better nature; for every man has two natures, one divine that is spirit and goodness, the other in conflict with the divine, that is of the flesh, passionate, weak, and craving for forbidden things. That is what we must realize, and must make our choice, following Nature and the moral dictates of reason, and resolve to be men of good will. " He who would live for himself must live for others." The harshest slavery is slavery to our own Ego. " To obey God is freedom." Love is best and we should love even our enemy. Gentleness and beneficence lead to inner harmony with ourselves and to the blessed life.

Man should seek wisdom, should endeavour to make his divine nature master, to confront Fate, to raise pure hands to heaven, to hold aloof from others' wealth and from injury to them, to perfect himself, and to unite mankind by mutual love in a league of reciprocal service. But to say what man ought to do is not to say that he can do it; it was no longer a matter of course that man could do what his reason taught him to desire; he was " naturally refractory " and corrupt, weak and defiant in his wretchedness. Much could be accomplished by reason, introspection, and overtaking the passions unawares; but in the last resort God alone could bring succour.

God is. Roman pride and Roman gods were past and gone, but there was a God. In his sight all men were equal, alike the prince and the slave. Because of his kinship with God, who was pure goodness and spirit, man was capable of goodness and spirituality; possessed of human dignity (animals were outwardly and inwardly utterly different from man) and human weakness, knowing his feebleness and desiring to be one with God. God was a wise and benevolent Providence, testing those whom he loved and strengthening them through suffering, training them by increasingly severe demands upon them, and receiving the dead—even suicides who could no longer bear the misery of life—in a kingdom of peace and blessedness in the Beyond. Death meant the birth in eternity of those who had sincerely striven for the divine.

In life steadfastness was a blessing and the mark of a wise man, as also tranquillity of soul, which was the wise man's leisure in his retirement from the world, his life of blessedness. Grace (clemency) constituted the happiness of rulers, for God, the ruler of the universe, was gracious and merciful. Beneficence was a great part of the business of life. Such was the new table of values.

The centre of gravity of men's outlook on life had shifted once more. God was again the centre of the universe and conferred worth and dignity, steadfastness and salvation, upon man. Nature was good as a divine element in man, evil as an element in conflict with the divine. Man had fallen so far into the power of his separate Ego that he was altogether helpless and alone, altogether weak and the victim of his instincts. In misery and weakness and the yearning for salvation, for unity after dissension and peace after conflict, he found himself one with all mankind, even with slaves, for all were weak, all suffered and yearned. Seneca's ambition was to be a doctor of souls to sick humanity. His prescriptions were two: first the old Stoic method of keeping a close watch on the passions (anger, especially, he subjected to a new psychological analysis), gaining mastery over self, assisted by a natural diet, and if necessary making an end by suicide; then the new religious method, a reformed Stoicism (submission to universal law and the service of mankind) which looked to God for help and counted on a Hereafter. Both were valid—virtue and wisdom were works and grace.

Seneca's hope of conferring happiness on the world through his royal pupil was disappointed. Nero was no Alexander. But later emperors, such as Titus, Nerva, and superlatively his great successor, were disciples of Seneca ; so, too, was a slave of a member of Nero's bodyguard, Epictetus.

Epictetus (who taught from 90 to 120) was not a Roman but the first great man of the new Byzantine mixed race. He was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, and after he was exiled from Rome (in 94 under Domitian) he taught in Greek in Epirus. It was a slave and cripple, a representative of the proletariat and the physically wretched, who consummated Seneca's doctrine of God and the equality of all men. He did not write but taught by word of mouth for the people who could not write and for all mankind.

God was now the centre of the universe and all men were his children, for their souls, the essential and precious element in them, were fragments of the divine ; all, therefore, were brothers in God ; whatever else they were was of no account. To find God within, to fear and honour him, was the whole duty of man. To be spirit and a part of God was all that he could be and become. Seneca still wrote about Nature, but Epictetus knew nothing of her. The individual was supremely personal, he was God, a perfect Whole, absolutely independent ; yet at the same time he was a part of united godhead and humanity, a brother man who served only as a brother. God's children renounced and suffered, for they were independent in spirit ; living in the world they were not of it but of the God within themselves ; therefore they were blessed, for all things were within their power, all craving was stilled, and perfect oneness satisfied their deepest needs. Because of their bliss they must inevitably wish to help all men to attain the same bliss ; that was their duty, as also their joy. It was not an impulse away from the inner self, but inwardness expressed in deeds. God's children wished to do good to all, to help them, make them better by love and patience and gentleness, or in other words lead them to themselves, to the God within them, and so to like bliss. The end in view was a world of the blessed who had found the God within themselves, whose happiness lay within themselves and therefore in universal brotherliness.

From the Stoic-Cynic philosophy a religion evolved with ideals of divine sonship and the Kingdom of God, based upon the individual Ego and closely akin to the teaching of Jesus, and reached by an intellectual process from a doctrine of Nature and non-ethical values (*Güterlehre*). There are echoes of Buddhist phraseology, too ; they were not borrowed, however, but sprang from the same need.

Philosophy had grown into religion, the extremest subjectivism into the doctrine that man is the child and servant of God, duty to the State and society into dependence on God and duty to a man's fellows. In utter isolation man found new ties through the divinity of his own and all other souls.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (121–180) was of Roman stock, although he wrote his *Meditations* in Greek ; the flowering of a new era of Greek culture attracted men to the study of Greek (Hadrian was another case in point). Marcus Aurelius was the emperor of Seneca's dreams, the epitome of pious wisdom, mercy, benevolence, and strength. He felt himself to be human, but a human being chosen by God for the sacred mission of guiding mankind in God's way. The world was ruled by a wise and kindly Providence who ordered and directed all for the best ; Providence had ordained that what was good for the whole community was also best for the individual. Lacking that faith, life would be worthless and there would be no support or assurance for man in the everlasting flux of the external world ; in that faith man must throw off the bondage of outward things and passions, must seek perfect knowledge of the rational and beneficent ways of Providence so as to fear the gods in its spirit and succour his fellows, especially the weak and wicked. His book was addressed to himself and consists of religious and philosophical reflections whereby the Emperor sought strength to accomplish his work through absorption in the divine, and rendered account to himself of the foundation on which he based his actions ; it was a diary, but one that only recorded his spiritual vision and experience, very personal and quite universal. With dogmatic enthusiasm he sweeps contradictions aside ; Providence must be, in order that life may be worth living; therefore it is—the proof of God is man's need to act virtuously, his moral volition and yearning.

This attitude has a point of contact with that of Tertullian of Carthage (died after 220), the Christian thinker, who may have been the last of the Roman blood or, like Epictetus, the first harbinger of the African (" Romæan ") race. Tertullian's impassioned determination that God and salvation through Christ shall be true and that the Day of Judgment and the coming of God's kingdom shall be immediately imminent, found expression in an aggressive defence of Christian doctrine and polemics full of passionate fanaticism, profound paradox, and juridical hair-splitting. He believed just because everything about the miracle of redemption was paradoxical and impossible ; if it were otherwise, there would be no reason to believe and demand belief. That which was most irrational was a challenge and a certainty, conferring bliss just because it was contrary to reason, because it was irreconcilable with philosophy ; it was directly attested by man's overwhelming yearning for salvation and faith and purity.

With Epictetus and Tertullian we enter the world of the post-Roman civilizations of the Byzantine (Alexandrian) and Romæan (African and Gallic) mixed races and their religious systems. Christianity had sprung from the second Judaic racial mixture as the work of Jesus, Peter, Paul, and the Evangelists ; the Byzantine and Romæan races gave birth to the great Fathers of the Byzantine and Roman Church in whom its development culminated. We have seen how the philosophic outlook of the best Romans was maturing for the reception of Christianity : one God alone, a wise and benevolent Providence, salvation from spiritual conflict and the warfare of body and soul, the ascent to God in life and after death, union with all mankind in one great fellowship of love and good works, and redemption from impurity and wickedness—all these things Seneca demanded. In Epictetus the demand had evolved into a religious formula of salvation; God's children detached themselves from the world in the blissful realization of the divine within themselves, and their bliss found expression in gentleness, patience, and love of their brothers, whom they thus helped to find the same bliss within themselves and to enter the kingdom of God.

We may ask whether this philosophy of divine sonship might not have been the source of a popular religion which would have been loftier than Christianity, would have absorbed no Jewish elements, and would have accomplished the same as Christianity. To this I think we must return a negative answer. It is true that the teaching of Epictetus was extremely close to that of Jesus, and that logically it stands on a somewhat higher intellectual plane ; but it is infinitely weaker in vital fervour and spiritual power. With Jesus the child of God lives in the love of God and his neighbour, whilst with Epictetus he finds himself in God and helps his brother to find God. Epictetus' doctrine might certainly have been associated with a monotheistic God—Zeus, Jupiter, Mithras—and with one of the many mystery religions of the East, whether the Dionysan Orphic cult or that of Adonis or Osiris. These universal gods, however, had always been linked with earlier polytheistic beliefs, and the mystery gods were many and mythical ; but Christianity introduced the one universal God who had never acknowledged any other besides himself, and the history of his victories over Babylon, Syria, and Judah itself which had always been foretold by prophets ; as Saviour it introduced the most recent and human of gods who had lived in the days of Augustus, together with promises of imminent resurrection and triumph. This religion was instinct with vitality, quite simple, and quite modern ; it preached a paternal Providence, so full of loving kindness that he had sacrificed his Son, and a struggle for purity, righteousness, and godliness amounting to absolute asceticism ; so earnest were its adherents about equality and the love of mankind as to embrace poverty, and about the love of God as to sacrifice life itself ; it accentuated human weakness to the utmost and looked for all things to the grace of God, good will, and an unshakable faith ; and it regarded man as the sinner who must repent and believe in order to be saved. Christianity contained every element in the philosophy of Seneca and Epictetus, all conceived more profoundly, humanly, vividly, and inexorably, and summed up in a simple doctrine. Christianity must have prevailed, even if none but educated people had been involved ; and now the rise of the proletariat came to its support, a class capable of receiving none but a concrete, semi-scientific doctrine highly charged with emotion ; they were pleasantly conscious that their faith satisfied all the most modern philosophic needs of the upper classes, and at the same time enjoyed the knowledge that the Jewish God and Saviour had hitherto been despised and misjudged by the middle classes, that Jesus had been poor and in distress, that he suffered violence at the hands of Pontius Pilate and Caiaphas, and that he had come to the poor and wretched and promised them his kingdom, together with dominion and immortality.

In the second century Christianity began to evolve from a Jewish sect and a proletarian class religion into a world religion. Blended with a marvellous medley of Persian and Greek elements (Gnosticism) it made a familiar appeal to educated heathens ; but to educated people who had known it in its unadulterated form it appeared so distorted by heathen influence that they struggled to maintain its purity. Christian scholarship arose and used the weapons of heathendom in the fight for the faith ; under such conditions a compromise between Christian and heathen culture was inevitable ; now, however, it came about in such a manner as to safeguard the peculiar character of Christianity, and it must be conceded unreservedly to the acknowledged Fathers of the Church that they showed masterly skill in solving the problem how to remain Biblical, Pauline, and evangelical and re-state the intellectual concepts enshrined in the Holy Scriptures without sacrificing any essential part of the Christian doctrine, and yet to combine with that doctrine such Graeco-Roman and Persian elements as were necessary in order to develop the intellectual aspect of Christianity and possible without endangering the faith.

Contemporary with Tertullian (died after 220) and Cyprian of Carthage (died 258), there lived in Alexandria Clement (died 220), the earliest founder of a school for catachumens who imparted instruction in Christian scholarship, and Origen (185–254), his successor as principal of the school, the author of the *Hexapla* (the canon Hebrew text of the Old Testament with five Greek versions) and the originator of the earliest encylopædic Christian education. Clement was a product of the older Greek philosophy and a pupil of the Stoic Christian Pantænus. Origen assimilated the Neo-Platonism taught in Alexandria by the Christian apostate Ammonius, the Sack-Carrier (175–242), which was the most recent development of Greek philosophy. Ammonius Saccas taught only by word of mouth. He must have agreed with the Christians in putting the Deity above the world (also as an Idea) and asserting the existence of a number of spheres and beings dependent upon God, and a fall of souls which led to their captivity in the prison-house of the body ; he must have preached contempt of the body and the world and held up as man's true aim a life devoted to the contemplation of God and union with him through ecstasy and death, after release from the prison-house. All these elements are to be found in Origen and Plotinus, re-stated by the one in the form of Christian mythology, by the other as a heathen system of doctrine.

Plotinus of Lycopolis in Egypt (204–270) was the second great philosopher after Epictetus produced by the Alexandrian race ; he was a strictly accurate thinker like Aristotle ; he, too, re-fashioned Platonism, but he adopted the metamorphosed version of Ammonius ; he did not render it more actual, like Aristotle, but more metaphysical. God is above the world, he comprises all worth and all being, as in Judaic Christianity. He must be above the world even as an Idea, and above the *Nous* that begets Ideas, for *Nous*, thought, is inseparable form *Noëton*, that which is thought, but God must be absolutely unconditioned : therefore he is the First, Simplest, the unbegotten Begetter, that which is good, beyond reason and Being. His image—already differentiated, but still that which is nearest akin to him—is *Nous*, reason, a duality of thought and that which is thought, gazing in contemplation upon the One God ; the *Nous* contains the Ideas or archetypes of things moulded in a transcendental substance. From the *Nous*, or Spirit, spring souls or spiritual beings, images of the *Nous* and gazing upon it in contemplation. They are independent beings ranging from the world soul to human souls, intrinsically indivisible but divisible in so far as they enter into bodies (" as the point becomes a line "). One part of the soul needs no body, the other part does need it in order to express its energy. Souls beget bodies not in order to live in them but to " have them at hand " and use them ; matter provides them with a physical substance which is an image of the transcendental substance. Material forms are phantoms of the Ideas.

Human souls have profited by their independence to make bodies for themselves instead of continuing in the blissful contemplation of the *Nous*. Thereby they have revolted and forfeited their freedom and bliss. Some never notice it, but remain in bondage to the senses and lusts ; others attain in practical life to civic, active virtue, but have no vision of higher things. The best souls scorn what is of the earth, turn towards the *Nous*, and find bliss by purifying themselves through the contemplation of beauty and then of the supersensual (Nature, the soul, the *Nous*, God) or becoming one with God through ecstasy. That is man's goal. Plotinus strove zealously to attain it and is said to have been ashamed of having parents and a native city ; he wanted to be pure spirit. He wanted to live as a stranger to the world in a philosophers' city, *Platonopolis*, which would inevitably have developed into a kind of monastery, although it was to be established in Campania on the basis of Plato's *Laws*. His supreme happiness lay in his four experiences of rapt union with God during his lifetime.

The philosophy of Plotinus, like the State of Diocletian and Constantine, was a great achievement and definitive of its kind. With obstinate logic, yet distinctly and clearly, he rounded off the thinking of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. He sowed many seeds which fructified not only in Christian metaphysics but in modern philosophy as well. His outlook in æsthetics and cosmology and his exaltation of pure contemplation of God exercised a strong influence on Italian Renaissance philosophy. Every philosophic mystic system (right down to Schelling and Soloviov) and every non-causal doctrine of flux has found stimulus and suggestion in his ideas.

All that remained of Plato's teaching was a purely metaphysical doctrine, a purely religious and æsthetic myth of God, the world, and the soul, and scorn of all earthly things, all that is fruitful in practical life and the separate sciences, scorn in the last resort of that very reason by which the whole scheme was so sharply illumined and defined. That was the ultimate conclusion of this last thinker, who aspired to be a philosopher and came fundamentally to grips with Plato. It provided the basis for a philosophical monastic ideal: action, even virtuous action, is almost as worthless as apathetic drifting through life: vision, the vision of God, and if possible in ecstasy, is everything.

At rock bottom the Christian view is the same: God is all, the world nothing; to contemplate God is man's highest goal. And therefore Christians have readily made use of Plotinus in developing this part of their doctrine. But Christianity did not stop short there, and it is precisely by comparison with Plotinus that we realize its great fertility. According to the Church Fathers, Plotinus' scheme included the whole world of action, love of neighbours, and the reconstruction of society and the State. And here Christianity, not Plotinus, is Plato's true heir; in a certain sense it realized Plato's ideal State in the Middle Ages and in the ideal Jesuit State. And it appreciated and preserved not only Plato, but Aristotle and all the specialized scientific and technical achievements of antiquity.

Heathendom made an attempt to set up a "philosophical religion" in opposition to Christianity, with Plato or Pythagoras as its prophet and Plotinus and Porphyry or Iamblichus as evangelists and Church Fathers. Iamblichus from Coele-Syria (died 330) combined the philosophy of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle with Chaldæan theology and Egyptian mysteries, welding them to a single whole on the basis of Plotinism, and this was to be a match for the Jewish-Pauline mystery religion as elaborated philosophically and theologically. Iamblichus lived to see the Council of Nicæa summoned by Constantine in 325, and the first triumph of Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373) over the Arians. The Christian Church was stereotyping its doctrine. With Athanasius its true Pauline spirit triumphed on the question of unity (the Father and Son were one in substance) over the "Modernist" Arius, as with Luther over Zwingli on the question of the Last Supper.

Beside the Emperor Julian (331–363) who was at once a philosopher and enemy of the Christian religion, stand two friends of his student days in Athens, both almost exactly the same age; these were Basil "the Great", Archbishop of Cæsarea (331–374), the great organizer of religious ceremonial, church government, and monasticism, and Gregory of Nazianzus (330–390), the author of Christology in its orthodox form. Both were Cappadocians. To the same period belong John Chrysostom of Antioch (347–407) and Ambrose of Milan (born at Treves; 340–397). The former was an excellent and courageous preacher who wrote pure Attic Greek which nevertheless reads like living speech, a great practical moralist; the latter was a great organizer of the Western Church, as Basil was in the East. In the name of God both successfully opposed injustices committed by the Emperor: Theodosius the Great bowed before Ambrose and did penance, but Chrysostom was ultimately defeated by the Empress Eudoxia, the daughter-in-law of Theodosius; nevertheless he had, with the people's help, repeatedly humiliated her and the Emperor Arcadius. Even the Emperors, whose jurists and officials had ascribed absolute omnipotence to them, were now bound by religious obligations. The latest and greatest in this brilliant succession of great organizers, preachers, and thinkers was Aurelius Augustine of Tagaste in Numidia, Bishop of Hippo Regius (354–430). Christianity now proved superior to its rivals in the actual philosophical construction of theory; its inmost spirit exercised a fructifying influence on scholarship. Wrestling with the incompatibility of divine omnipotence and human freedom, Augustine evolved from Pauline teaching and from his own psychological observation of children the doctrine of original sin and man's predestined salvation or damnation; in so doing he started the religious discussion of the problem of free-will, and the ruthlessness of his formula is a constant provocation to resume it. His *cogito* as the basis of certain knowledge and his voluntarism were equally stimulating and suggestive. In his *City of God* he fitted the whole history of the world down to the conquest of Rome by the Goths into his divine scheme of salvation; it was a world drama like the vision of Plotinus, but in the sphere of history and ethics. His *Confessions* were the first great autobiography in the literature of the world, a book in which he solemnly rendered account to the universal Church of his own transgressions and God's guidance. Following the many romances in which parents and lovers are parted in sorrow and happily re-united, the *Confessions* constituted the earliest record of experience in which a mother wrestles for the salvation of her child's soul; following the many imaginary dispensations of destiny, this was a record of God's hand leading to salvation. Instead of romantic types we see a growing human soul, instead of Plutarch's static types of a heroic past, this was an extract from the history of a present-day spiritual hero in the making. Lastly, the book was a great intellectual achievement, serving the practical purpose of an apologia; it was Augustine's aim to refute the Pelagians and Manichæans within the Christian Church, and all heathendom besides. Therein he was successful; he completed the victory of Christianity over the heathendom around and within its fold by fructifying the union of Christian faith with heathen learning. Modern philosophy has its origin in him and Plotinus.

Proclus (410–485) the Lycian, the last philosopher of heathendom, found the struggle against Christianity a lost cause. Since the reign of Theodosius heathen religious ceremonial was forbidden, the Olympian games ceased in 393, and the school at Athens only survived by Christian favour. As principal of this school Proclus rounded off the Neo-Platonic system in a doctrine of development which taught that the world emanates and descends from the One in a dialectic process (half causal, half logical, and always timeless).

In 529 Justinian closed the school at Athens and in the same year Benedict of Nursia founded the first Benedictine Abbey on Monte Cassino. M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, Theodoric's minister, retired to a Benedictine monastery in Bruttium in 540 and broadened the scope of monastic duties by the systematic transcription of valuable books. He himself wrote a manual of orthography and an outline of the knowledge of his age. Like Justinian's jurists in Byzantine, the last "philosophers" (Boethius who died in 525, Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella, and Isidore of Seville) epitomized transmitted scholarship for the use of the schools. After the commentators on the Bible and Plato, there followed the good transcribers of texts who saved the treasures of antiquity in the tempest of migrating peoples.

The Roman outlook on the universe was closely akin to the Jewish and Chinese in its general tendencies; it was practical through and through; only religious metaphysics and ethics aroused interest. Mythology was translated into history, and a canon of valuable knowledge grew up. The Romans and Chinese were akin because they were in the same phase of evolution; both nearly attained complete monism, but not quite. But the Greeks were complete monists and theorists, and under their influence the Romans underwent pre-ripening and reached hypermaturity; failing this foreign influence, Cato might have become another Confucius. As it is, Roman religion, with its Jupiter Optimus Maximus, its divine patrons of man's activities, and its ancestors, is akin to Chinese, and the canon books of Virgil, Livy, and Horace are not too far removed from the Chinese canon. But for Christianity something even more Chinese in character might have grown up round Seneca and Epictetus. Christianity came to Rome as Buddhism came to China, as a religion of the masses. The kinship of Rome and Judaism was not that of equal evolutionary advancement ; in logical thinking Rome was the more advanced ; it was due to their similar position within the orbit of an older civilization which was transmitted to them as a heritage from a race of ingrained theorists, and due, also, to the fact that their own disposition was practical from the outset. This similarity of Roman and Jewish culture greatly favoured the spread of Christianity in the Roman empire. Not only did Rome endow Christianity with a world empire, a two-fold culture and language, and the requisite social conditions, but its practical spirit, which respected only monotheism and moral virtue, history and law, acted as a unifying intellectual influence in the fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas. We ourselves stand upon the foundation laid by Greeks and Jews, welded together by the Romans.

Learning

As the civilization of the Romans matured they found in every field the finished product of Greek civilization already established. From it they borrowed everything, and their whole energies in their first prime were devoted to assimilation ; even at a later period that was largely the case. In the realm of learning, especially in the specialized sciences, they did little beyond borrowing. In mathematics, astronomy, physics, and chemistry, as well as zoology and botany, they did no creative work, but only applied what others had created. In scientific metaphysics Greek philosophy was for them the last word, as also in ethics and the theory of non-ethical values (*Güterlehre*). We have seen that the Romans in a few minor matters made some original progress on the basis of Stoicism and Epicureanism, especially in the religious and generally human spheres (the relation between God and humanity ; the religious table of values ; the individual ; the slave regarded as human). Only in history and jurisprudence did the Romans decidedly excel the achievements of Greece. We must examine these two special subjects more closely, as well as the Roman encyclopædias which aimed at summing up knowledge in order to make it accessible for educational purposes.

We shall devote a third, detailed section to Roman pedagogy and rhetoric.

The alphabet was borrowed from the Greeks as early as the period of the Latin conquest of Rome, either directly or through the Etruscans. The Romans only improved it by abandoning the Semitic names of the characters and substituting simple phonetic syllables such as are still in use to-day. For the rest, they adapted the phonetic values to their own language.

Thanks to Cæsar, the Romans played an important part in the development of the calendar; in 46 they substituted the Egyptian solar year of twelve months for the lunar year, but brought it to a standstill and reduced it to order by means of an intercalary day every fourth year. We cannot be sure when the New Year festival was moved from 21st March to 21st December or 1st January, thus shifting the Saturnalia to December; it was doubtless not before the Gallic period, and it may not have been till the desire arose to throw off Greek influence (about 250–200 B.C. ?).

History regarded as a study of the forces acting in human life and the law that governs them had almost reached its culmination in the hands of Thucydides, and regarded as a study of politics and strategy, or " pragmatic history ", in those of Polybius. Polybius had even anticipated the Romans by writing a classical account of their own great period of resistance to Hannibal and their conquest of the world. None the less they did achieve original and creative work in the realm of history; they wrote propagandist history in the grand style to serve the interests of parties within the world empire, urging its reformation; and they wrote the history of contemporary civilization, bringing to the task a wholly new power of psychological characterization of individuals and of stirring strong emotions.

Cæsar's memoirs of the Gallic and civil wars were primarily political; his aim was to produce particular effects in Rome. They were likewise masterpieces of simple and elegant objective narrative, the reminiscences of a great man whose deeds had revolutionized the world, and models of the historical style; but they were only incidentally historical works.

The first genuine historian in Rome was C. Sallustius Crispus (86–34 B.C.). Like Thucydides he wrote the history of the period through which he himself lived, but on a smaller scale. He took pleasure in portraying the transition period from Sulla's death till Pompey's first great successes, and describing single episodes that were characteristic of the age. He picked out particular individuals or cultural conditions that were of interest. He knew them intimately, for he himself was intimately involved in the process of disintegration. His choice of subjects and the tone of his books was intended to exercise a political influence, to justify Cæsar, and expose the optimates, all with a show of absolute objectivity. And all the time he was enjoying the greatness and the vices of his age, besides his own multiple personality and conscious art. T. Livius (59 B.C. to A.D. 17) of Padua was the first to write a general history of his nation; it was in 142 books, beginning with the foundation of the city and carrying the story down to the death of Drusus (753–9 B.C.), an undertaking of unprecedented magnitude. It substituted for the old national epics of Nævius and Ennius, and also for the Greek works of Polybius, a standard book in modern literary Latin, scholarly in form; but primarily it was a moral work designed to set a cultural standard inspired by the idea of the Augustan reforms, and to influence people by its patriotic subject and the elevating power of its scenes and speeches. He read the political, strategical, and moral ideas of the most recent times into the earliest period (Machiavelli extracted them). He presented the historical period in a stereotyped mould, and paid less heed to the fruits of research than to character studies of supposed heroes and inspiring, thrilling narrative, calculated to rouse the emotions by its rhetoric and its choice of subject matter. The whole book ended with a lengthy portrayal of the happy Augustan age (33 books for 35 years!). Livy desired that his book should be nothing less than a Bible of the Roman religion of patriotism, a magnificent piece of propaganda for the faith of Augustus in the mission of Rome and of his own dynasty.

P. Cornelius Tacitus (A.D. 55 to after 117) shared with Sallust his impassioned and sensitive reading of the modern soul, with Livy the determination to exercise a moral influence. But in him personal delight in over-refinements was supplanted by the student's passion and satisfaction in collecting evidence of human aberrations. He had ceased to hope that the Romans would amend; the greatness of his aging nation lay in the past. In *Agricola* he erected a personal memorial to one last Roman hero of his own age. In his principal work, the *Annals*, he drew a powerful and skilful picture of the Claudian period, full of psychological insight: his people were plunging into ignominious slavery, and the slave-owners, that is the emperors, were degenerating under the influence of their absolute power. A tyrant was merely a wretched being degraded by the degradation of his courtiers, so that he became impervious to all human feelings. In contrast with the ruling civilized nation, Tacitus depicted the German nature people, a youthful, vigorous, freedom-loving nation ; it was a propagandist, ideal picture, but he had collected the whole literature on the subject and in drawing it had sketched in many details characteristic of a people and a civilization. He was an original psychologist and cultural historian writing a history of souls and conditions, a great physician analysing diseases (as Seneca analysed anger), a great artist writing the tragedy of mankind in the form of contemporary history.

Roman jurisprudence was the great product of the dialectic ability which characterizes the Roman evolutionary phase, though Rome inherited a finished technique from Greece. This ability the Romans devoted to the construction of a legal system, for the system of the universe had already been constructed by the Greeks. The great achievement of the Greeks was dialectic, which gave birth to science or the theory of the universe. They did not create a system of jurisprudence, but only a juridical philosophy and particular laws. The Romans supplied the deficiency and created a science of jurisprudence. Instead of the Sophist disputation of ethical and political questions prevalent in fifth century Athens, the Romans conducted juridical disputations on legal questions in the first century B.C. ; but from the outset they were equipped with the method of definition and indeed, with the whole Aristotelian theory of the syllogism. The first great Roman jurist, the Pontifex Q. Mucius Scævola (140–82 B.C.), was a pupil of the Greek philosopher. He saw the possibility of perfecting Roman juridical practice by Greek scientific methods. In his *Horon* he gave juridical definitions, legal rules, and examples. In the eighteen books of his *Jus Civile* he endeavoured to treat civil law systematically. The first purely scientific jurist after Cicero was S. Sulpicius Rufus (died in 43 B.C.). He was succeeded in the Augustan age by the two earliest founders of schools, M. Antistius Labeo (43 B.C. to A.D. 22) and M. Ateius Capito (died A.D. 22). Just as in Greece the great philosophers came in pairs and developed the whole body of knowledge by their opposing doctrines, so did the great jurists in Rome. They combated one another as adversaries in politics and scholarship, and established schools. For a century the Sabinians (deriving from Capito) and the Proculians (from Labeo) continued in hostile rivalry. Labeo, who was also a grammarian, wrote the first commentary on the yearly increasing *Edict of the Praetors*, the collection of legal precedents created by cases in the

Roman courts. He wrote a book on the Twelve Tables and even on "ecclesiastical law" (pontifical law). For half the year he was a judge, for the other half an author and teacher. By means of systematic surveys (Sabinus: *Three Books of Civil Law*), and especially Letters (*Epistolae*) and Answers (*Responsae*) the science of jurisprudence and the power of legal thinking developed. In families of jurists the sons were initiated so young into the material and method of the evolving science that boys of seventeen were capable of issuing *Responsæ*. The early emperors granted the right of responsion to distinguished jurists, but in Diocletian's reign the practice was abandoned. In the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, Juventius Celsus (died after 129) and Salvius Julianus (died after 150) summed up the body of civil law. In A.D. 130 Salvius Julianus published the *Edictum Perpetuum*. In addition the *Digests* of the two great legal practitioners and teachers provided supplements in the form of commentaries. The next masters of jurisprudence, Sextus Pomponius and Gaius (in the second half of the second century) were not practitioners but only scholars. Civil law had now assumed its final, dogmatic form, and historical notes were published on the development of jurisprudence. The science had completed its growth and only awaited the final process of systematization. The introduction to civil law written by Gaius, his *Institutiones*, is the oldest part of the system then about to be established, and has been preserved almost intact.

The first great mouthpiece of Roman pedagogy and rhetoric and the first author of an encyclopædia was M. Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.). He claimed that children should be educated by their parents, not by the community or by menials. The education of the sons should be chiefly the father's concern, that of the daughters the mother's. The sons should be trained "in ancient Roman fashion" to be the heads of houses, cultivators of the soil, capable citizens and leaders, future generals and Senators of the Roman State. For these father-educators he provided educational text books in his moral philosophy, his rules of conduct embodied in patriotic verse, his *Origines*, annals, and speeches, and his history of the city and the nation; he also produced models of simple and effective oratory (a kind of *Shu Ching*). Moreover, he advocated practical training in agriculture, law, and the military and medical arts.

M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.) produced a modern rival to this ancient Roman encyclopædia; it was written in the spirit of the cultured philhellenes, but was Latin in language and Roman in outlook, and was meant as a substitute for the Greek encyclopædias. Varro was a contemporary of Cicero and both in their youth had been eager students of modern Roman philology (Aelius Præconius Stilo) which taught the art of commenting on ancient ducuments and hymns and framing Roman orations. Like Cicero, Varro took up regular literary work late in life (48–46) after a long professional and political career ; but then he produced an epitome of all knowledge, a substitute for Aristotle and all the specialized science of the Greeks. Inspired by Lucilius and Stilo he wrote *On the Latin Language* ; also on *Antiquities of Roman Life* and on *Roman Religion.* He collected documents bearing on the history of Latin literature, for which he provided a chronological framework. He was the first great literary and archæological Latinist. He wrote seventy-six books of philosophical discussion with historical illustrations. *Cato* dealt with the education of children, for the first time including girls. *Disciplinarum Libri IX* reproduced all the school learning of the Greeks : grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric as preparatory subjects, and geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music as exact sciences were supplemented by medicine (*Cato*) and architecture, so as to make a total of nine subjects of instruction. But he also wrote popular works on agriculture (*Cato*) and geography (the sea coasts).

Cicero set up a new cultural ideal for his age, that of the orator, the Roman citizen with a general, practical education in civic rights and duties and in public speaking and political activities, a man who, if he received a general philosophical training (especially in moral philosophy), would be the complete orator and statesman and combine a well-informed mind with thorough specialist knowledge. From the first century onwards the Roman schools of oratory aspired to train this perfect human type, at once theorist and practical man. Varro contributed his *Disciplinæ* besides his philosophical and philologico-archæological works. About the beginning of the Christian era there was a system of private schools in Rome by which students could pass from elementary teaching (given by the *litterator*) through the grammar school (conducted by the *litteratus*) to the college where they studied under the *rhetor* and linguist, and so attained to Cicero's ideal.

When the Republic ceased to exist this ideal rapidly lost its practical substance. Roman citizens no longer became statesmen like Cicero. True, there were still independent minds who held their own at court, men like Seneca or the elder Pliny (23–79), the author of the Roman encyclopædia of natural history (the universe, the human race, animals, plants, minerals, etc.). But more and more the need of able emperors came to be for obedient servants and professionally trained officers, administrators, and senators, men who would contrive to fill the empty dignity of their office with culture and rhetoric. State orations came to be brilliant displays, and the speeches of pleaders in the courts purely professional affairs which demanded considerable learning and ability in an age when jurisprudence was becoming more and more of a science. The schools of oratory transformed art into artificiality. Those who advocated natural simplicity were succeeded by mere imitations of Cato and Cicero, affecting simplicity and archaism (Atticists); where once a living, æsthetically arresting beauty founded on careful psychological insight had been cultivated, later generations snatched bombastically at effect. Tacitus gave up oratory for a lost art, worthless and servile. At this point M. Fabius Quintilianus (35–95, a native of Spain) entered the lists. He was a pleader, then a prince's tutor; under Domitian he was a " professor of eloquence " and in the first rank of State officials, and was the author of *The Training of an Orator* (*Institutio Oratoria*). The orator according to him was no longer a statesman and pleader, but a man of culture, well equipped with knowledge and resolute in virtue; he was a society man, too, with the ability to speak well and arrestingly in an elegant and captivating style. Philosophy and pedagogy were included in rhetoric, or rather they were made to serve the new cultural ideal like all other subjects of study, literature and music and even mathematics and gymnastics. Quintilian's book made a number of new contributions to pedagogy, especially in the realm of psychology; he was the originator of an ideal of general culture which every specialist ought to possess; but at the same time he lowered the standard of scientific education. In Trajan's reign Quintilian found his ideal pupil in the younger Pliny (62–118), a man who was equally distinguished as an orator, a writer of letters, and an administrator, the worthy friend of a great emperor. Under the succeeding emperors higher education flourished. Hadrian founded the Athenæum in Rome, the first State college of rhetoric and the liberal arts. Antoninus Pius exempted philosophers, *rhetors* (teachers of rhetoric), grammarians, and physicians—though only a limited number—from the burdens of citizenship. Marcus Aurelius reorganized the Athenian schools. Alexander Severus (222–235) provided lecture halls in Rome and salaries for quite a number of professors of rhetoric, grammar, medicine, divination, mathematics, mechanics, and architecture, and so founded the first " university ".

But in this final period of great professors, with its high standard of general culture, specialized training was already growing in importance and general culture began to wither. Religion gained in influence as compared with philosophy and the importance of goodness increased. Seneca still set a value on philosophy, Quintilian made it a part of the orator's training, to Epictetus it was a mere formula expressing man's relation to God and his brother ; then Christianity arose with its cult of irrationality and free-will and its repudiation of heathen culture. The rising proletariat attacked alike bourgeois culture and bourgeois class domination.

In the second century A.D. the Byzantine (Alexandrian) race produced the scholars who summed up the separate exact sciences in their final form. Claudius Ptolemæus (about 150) wrote a book on mathematics, the "largest book" (*Al-magest*) in which he transmitted the theory of the heavens to posterity. He agreed with Aristotle and Hipparchus in refusing to believe that the earth was in motion and was not at the centre of the universe. His works on physics show that hardly any advance had been made in the theory of gravity (Aristotle) and of reflection and refraction (Archimedes), but that, on the other hand, geodesy was the richer for a number of measurements. Similarly Claudius Galenus of Pergamum (129–200) summed up the science of medicine in a definitive system. He was a disciple of Hippocrates and wrote commentaries on him. Taking his stand upon that master's theories, he wrote in a flowing, often rhetorical style upon anatomy (occasionally practising vivisection upon monkeys), physiology (the theory of humours), pathology (with the help of dissection which, however, was forbidden in the case of human beings), diet, and pharmacy. He was relatively unconcerned with surgery. Aelius Herodianus of Alexandria (about 170) laid the foundations of future grammar and prosody in his *General Theory of Expression.* Aemilianus Papinianus of Emesa in Syria (executed in 212) and Domitius Ulpianus of Tyre (murdered in 228) are the two great jurists who gave the science its definitive form. Dion Cassius of Nicæa (160–235) wrote a history of Rome from the foundation of the city to A.D. 229. It is significant that the pseudo-sciences were also given systematic, definitive form. No less a scholar than Ptolemæus wrote *Tetrabiblon,* the standard work on astrology. Artemidorus (about 170) wrote a *Book on Dreams.* Alchemy and the theory of the philosopher's stone evolved, and about 300 Zosimus epitomized it.

Great representatives of Christian scholarship appeared, too, at the beginning of the second century. Origen (died 254) edited the *Hexapla,* that is the Old Testament in Hebrew and in five Greek versions. He achieved something far greater than the Jewish editors of the canon who pronounced one manuscript to be classical and merely copied it; but he could not produce a critical edition in accordance with the highest standard of Greek scholarship, for the *Septuagint* was still regarded as inspired and unimpeachable.

Beside the great scholars who gave definitive form to the sum of knowledge and were almost all creative and original themselves, there was one algebraist who appears to have been entirely original, Diophantus of Alexandria (about 250). The universal tendency to break away from the sensuous and tangible (Plotinus) bore fruit in the realm of mathematics, where the old geometrical attitude of mind made way for an arithmetical outlook.

Thus the specialized sciences assumed a definitive form and were brought within four walls. In the subsequent period a small rear-guard followed. Eusebius of Cæsarea (died 340) wrote the first church history. Ammianus Marcellinus of Antiochia (330–390) took the bold step of continuing the work of Tacitus and writing a history of the emperors from 96 to 378; and he really did attain a degree of impartiality and objectivity and, where he had been an eye-witness, of graphic vividness, unequalled in his age. Jerome of Dalmatia (340–420) produced in the *Vulgata* a scholarly translation of the Holy Scriptures. But for the rest, all that had not been in some way preserved in a canon fell to decay. What was precious in knowledge was contained in the work of Ptolemæus, Galenus, and Herodianus, and in Origen's and Jerome's editions of the Bible. In rhetoric religious orators held the field (heathens like Aristides who died in 190 or Libanius who died in 393; but first and foremost Christian preachers, as, for example, nearly all the Church Fathers). Panegyrists took the place of historians.

As Christianity grew more scholarly in rivalry with heathendom, the antithesis between Christians and educated people disappeared. Christian education and Christian scholarship developed, and after its victory Christianity took over and maintained the educational institutions and the treasure of culture, both general and specialized. Diocletian's and Constantine's great constitutional reformation of the empire provided an opportunity to reorganize instruction and to make a place in the official hierarchy for a class of University teachers of the official type. In any case the new official class needed institutions where they could receive professional training and study grammar, rhetoric, and law. Julian (360) seems to have been the first to pursue an energetic policy of bringing university education under the State; he introduced State examinations and the State appointment of university teachers, plainly in support of his religious policy. After his defeat Christian emperors carried on the work, for indeed it was the culmination of imperial absolutism. Gratianus appointed grammarians and rhetoricians in 372 at Rome and Constantinople for both the official languages of the empire, and in 376 he ordered that every city in Gaul should have these State paid professors, which amounted to establishing institutes of higher education. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to extend the University of Constantinople till 425; the teaching staff consisted of one philosopher, one jurist, ten grammarians, and eight *rhetors.*

There was no complete State system of higher education. The immediate cause was the collapse of the empire and the imperial power in the tempestuous migration of peoples. But in any case it would have encountered serious difficulties. The educational system would always have stood between the power of the Empire and the Church, between worldly and monastic Christianity. The emperors would have expected it to train absolutely submissive tools in their all-powerful hands, whether as officials or subjects, and the Church would have sought to train people in equally unquestioning piety. Christianity, like every scriptural religion, had an innate tendency to provide a general education for the faithful, to teach the Scriptures in popular and higher schools. But the tendency remained latent because in this case the scriptural church was also a sacramental church and evolved a priestly caste and inevitably reserved to them the privilege of actual knowledge and the defence of orthodoxy in endless sectarian strife. The Church soon ceased to recognize the Emperor as God's vicar on earth, and regarded him only as the sword of God. It was bound to aim at breaking the absolute power of the State and taking charge of the school system from the lowest grade to the professional colleges. The cultural ideal of Christianity was inevitably the pious Christian, steadfast in faith and life, whether man or woman. Such a Christian was not primarily a citizen of the State; his primary purpose was to serve God and the pure Word. It was essential for him to know the Word of God and the distinctions of orthodox doctrine; all other knowledge was worthless or actually evil. The monk who had fled from the world on the one hand and on the other the priest were examples and ideals of the finest minds. The whole machinery of the Church educated the people to look up to these ideals ; if the State had not collapsed, it must ultimately have been absorbed and transformed into an ecclesiastical State. Since it did collapse under the barbarian assaults, the Church with its monastic and cathedral schools undertook in the West the task of preserving such culture as it held to be needful. In the East the imperial power survived as an imperial papacy. Here, under Justinian (527–565), we find one last great achievement of scholarship ; a canon of jurisprudence was established in the *Corpus Juris.* One last distinguished historian also arose in Procopius of Cæsarea (died after 550). But here, too, education had passed into the hands of the Church, and there it remained.

LITERATURE

Roman literature had its origin, in Rome's first prime, about 250 B.C., in Latin translations and imitations of Greek works. L. Livius Andronicus of Tarentum (at work in Rome between 240 and 207 B.C.) translated and produced Greek tragedies and comedies (Menander) for public festivals directly after the conclusion of the first Punic war ; the first occasion was in 240 ; he also translated the *Odyssey* for educational purposes. The Saturnian long line came to be the accepted literary metre at this time, but Andronicus was the first to write Latin in iambic and trochaic metres as well. The first representative of the true Roman racial mixture (Latin-Etruscan with other Italic and Greek elements) was the Campanian Cn. Nævius (at work between 235 and 204 B.C.). He adopted the new literary metrical and poetical forms introduced by Livius Andronicus, but his subject matter was Roman. His tragedies celebrated Roman heroes of ancient times or of his own day (*Romulus*, and *Clastidium* in honour of Marcellus' victory over the Gauls in 222). His greatest work was an epic in Saturnian metre in which he intended to treat of the conflicts of Romans and Carthaginians from the foundation of both cities down to the poet's own day ; but he never got beyond an account of the first Punic war. Nævius himself fought with distinction in the second Punic War, though when victory came he incurred the penalty of banishment for his political candour. He was a fervent patriot and wrote in a clear, straightforward style. Both his historical works and his epic poem were probably very much in the nature of chronicles, imparting instruction and teaching patriotism through the medium of entertainment. But besides merely translating Greek literature, he deliberately imitated it. Nævius aspired to be an Æschylus and a Herodotus, one who rounded off his subject in Homeric style, and wrote history in verse with all the machinery of a divine world. It is said that even his translations from Greek, especially his comedies, treated the originals freely. His style was more animated and original than that of Andronicus.

The first Roman poet to be recognized as a classic by later ages was T. Maccius Plautus (254–184), a native of Sarsina in Umbria. We still possess twenty-one plays of his, all comedies and all, apparently, translated from the Greek. They give us a better idea, therefore, of the exuberance of this branch of Greek literature than of the Roman adapter's creative powers of plot construction and characterization ; they varied from farces of mistaken identity and fraud, with clowns playing tricks and belabouring their fellows, to bourgeois comedies of intrigue with a dash of sentiment. Plautus' real talent lay in his command of language and of varying moods, a gift by which he transformed Greek originals into a native Roman possession. Not till his day did Latin become a fully adequate literary language capable of expressing everything, not always stiffly ceremonious or drily accurate, but able to sing and dance, make a witty point and bubble with life. Literary Latin absorbed all the vitality of the common people, besides much of the delicacy and spirit of the Greek plays ; and the whole was shaped by the master-hand of an artist ; it was Nature more finely conceived, embodied in a new homogeneous language. The Greek metres all sounded indigenous, every phrase was an expression of the Roman soul. Moreover, a vigorous personality had stamped its character upon each play, lending it a new and genuine emotional unity. In this process the elegant models were distorted, coarsened, and degraded socially, but they gained in compensation a new spontaneity and popular appeal. They Romanized Greek life ; it was not that the characters occasionally betrayed themselves ; their very thoughts and feelings were Roman. And this general mood was a source of fresh vigour to the language which was, in turn, a channel of power and expression for it. The poet's personality, his humours, his wit, his godless frivolity and natural gift for recrimination and abuse and obscenity animated at once the whole and the parts with the force of his originality. A comedy of Plautus, produced with all the play of gesture and bodily movement, with spoken scenes in every key and tempo, must have given the Romans a wholly new idea of

" poetry ". (Plautus did away with the use of masks in comedy and so gave the actors greater freedom of expression and movement.) People sensed with pride in these Greek plays an expression of the national life and national speech, a new life in harmony with the new world outlook, a more rational, more personal and individual life; and they were the more conscious of it all when those who knew the originals inveighed against " distortion ". It is strange to acknowledge as the first great classic of a nation a poet who only adapted foreign plays, quite abandoned Roman subjects, and had nothing but comedies to offer in the heroic era of the second Punic war. But Plautus knew that it was precisely within these limits that he could accomplish in perfection just what was needed in view of the oppressive weight of Greek achievement; he could create a living language and a living spirit, both an inalienable possession of the new-born literature and both available in the coming struggle.

Q. Ennius (239–169 B.C.), once more from the neighbourhood of Tarentum, had fought on the side of the Romans in Sardinia and was brought to Rome by Cato in 204. Here he acquired Roman citizenship in 184, and was highly esteemed by Scipio I and other nobles, and plainly by Cato, too, as a moderate rationalist and the originator of a sterling Roman national literature modelled on Greek originals. First he produced a great Roman national epic in hexameters, not Saturnian metre, a counterpart to Homer, and this he completed. It was entitled *Annals*, and was a chronicle of Roman history from the landing of Aeneas in Rome down to the victory over Carthage. Besides this he translated tragedies, especially those of Euripides, and published *Saturæ*, also following Greek models; these were poems in various metres on common-sense, practical wisdom (Pythagoras) and the interpretation of myths, but also gastronomical maxims. Ennius wanted to be a Roman Homer. The *Annals* open with a dream in which the soul of Homer enters the poet in the course of its transmigrations. Then the poet likens Roman history to Greek (for instance, Veii, like Troy, was besieged for ten years). He turns the light of Greek rationalism upon Italic gods and copies more closely the form of his Greek models. But the philosophy preached is that of Pythagoras; the ruling nobility appears as an aristocracy of the spirit and the pious purpose of maintaining the State is the promotion of world harmony. That was doubtless acceptable to Cato. It is true that later he repudiated alien literary forms and in his old age produced his own prose *Origines* in the form of annals as a companion piece to the *Annals* of

Ennius. But linguistically Ennius was his master and intellectually he was a sober rationalist and patriot. His orations and jests exemplified the new capabilities of the Latin language as a medium of expression.

In spite of himself, Ennius became the leader of the succeeding generation in its philhellenic tendencies. Scipio II and his friend Lælius were the rallying point of this new Roman school which aimed at the world-wide dominion of Roman power and Greek culture. It became customary to learn Greek from Greek philosophers and orators. Two poets, Terence and Lucilius, belonged to this group.

P. Terentius Afer (190–159 B.C.) was not a Roman but an African born in the vanquished city of Carthage, though he does not seem to have been of Semitic blood. He was freed and educated as an aristocrat. He won the friendship of Scipio II and devoted all his gift for language and form to the task of presenting the true Menander to the Roman people without the distortions of Plautus and in all his nobility, humanity, subtlety, and delicacy. His comedies were faithful copies of Menander's plays, except that sometimes the plot was enriched by the combination of two pieces ; he even preserved the Attic local colour. Sometimes the plot is made to run more smoothly than in the original. The style is smooth, lucid, a product of taste and art, free from bold innovations and archaisms ; it is the elegant and pure speech of social intercourse. The metre is exclusively iambic and trochaic. Terence was a literary poet, and that by deliberate intent. In contrast with this elegant comedy of philhellenic society there sprang up at the same time a characteristically Italic, popular (*togata*) type (Titinius) which drew its characters from the small Latin provincial cities and the lower classes. This school produced petty bourgeois farces and melodramas, but nothing of enduring merit.

C. Lucilius (180–103 B.C.), of Suessa in Campania, had originality of a type akin to Plautus, but his sphere of activity and his outlook were different. He was a well-to-do man, barred from political life alike by his inclinations and non-Roman birth. He belonged to Scipio's circle, lived for the satisfaction of his literary tastes, and wrote *Saturæ* like Ennius, little poems on a variety of subjects, trifles and moral exhortations as he himself once called them. His models were the Hellenistic " little pictures " (idylls) and racy cynic exhortations, and he adopted Greek metres ; he wrote hexameters, distiches, and trochaic *septenarii.* But he used this type of poem as a medium for all manner of personal utterances. They included biting comments on political conditions, the scandals connected with certain cliques, the debauchery of the rich, and the burdens laid upon the people by interminable wars, besides sarcastic observations on the arrogance of the philosophers and rhetoricians, and remarks about orthography and the corruption of speech by provincialisms and borrowed Greek words or an excessive and pedantic rage for purification. There were also love-stories and adventurous travellers' tales, clever and ingenious definitions, and personal attacks or appreciations (Scipio). Henceforth the " satire " was an acknowledged branch of Latin literature, thanks to the vigorous, fearless subjectivity and the striking political effect of these poems in an age when the waves of revolution were rising and growing in force, thanks also to the wide culture and courageous, lovable character of this quiet observer and critic, and not least to his light and elegant style. Here for the first time the Greek model was so far modified and excelled that imitation ceased and something new and original emerged ; poetry of a social, politico-ethical type, an effective form of broadsheet reaching wide circles in cultured society, varied and arresting, too, in its personal aspect. Even at a late date many Romans preferred Lucilius to Horace, as they preferred Lucretius to Virgil.

The great era, the golden age of Latin literature, was the first century. Writers continued to imitate Greek models, but their own force of personality and mastery of language had so far developed that in all fields Roman poets were achieving original work whilst perfecting Greek models. T. Lucretius Carus (96–55 B.C.) was proud of following his own path in literature, although he was a disciple of Xenophanes, Empedocles, and Epicurus, and it was a path which no one had trodden before him. It is, in fact, true that the Greeks had no counterpart to his epic of redemption *De Rerum Natura*, nothing to equal it in melancholy grandeur and the impassioned will to free men from the bonds of fear, nor in its bold, disinterested attack upon superstition and inherited beliefs. And this man who set out to sing of an atomic system, this leader in a spiritual struggle against the worship of ancestors and the State, was strong and bold only because of his suffering and sympathy ; he liked best to spend his time depicting natural scenes in miniature, portraying the dance of particles in the sun's rays and the gay shells by the seashore, a shepherd striking up his song in the days when civilization was young, or springtime when the year is young ; in describing Nature he had the piety and gay heart of a child. Nature spoke directly to his heart and he yearned after her as a man yearns who craves for peace and an escape from over-civilization and the sorrows of love and religion. He knew nothing of the State, nothing of the conflict of parties ; for him a legion was only a patch of colour on the retina, like a flock of lambs, and Thucydides' account of the plague did not call the civilization and fall of Athens to his mind, but only the thought that it was not a punishment sent by the gods.

C. Valerius Catullus (87–54 B.C.), of Verona, was only a little younger than Lucretius, and formed a remarkable contrast to the older man, who sought refuge in Nature and philosophy from his passion and his epoch. Catullus was the first and greatest Roman lyric poet. He, too, had Greek models, poets of Alexandria, who cultivated severely correct form, like Callimachus, whom he translated and imitated with the masterly skill of an equal ; in fact he was a conscious artist and lover of the beautiful. But to the art for which he lived a new influence was added when at the age of twenty he made the acquaintance in Rome of the lovely and profligate Lesbia and abandoned himself to a passionate love for her. Catullus' great adventure continued for seven years ; it was the first " great love " in the literature of the world. For seven years it filled his life and turned the boyish æsthete into a great confessor of unbounded sorrows and joys, the discoverer of a whole world of the most profoundly personal emotions. For the first time occasional verse took the form of poetry expressing the sublimest experience. To the bitter end he poured out his love in song, with all its sensuous fascination, all the delight of forbidden meetings, all his jealous pain and rage over his faithless lady, all his inner struggles between pride and shameful return ; these lyrics owe their perfection of form to the direct urge of intense feeling towards the purest utterance. The *Song of Songs* and even the personal love-songs of the Greeks are far inferior to these lyrics in which an individual pours out his life in passion ; for Catullus was consumed by his love. When at last he conquered it and left Rome, he could not forget it in a distant land, though on his return he held aloof from Lesbia in disgust ; but he was an embittered man, torn from his moorings. He flung himself into politics and found no satisfaction there ; he sought peace in Nature on his native Lake Garda. His imitations of Callimachus attained perfection of form and precision as a medium of emotional expression, but he wrote no more poetry welling from his own inner experience. At thirty-three he died, and he was ripe for death. Catullus was the first of the moderns, the first to whom the love of a woman was an experience of world-wide import, who saw mirrored in it his whole soul, his hate and love, his proud, frail Ego, the whole irrational world of emotion, of futile bliss and torment, and who revealed them pitilessly to others. He led the great army of confessors—Christians who did penance before the congregation, the great Augustine who rendered account before God and the world for his transgressions and the road to salvation, Rousseau and Goethe. And he revelled in his sufferings, his discoveries in the realm of the irrational, and his mastery of form, as did all these confessors to a greater or less degree. He was a complete human being, ruthlessly honest, like others who had something greater than love to confess and endure.

Two considerably younger lyric poets, Tibullus and Propertius, may be regarded as immediate successors of Catullus. Horace, who stood between them and Catullus in age, was their contemporary and rival in lyric poetry, and he outlived both by some years. They wrote love elegies like the Alexandrians, also, therefore, adopting a Greek type. But Albius Tibullus (54–19 B.C.), guided by the finest inspiration of Catullus, freed it from all the shackles of pedantry and moulded it to a pure medium of expression for happy and heart-sick love and the tranquillity of a country life at one with Nature. He was not a man of great passions, and had neither the capacity nor the desire for heroism. He cared nothing for the heroic deeds of his ancestors nor for a glorious future, and had no interest in society or the State. He hated arms and wealth, despised honour and fame and the greed and luxury of society. He yearned for a golden age in which men might live purely and naturally, free from strife, and occupied with farming and happy family life. Venus was his goddess, for love rightly fears death and pain. His ideal images of happiness were the faithful devotion of lovers and universal human love. His moods and imagery were the fruit of his longing for this paradise and of his gentle fervour and melancholy ; they flow past and melt away, clothed in simple language, yet they are the product of conscious art and careful negligence. They represent a continuation of the work of Lucretius by the hand of a youthful lover, passionless and weary of struggle. Painless tranquillity, peace, a gentle reverie at rest on Nature's breast—such was the new visionary Epicureanism of the youthful generation. Here, too, the influence of Virgil's bucolic poetry was felt. And this delight in love and a life at one with Nature, with its advocacy of human charity and peace, was akin to Christian pacifism, though Christianity was shortly to sound the more heroic note of class warfare and the fight for God and his kingdom.

Sextus Propertius (49–16 B.C.) of Assisi was far more passionate and more dependent on his Greek models. Like Catullus he gave vivid, concrete expression to joy and pain, ecstasy and jealousy, tranquil love and memories. He made audacious attacks upon marriage and the marriage laws; to him his love was eternally and for ever family and fatherland, life and bliss. But though his imagery and feelings were vivid, the whole is conventional in form. He looked on from above as he forged forcible, ringing verse from his burning passion, often interweaving many and obscure mythological allusions; it is hardly surprising, therefore, that in the end this bard of love struck a patriotic note, evinced Roman pride, and glorified the deeds of Romans. If he had lived longer, he might have carried on Virgil's work in the service of the Augustan reforms and have combatted Ovid as a more manly, inspired adversary than Horace in his lyrics.

On several occasions Roman poets—Nævius, Ennuis, and others —had attempted to produce a patriotic counterpart to the Homeric epics. P. Virgilius Maro (70–19 B.C.) of Mantua was the great Augustan poet destined to succeed in that attempt, so that for the Romans and their successors for fifteen centuries Homer was thrust altogether into the background. Virgil was a middle-class countryman who tried to make his way in Rome by talent and energy, following in Cicero's wake. He began by writing rural elegies (*Eclogues*) as a disciple of Theocritus; in part these followed the Alexandrian model word for word, and yet he made of them something quite different and new, for he treated the shepherds and their world as transparent disguises for himself and his friends and patrons in Rome and their interests and concerns. In this way he metamorphosed the "little pictures" of Theocritus into fashionable pastoral poetry, an entirely new branch of the art. When the shepherds begin their lyrical interchange they drop the old poetical style and adopt a new one represented by Asinius Pollio, the patron of Horace. Shepherds and rural gods instead of lamenting Daphnis. who died for love, grieve for Cornelius Gallus, who has given up his mistress to another man. Two *Eclogues* are taken up with Virgil's gratitude to Augustus for sparing his little farm in the re-distribution of the land, and his lament when it was confiscated after all. The fourth *Eclogue* bears witness to the poet's vocation to achieve greater things; it proclaims and describes the dawn of the golden age in a new era in accordance with the prophecies of the Cumæan Sibyl. The attention of Augustus was called to the poet, but he did not at first believe him capable of writing a heroic epic on the kings of Alba. On the advice of Mæcenas, Virgil turned his attention to didactic poetry and wrote his *Georgics* on the subject of agriculture, describing the processes of arable cultivation, cattle-breeding, fruit-farming, and bee-keeping in four books which gave evidence in an equal degree of expert knowledge, love of his subject, and the poet's art. They rivalled Hesiod and excelled him alike in technical knowledge, and in poetic power and unity, for Virgil had made a careful study of the considerable scientific literature on farming. Hesiod's poem embraced a whole philosophy of life, whilst Virgil's was the work of a specialist, but new and unsurpassed in its portrayal of the poetic aspect of farming. Youthful memories, enthusiasm for the ideal of a rural, peaceful life in harmony with Nature, reformist aspirations in the spirit of Augustus to restore mankind to Nature and the soil, all these elements blended to make the success of the whole. The poet gave utterance to a fervent love of Nature and his country in delicate and inspiring pictures of the Italian countryside. Virgil's feelings for Nature was modern ; it was a matter of sentiment without sentimentality.

And now the poet devoted all his powers to the planning of his greatest work, which was to present the earliest history of his nation. The poem on the kings of Alba that he had planned as a young man emerged as the *Æneid.* In twelve books, six on the wanderings and six on the heroic battles of the Trojans whom the gods had destined to be the founders of Rome, he created the Roman counterpart to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* a great and undying poem ; and at the same time he helped the great scheme of Augustus for the reformation of the Roman people. He had started life as a disciple of Epicurus, and had been strongly influenced by Lucretius, but now he had won through to the championship of a heroic philosophy of life, preaching conversion and voluntary self-conquest. Æneas, the hero of the poem, was to be a more manly counterpart to Achilles, an ideal Roman and the ancestor of the Emperor, who resembled him. He was a pious son, a faithful comrade, capable and worthy of loving Dido. But besides that he had been chosen by the gods to fulfil a great mission, and was guided by his sense of religious duty. He obeyed a divine command absolutely and left his beloved, who sought to deflect him from his appointed path ; he trampled alike upon his own feelings and hers. He shrank from no dangers and was equally courageous and prudent, whether in heroic combat or in his journey to the Underworld. To us this pious knight, who has no will apart from the will of the gods, is a somewhat inhuman puppet where he appears to be guided and controlled entirely by the gods, and somewhat effeminate where he feels as a man and takes flight. There is no merit in his self-conquest or his own achievements, for the gods would simply force his hand if he failed ; nor do the most fabulous deeds require courage if the gods guarantee the issue. Without all this divine machinery Æneas would have a juster claim to heroic glory ; but the divine machinery is indispensable, not only because Homer used it and the whole antique world (even Euripides) could not do without it, but also because the philosophical interest of the poem depended on the proof that from the earliest times Rome was destined to rule the world, and the imperial house elected to save it from the orgies of revolution and the bloodshed of the civil wars and proscriptions. This idea of Fate and the desire to present a model of voluntary self-conquest necessarily conflicted, as Fate and free-will do in every philosophic system, especially when it is the work of a poet. Homer could resolve the conflict because his Fate pursued no special aim. Virgil could not. But he concealed nothing ; pious submission to the will of the gods and voluntary self-conquest should be the choice and lot of every man, as they were of Æneas.

In his *Æneid*, Virgil created a new type of epic—or perfected it in continuation of the initial efforts of Callimachus and other Alexandrians—the romantic epic, subjective like his pastoral poetry and his song of agriculture. Far in the past lay the age of Homer when knights fought every day and the rhapsodist sang of gods and heroes and produced the first great philosophy of the universe and the first cultured society. The solar myth was shattered and only a few fragments survived in passages copied from Homer. Virgil wrote for a society in which there were no longer any knights, but only officers at best, and in which a capitalist economy and a rationalist philosophy had led to complete disintegration and a break-up into individual units. It was not his aim to liberate, differentiate, and educate further, but to persuade the educated classes to lay moral and religious restrictions upon themselves, to maintain the ancient forms and acknowledge their justification as instruments for the preservation of State, society, and order. Doubtless his Æneas was a disguised Augustus, as his gods were a disguised Fate, different aspects of one moral Deity. That we can and may discern. Virgil dallied with imagery intended to convey higher, more abstract ideas, and his symbolism is allegorical. But much in this play of imagery is only a brilliant and skilful mosaic ; the combats of heroes follow the best models, yet they remain empty and lifeless, a mere child's game of war. All the adventures are made on one pattern and archæological scholarship peeps through the scrupulously careful accounts of ancient rites and customs. Only the portrayal of tender sentiments pulses with real vitality, as, for instance, Dido's love or the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus, but primarily grief and pity. And even these are presented in conventional form and never or rarely (Dido) psychologically analysed (psychology was both the strong point and the curse of the age). Virgil's descriptions of Nature and of simple, primitive conditions in Italy are vivid, too, but most vivid are the many similes which contain an infinity of picturesque, natural scenes and moods and leave an indelible impression on the mind by their delicacy and poetic power. Supremely vital was Virgil's resolution to win his contemporaries for the ideal of reform by means of an ideal picture at once sublime and modern in its fascination and arresting power. With the greatest literary skill he creates a varied medley of sublime and lovely and moral impressions in the reader's mind ; his good taste ensured an even balance of archaic, scholarly elements with those of direct and visual experience, and he knew how to carry his readers along on a wave of solemn exaltation and eager interest. For in Virgil's hands language was a great force ; he made of it a marvellous garment for a work that was in reality a moral and educational didactic poem—marvellous alike in its short, sharp phrases, in the mighty reverberation of its sublime music, and in its delicate turns of expression to convey a mood or intellectual subtlety. Nor has his vigorous and sensitive style lost any of its magic by the passage of time ; its appeal is direct, whereas when we think of its great subject we must remember, if we are to appreciate its phantom-like ideals, that this first great work of courtly art was dedicated in sincere loyalty to a great emperor and his endeavours to consolidate and defend a vast empire morally and ensure its peace.

In Virgil the epic poetry of Rome and of antiquity reached its consummation. He did not outline a system of the universe like Homer, in whom a civilization had its origin, but he sketched the first ideal of social reform effected by voluntary self-conquest. He made no innovations in psychology but produced the first grandiose love romance in narrative poetry and introduced a new feeling for Nature ; and his absolute mastery of style created great models of the poetic art. His work bridged the gulf between Homer and Dante, who rightly looked to Virgil as his master when writing his own great epic. Dante transformed the Sibyl, who led the hero with her golden flower through the terrors of the Underworld, into Beatrice, the virgin guide to heaven ; the adventurous journey of Æneas through the Underworld, past Hell and into Paradise (not merely to the threshold, like Odysseus) he transformed into his mighty vision of the Beyond as the place of all human judgments and hopes, the eternal spectacle of God's glory and the righteousness of his government of the universe.

The second distinguished poet in the circle associated with Mæcenas in Augustan Rome was Q. Horatius Flaccus (65–8 B.C.) from Venusia in Apulia. He, too, first came to Rome as a student and then proceeded to Athens to study philosophy, where he attached himself after Cæsar's murder to Brutus, the champion of freedom. After the fall of Brutus and the loss of his own paternal estate he lived in Rome on the meagre proceeds of a minor office until Virgil introduced him to Mæcenas, who presented him with a little farm and thus enabled him to devote himself to his art. Horace began his poetic career by writing iambic verse (*Epodes*), attacks upon various anonymous persons in the neighbourhood. Their subjects are confined in the main to local details : he is annoyed by a malicious critic, a freedman who goes about insolently boasting that he is an officer, and by an elderly lady who pursues him with her love ; he longs for the Islands of the Blessed. He copied Archilochus, but lacked that poet's bitterness and delight in hard hitting. Under the protection of Mæcenas he developed his gift for satire. His aim was to excel Lucilius in severity of form and in the exclusion of all personalities from his criticism of society, and at the same time to help his new patron, Augustus, in his work of reform, yet without servile adulation. In little masterpieces he attacked the universal pursuit of place and wealth, the profligacy of the young, the legacy-hunting and gluttony of society ; he was genuinely indignant, but his attacks are not very philosophical in character ; it was not so much dishonesty as folly and absurdity that he pilloried. He described a money-lender who raved about the peacefulness of an unassuming country life, a calamitously unsuccessful banquet given by an ignorant upstart, and the racy exhortation of a Stoic street orator who convicted every fool of his folly, whether he were frivolous or extravagant, covetous, ambitious, gluttonous, or superstitious. Lastly he reproached himself with his own faults, his hot temper and amorousness, and represented his slave Davus as reproaching him at the Saturnalia with the moody instability which drove his servants to despair. He liked portraying all his little troubles and adventures—his helplessness against a garrulous place-hunter who got hold of him and would not let him go, little incidents on a journey with Mæcenas, and the injustice of his own censure of friends when he spoke in anger. In an affectionate rendering of account to Mæcenas he described his relation with his patron, his contentment, and his happiness in possessing this truest of fathers, this noblest of protectors, besides rational moderation in all things. Thus in the hands of Horace satire revealed everybody's weaknesses in a liberal spirit, and first and foremost the poet's own ; yet for all his kindly realization of human shortcomings, the satirist never connives at vice, but attacks it ruthlessly, makes it ridiculous, and demands in the name of reason and temperance that it be kept within the bounds of what is tolerable and permissible. Good-humoured self-ridicule, citizen virtue, and faith in common-sense in spite of folly, are the dominant notes in these chatty, censorious, hortatory verses, so rich in shrewd observation, malicious yet kindly wit and talent, and an unassuming and accommodating humanity. By these qualities they have influenced men's minds for two thousand years and never grow old.

In his youth Horace published satires, and at forty his lyrics or *Odes*, eighty-eight little works of art all meticulously polished, and no less carefully sorted and arranged in three books. They were not songs ; although the Greek originals of Alcæus and Sappho on which they were modelled were sung, these were poems for recitation, but not on that account any less instinct with beauty of language and emotional expression. The Latin language had now matured its powers of reproducing and equalling the most delicate and elaborate forms of Greek literature. To this task Horace devoted his mature gift of style and his intellect, as also to the composition of lyric poems as classical and perfect in form as the work of Catallus and his younger successors, as brilliant and temperamental, but free from their disruptive influence. Like Virgil he was the champion of a moral reformation, but in that character he entered into direct competition with the poets of passion. He aspired to defeat them with their own weapons, with the spirit of humanity and perfection of form. He aspired to drain the poison from passion, by dallying with love and tranquillity to prove that both are mere dalliance. And amidst this dalliance he struck a serious note in patriotic *Odes* in which he tried to win men for higher things precisely by conceding their due to daintiness, loveliness, and raillery. The *Odes* constitute a great artistic achievement, a charming medley of great patriotic memories and little amorous sentiments, drinking songs and exhortations to be gay and enjoy life, daily encounters and happy conceits and banter. Great and serious poems are deliberately intermingled with dainty nothings, and all are of the utmost artistic merit. They are altogether characteristic of Horace. The same placid, lovable character with the same lively imagination, the same clear intellect sitting in judgment upon himself, the same taste and talent produced these and the *Satires.* Moreover they are dominated by the same ideal of rational moderation and the art of living. Horace was never subdued by passion ; in that respect he was quite sure of himself. And therefore his lyrics are altogether passionless. They are perfectly sincere, for he himself was sincere ; he made a virtue of necessity and the outcome was perfect. It was the ideal lyrical poetry in any rationalist age, ready to concede the rights of youth to the young, provided they were temperately enjoyed ; it is the ideal of the literary lyric.[1]

Catullus far surpassed the Greek lyrics in his poems of self-confession and passion. Horace retreated within the limits marked out for all rationalist lyric poetry ; his work embraced patriotic songs, drinking songs, love songs of every kind but always light in tone, and songs of passing youth and the wisdom of enjoying life. Everywhere the Greeks, who were the first to sing those themes, were fresher and more impassioned and forceful, but on the other hand all their themes are represented in his work and he added some of his own. His *Odes* supplanted the Greek originals, and for many centuries ousted them altogether in the favour of posterity.

P. Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.–A.D. 18) was the first great Roman poet born after the murder of Cæsar and without any conscious memories of the civil war. He grew up amidst the peace and prosperity of the Augustan age, flung himself in Rome into the whirl of metropolitan society, and at thirty was equally famous as a poet and a man of fashion, caring as little for the wishes of Augustus as he had previously for his father's. He was a master of form and style, brilliant and witty, rich in graceful conceits, elegant and piquant, and yet at bottom no lyric poet. He wrote elegiac love poems (*Amores*) and regarded them as his best work. He took Tibullus as his model, sincerely admiring him and mourning his death with genuine grief. But his own adventures, which were mingled with imaginary incidents, were those of an audacious worldling who paraded his profligacy and was proud of his ability to say anything obscene or heretical, however risky, with the assurance that society would applaud. Subsequently his own really slight sensibility and his power of psychological observation and slanderous wit led him to depict love in a less personal manner; he wrote the *Art of Love*, a fashionable psychological guide for lovers, and supplemented it by his *Remedies for Love* and a *Little Book on Beauty Secrets*. Love letters from the heroines of ancient times followed—Penelope and Phædra, Hera and Sappho; it was a kind of poetical survey of feminine ways of loving, in which, of course, the heroic element was changed beyond recognition into human nature as seen in fashionable society. When in A.D. 4 Tiberius, who was known to be far stricter and harsher than Augustus in questions of morality, became co-regent Ovid wrote his *Metamorphoses*, a collection of Greek legends together with a few specifically Italian, each containing the story of a marvellous transformation; it began with the transformation of Chaos into Cosmos, and ended with Cæsar's deification as a star. The myths are recounted with all manner of compliments to the piety and simplicity of the ancients and the mysterious, miraculous powers of primitive times, but in this entertaining, graceful, elegant, and very free version they assumed the form of fashionable tales, ladies' literature, literature for the drawing-room, like the elegies, lovers' guides, and letters. Finally he wrote of the Roman calendar itself in elegiac verse, explaining and interpreting it (*Fasti*). He wanted to prove his usefulness, to "revive" an ancient Roman, sacred subject, and so help the work of reformation in his own way, and the book was to be dedicated to Augustus. He seems to have begun it in an access of alarm lest he should be banished, after the younger Julia had suffered banishment in the year 8. His own banishment followed none the less. The aging poet wrote *Laments* (*Tristia*) and *Letters from Pontus* in the land of the Getæ on the shores of the Black Sea. He had always mingled his expression of assumed and invented woes with true feelings, and now he gave utterance to his real grief in the same way, sometimes with moving sincerity, sometimes with calculated rhetoric. To the spoiled darling of society life at a distance from Rome meant continual privation, even though the day of Tiberius had dawned in Rome, and Tiberius had no hopes of reform but scorned and chastised a pleasure-loving society.

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[1] It was inevitable that a great artist like Horace at the height of his mastery of his artistic medium, should wish for a clear understanding of that medium and its proper treatment. He wrote the *Poetics* of his age in the form of a satire.

Ovid, too, was dependent upon Greek models, but only for his raw material, not for any innovation in form. He re-modelled the material freely for social purposes unknown even to the Alexandrian Greeks. Ovid valued Greek scholarship and Greek enlightenment only in so far as they displayed his own inventive powers, fought his amorous battles, and aided the personal protests against interfering Puritans which he raised as a favourite of the Graces and the ladies. There is no parallel in Greece to his graceful impudence and rococo femininity, nor to his blindly impulsive habit of life, his addiction to pleasure and readiness to risk ruin even after he was turned fifty. He was the originator of a masterly society literature, with no desire to instruct or educate morally, but simply to entertain idle society gentlemen and ladies. To him the myth was utterly dead ; it did not even survive as something to be interpreted allegorically or combatted as a superstition ; he knew it solely as a marvellous tale, a piquant æsthetic pastime. And passion, too, was dead. But form and style approached perfection. Tiberius, the scorner of men, ascended the throne, Seneca was growing up, and Christianity was soon to make its appearance in Rome.

Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65) is important in literary history as the only Roman tragedian whose plays have come down to us. We can probably assume that they were the best that Rome produced and the fact that they continued to exercise an influence down to the seventeenth century is proof of their merit. There are nine plays or fragments of plays, all versions of the most famous Greek originals by the three great tragedians, and all (following the example set in the realm of comedy) blended and assimilated with other plays by the same author or by later authors, and with features originating in Ovid or the epics. The poet presents his subject in the most terrible aspect ; he ignores the great problems of religion and philosophy, and all that remains is crude passion raging to the point of exhaustion and revealing all its ruthlessness and its dialectic and self-destructive force in great speeches and arguments. The intervening passages are verbose, pompous reports and descriptions, examples of stirring, moving, and graphic narrative, and choruses chiefly devoted to moral exhortation. Seneca was the originator of the rhetorical melodrama with all its extravagant psychology of immoderate, irrational emotion and its equally extravagant rhetoric, now thunderous, now sharply sarcastic. We can feel interest only in individual characters and their dominant passions ; our attention is held by the thrilling expectation of horror, the sensationalism, by the style of the tirades, by striking phrases (Virgil). And yet

Seneca's tragedies marked a stage in advance of Euripides, for purely psychological, spoken tragedy with musical and moralizing interludes was in full process of development; the distinction between opera and spoken drama was emerging and the gods were left out altogether. Human passion had become the only power of destiny, and speech the poet's uniform medium. Masks were abolished and even the most horrible actions were performed and represented on the stage. At the same time the stage came to be a pulpit for philosophers, a moral institution. It was not devoted to divine worship as in Greece, nor to entertainment mixed with instruction as in Rome; its object was to hold up warning examples of passion and its consequences, to show the weakness of undisciplined man, and the misery from which only reflective piety can save him. These plays were acted or declaimed by Agrippina and the youthful Nero in an age that had just witnessed the deeds of a Caligula and a Messalina. It was an age well acquainted with the power and growth of the passions. Its chief study was the psychology of passion and of the power of suggestion through action and still more through speech, Such interests Seneca turned to educational account; and incidentally the great master of rhetoric must have revelled in these opportunities for so varied a display of rhetoric.

Greek drama, like all other Greek poetical forms, reached the Romans before they were quite sufficiently mature to develop form themselves. They were smothered in the problems of tragedy at a time when they still lacked the power to feel it, much less to express it, whilst at the same time they became possessed of the formulas and forms through which the Greeks had mastered tragedy. The Romans were not at a stage of evolution which qualified them for the full mastery of the dialectic of Greek tragedy. They had advanced from Nævius to a drama about equal in development to the Chinese, that is the historical pageant, the politico-rhetorical drama, and the bourgeois melodrama and farce. Both were capable in the course of time of psychological elaboration and a development of rhetorical power. This native product underwent Hellenization under the influence of the borrowed Hellenic models, and then developed as a separate type; patriotic, popular drama sprang up, but remained insignificant. On the other hand, Greek originals were transformed and Romanized, but not in their essentially tragic and comic character, for there the Greeks had attained perfection. Serious drama evolved into spoken drama, with passion filling the rôle of Fate and rhetoric as the poet's sole means of bringing his vision home to the spectators, who might often be no more than auditors (declamation ; drama read aloud). Similarly comedy developed into the popular farce representing general types, and into the operetta and *atellana.*

Petronius Arbiter (died in 66) was the most distinguished writer of Nero's time after Seneca. He created a new branch of literature by evolving the social romance from the satire. In some twenty books he described the adventures of Encolpius, a young Greek, and his favourite Giton ; it was a heroic epic modelled on the *Æneid,* with an angry persecuting god (Priapus), a shipwreck, combats with a variety of enemies, the separation and re-union of lovers ; it was written in prose dialogues with a variety of metrical interludes ; but the subject was modern, the hero was a knave, and he was surrounded by knaves and fools. The only fragments of the romance that have come down to us treat exclusively of the subjects of earlier satiric verse ; we have a banquet given by a rich upstart (Trimalchio), a tiresome poet, legacy-hunting in Pythagoras' city of Croton, ghost stories (like Horace's tales of Canidia), love stories, and literary satire. But all are worked into a connected plot with a hero whose character is individually drawn, whilst the other characters are sketched in broad outline and each has his particular style of speech. Margites was a mere boor who had all kinds of farcical adventures, whilst the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice* was a string of amusing beast fables. The satire of Lucilius was a medley of unconnected comment on personalities, scholarship, politics, and social life. With Horace satire attained a certain unity centred in man and his weaknesses, as also in the poet with his human traits and his little adventures. But now all these different elements were united in a new, objective whole : they centred in the hero, not the poet ; the political element developed into a complete picture of social conditions (the satire of Lucilius, too, was a political substitute for the newspaper, and not a mere gossip-sheet); popular plays and farces had developed a mature talent among the Romans for naturalistic characterization of many types through speech (dialect) and action, and now this talent breathed life into the newly invented social romance. Petronius was a contrast to Seneca ; the former was an Epicurean, the latter a Stoic, the former aspired to be a satirist and the latter a tragedian and didactic philosopher. But on one point they were agreed ; both discovered that all men were equal and all weak, only Petronius made the discovery in the person of a knave instead of a noble ; it was he, too, that discovered the people as a subject of serious literature—not a man's neighbour, but the rabble round about him.

His whole object and aim was to portray the world as it is; but he had no didactic ambitions.

Less important than Seneca and Petronius were Persius (34–62) and Lucan, Seneca's nephew (39–65). The former wrote satires that are models of Stoic sentiment and fashionable rhetoric, the latter a heroic epic on Cæsar's civil war (*Pharsalia*); but Virgil and Livy had drawn a dividing line between epic poetry and history, and Lucan's work was out of date, an artificial and tendencious poem of no enduring merit.

Roman civilization produced only two more poets of real merit, Martial and Juvenal. Both were satirists, though they did not write romances; Martial was the author of epigrams, Juvenal a censor of morals.

M. Valerius Martialis (42–102) was born in Spain, like Seneca, Quintilian, and Trajan. He came to Rome as a pleader but seems to have lived chiefly by his pen until his fame procured him a livelihood far away from Rome. He developed the epigram as defined by Lessing from the original Greek type, which included *bons mots* and inscriptions on gravestones, votive offerings, and gifts. Lessing rightly calls him the only master in this branch of poetry and based his definition on Martial's work. He began with mottoes for presents at the festival of the Saturnalia—all sorts of eatables and various articles; these mottoes he published in appropriate collections, arranged according to occasion, and sold them in book form. There were besides verses specially ordered for all manner of occasions, happy and sad. Proceeding one step further, the poet mocked in maliciously pertinent verse at everything that was reported to him or struck his eye as he walked through the streets of Rome; with a sparing use of words he stirred his readers to tense interest, startled them, and hit the mark. Satire now assumed this brief and personal form. All scoundrels and fools were hailed to judgment as occasion offered—the legacy-hunter, the skinflint, and the upstart, but also the grumbler and the fop, the undecided purchaser and the consequential fellow; the whole array of comedy types and characters from Theophrastus were summoned up. There were besides all manner of swift scenes—cuffings, jugglery, and accidents were made the occasion of some witty comment by the narrator. Roman society and the Roman populace wondered, when any little incident occurred, what Martial would say of it, or what circumstances he would unearth in order to display his wit, just as we wonder what the medley of paragraphs in the newspaper will contain. High politics alone were excluded ; he had nothing but praise for Domitian (and the godlike Domitian despised the journalist for his compliments), whilst he could not even praise Nerva and Trajan ; for Martial was not of their type, he had no ideals and cared nothing for the reform of the world ; all that mattered to him was the point of an epigram and the fleeting fame and reward it brought him. He was good-humouredly malicious and indifferent to all reform, a literary genius, an oddity. He had little personal malice, and that is why his poems will never lose their wide appeal, in spite of the fact that their immediate instigation was personal. When the " good emperors " appeared, when virtue ascended the throne and became fashionable, Martial lost ground in Rome ; people condemned vice instead of laughing at it. And Martial had really made his livelihood in part from vice, though as a dependent of unequalled talent and style. After he had made unsuccessful attempts to win Nerva's favour, he left the capital and retired to his Spanish home, where his prosperity was assured by the favour of a patroness and where he died forgotten by Roman society.

The dominant figure of Trajan's reign, beside Tacitus, was D. Junius Juvenalis (56–140), also a Spaniard, born in Aquitania. He was a teacher of rhetoric, and began to write satires in Nerva's reign. He had the same keen perception of the natural world as Petronius and Martial, but it served the sole purpose of depicting vice. He had rhetorical force like Seneca but no toleration of human weakness. He thundered and lashed with his pen, and it was he and Tacitus who provided ammunition for the Christian proletariat in their agitation against the middle class. In the very first satire his victims march past in great companies, and they are not mere fools but criminals whom it is a moral duty to pillory. In the third satire he describes Rome, the city of Greeks and Jews, place-hunters and obscurantists, a place where a man can rise only by the power of money and fraud, never by merit and honesty ; away, then, from the noise and vice of this desert of houses. The sixth and longest satire was about the women ; their emancipation amounted to utter degeneration, nobody could marry them, and their love of domination, their immorality and superstition, were a menace to civilization. Equally unsparing were his admonitions to the youthful aristocracy, and he even tried to appeal to the honour of the parasites and induce them to amend. On the other hand, he wrote of the labours and poverty of poets and teachers of rhetoric with a degree of understanding which is evidence either that he knew them at first hand or that he had great hopes of their help in reforming the people. If Seneca was the first Roman to teach humility and charity, Juvenal was the first heathen censor and preacher who urged amendment and used speech as a scourge. In the hands of Petronius the satire developed into social romance without a moral purpose, the romance of adventures; in Martial's it was curtailed to wittily malicious comment; but in Juvenal's it became an exhortation to repent and provided Christianity with valuable material for agitation and preaching. Thus it assumed a threefold form, romance, epigram, and exhortation.

The Byzantine-Romæan civilization, the second that sprang up within the Roman empire, also made original contributions to the literature of romance and exhortation, in addition to the dying echoes of satire. But otherwise, in the epic and drama and lyric, poetry had lost its vitality.

The first representative of the Alexandrian race in literature was Lucian of Samosata (125–200) who travelled all over the Roman empire as an itinerant Sophist orator of purely Ionic speech and culture. He acquired a large fortune which enabled him to live privately in Athens for the most part; latterly he was reduced to poverty and provided for in Egypt by Marcus Aurelius. He was the first author of satires in Greek; the new eastern culture was seeking its models in Rome; in particular Lucian adopted the Roman framework of gods and the Underworld (Lucilius and Horace) for a number of discussions carried on by the dead and the gods. His satire was forceful only in its attack on superstition and the Greek mythology that had been abandoned equally by heathen and Christian monotheists, on all kinds of miracle-mongers and fanatics, on dogmatic philosophers, and on the arrogance of class prejudice. Lucian was a brilliant and invariably entertaining advocate of rational piety and humanity which the emperors and the Christians alike accepted. He avoided wounding either and retracted any dangerous utterance, if ever his satire touched the one or the other. Thus he was a harbinger of revolution, as Voltaire was in France. And like Voltaire he had affinities with comedy and history. His *Dialogues* were a substitute for comedy; they were divine comedies that killed anew the long dead mythological and too human gods of Homer (he did not touch upon the cult of the emperors), and human comedies based upon the reasonable thesis that in death all differences are wiped out; the Christians deduced that they are, therefore, unjustifiable in this life, but Lucian did not.

Of the same age as Lucian was Apuleius (125 to after 170). He, too, was a Sophist teacher of rhetoric in Rome, and afterwards attained success in his African home (he was a native of the military colony of Madaura) and died as High Priest. His romance *Metamorphoses* (*The Golden Ass*) follows and draws upon Greek models both in the narrative framework, which tells how Lucius was turned into an ass, and in the tales of robbers, ghosts, amours, and murder with which it is interspersed. There is hardly any satire in the animals' contemplation of the human world, and none at all in the other stories and farcical episodes. But the story of Cupid and Psyche proves the existence of fairy-tales pregnant with meaning derived from Greek allegory and mythology (like Hercules at the crossroads and Alcestis), besides all manner of spectral romanticism ; and the story of the beautiful Charité and her lover Tlepolemus is a miniature romance of brigandage and love like that of Hero and Leander, such a tale of love's heroism as was now elaborated in lengthy romances, but in this case a tale that ended badly.

The *Babylonica* of Iamblichus, the *Ephesiaca* (*Anthia and Abrocomas*) of Xenophon, the *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus, and *Apollonius of Tyre*, all belonging to the period between 150 and 250 and written in Greek, are the earliest real love romances in world literature. Their precursors were short stories of strange adventures and amours (Herodotus), tragedies like those of Euripides, and comedies like Menander's. The heroic epics, too, had been transformed into love-stories in the Alexandrian period ; Virgil's story of Dido and Ovid's *Heroides* exercised a similar influence. But only now did the new type develop its full potentialities, when a religious faith in Providence introduced a moral tone into the stories of brigandage and love, and the diffuse, eloquent, and edifying medium of prose came to be accorded equal recognition with verse. The faith in Providence supplied a deeper meaning and a satisfactory ending to the love adventures and vicissitudes of fortune, with their affecting incidents and thrills. Once more feminine literature sprang up, but this time moral in character ; for these heroes and heroines were pure and pious, and in the final happiness of their union they only reaped their due reward.

The subtlest of these romances, *Daphnis and Chloe*, by Longus, probably appeared in the third century ; it was the earliest pastoral romance and tells a simple story of the separation and re-union of a shepherd couple, with deliberate naivety, a keen sense of the beauties of Nature, and much delicacy and feeling. It is a product of the school of Theocritus, but idealistic and Arcadian in tone, and of Virgil, but in less fashionable garb, and inspired by genuine longing for the natural, human Paradise of the lovers. Without doubt this is the greatest work of the new type ; it is altogether heathen in spirit, with no over-insistent faith in a resurrection and no excess of robber-romanticism, a worthy product of the period that produced Plotinus, the last philosopher, and Diophantus the last creative mathematician. Love-romances that have come down to us were also written in the fourth century (by Tatius and Chariton).

The fourth century, after the triumph of Christianity, was the flowering time of Christian literature. Just as the wine of Christian thought was poured into the bottles of heathen scholarship, so too in the realm of literature. As early as the third century Christian psalms were sung in Egypt to Greek melodies, and now hymns began to be written in elaborate metres. Gregory of Nazianzus (330–390) was famed in the east as the author of all kinds of lyrics. Hilarius of Poitiers (320–366) came in contact with the new school of poetry in Syria and introduced it in the west, writing the earliest hymns in Horatian metres. Gregory of Nazianzus wrote an autobiography in verse, a lyrical confession ; herein he was a forerunner of the great prose confessor, Augustine.

The Romans borrowed their music entirely from the Greeks, and continued dependent upon them. There may have been some original music in the comedies of Plautus, with their wealth of metrical and rhythmical forms and their frequent monodies and duets, *terzettos* and finales (all, of course, univocal) ; but it is unlikely that there was much about it that was not Greek in character. Later Latin like Hellenistic poetry was divorced from music ; the art of speech supplanted the art of song, and effects were produced by the spoken word alone, by variety of metrical form (Horace) and rhetoric. The odes of Horace were not sung like his models composed by Alcæus and Sappho at a time when the arts of speech and song were still closely linked. Seneca's tragedies were spoken tragedies, and only the choruses were sung in accordance with the fashion.

The *pantomimus* was brought to Rome from Alexandria ; it was an elaborate dance in which an actor might assume any character and imitate his personality or actions sentimentally and in burlesque. The chorus and orchestra provided an accompaniment or filled the pauses. From Alexandria, too, came the great concerts heard in a vastly augmented form by Cicero and Seneca. A slave orchestra was part of the equipment of a rich man's household in imperial

Rome. Skilful performers were paid immense sums. One of the principal instruments was the organ, but it was always played univocally. Nevertheless, two voices were now within the range of possibility. The effects of echo might influence the canons of musical practice. Side by side with the development of vast orchestras and elaborate art ran the tendency towards simplicity (a reaction), as may be seen in the song of Seicelus dating from the first century B.C.

The hymns of Mesomedes, found in Egypt, date from Hadrian's reign; they are invocations to the Deity composed for a soloist, and introductions to great arias (*nomos*); they are composed in the style of the citharodic *nomos*, to which they are a prelude, with the same rhythmical modulation and the same enharmonic intervals but none of the elaborate structure of the aria.

As early as the third century A.D. Christian hymnology in Egypt had adopted all the artistic armoury of late Greek music, as is proved by discoveries at Oxyrhyncus. As in Greek hymns, the highest note falls upon the most highly stressed and important word. Musical instruments are used for interludes and postludes.

It has been supposed that Christian church music was of Jewish origin; but that is very unlikely. Neither the Christian sect in Jerusalem, which repudiated the Law and the Temple and suffered bloody persecutions, nor the Christians in the Hellenistic provinces, who rejected Judaism and heathenism alike, were at all disposed to adopt the music of the Jewish Temple and synagogues. When they sang psalms it was in the Greek of the *Septuagint* which would not have fitted Hebrew melodies; indeed they appeared as prose in the translation, without a trace of poetic form. But it was very natural for Christians in the Hellenistic provinces to borrow Hellenistic music and adapt their written verse to its requirements. They heard it on all sides, and as their services were conducted entirely without imagery, they were desirous of enhancing their impressiveness by means of music; of course it had to be serious music, vocal music without effeminate and sensuous instruments. If Jewish and Christian church music is alike, it is not as a result of the Christian adoption of Jewish melodies but of the common adoption of Greek music by both. In every respect, both in theory and practice, Greek music was superior to Jewish. It may be that in Jerusalem people adhered to purely Jewish music to the very last, in spite of the Seleucids, the influence of the Alexandrian modernists, and of the last, Hellenized Maccabees and Herod; but in the synagogues of Alexandria and other cities which used the Greek Torah even whilst Jerusalem was still standing, that was certainly not the case. In the interests of propaganda concessions could be made on this point, and doubtless were made. Then the Temple was destroyed and its musical tradition ceased, but throughout the East the influence of Greek music persisted. Greek musical theory and practice remained in vigour long after the last Jew had ceased to understand what the directions to the conductor meant in the music of the *Psalms*. The Jewish communities in Persia and the Yemen have a type of church music similar to the Christian, although they separated from the rest of their race long before the rise of Christianity. The reason is that they were not cut off from the influence of Greek music but remained under it, so that they sing their psalms in the Greek manner like the Christians and all other Jews. We do not know the meaning of the musical directions in the Torah.

During the second and third centuries Christian hymnology took shape. People sang the psalms and the creed in prose according to the rules of the Greek art of song. They wrote hymns in elaborate Greek metres and sang them to equally elaborate melodies, but always in a simple, natural manner, as hymns (Mesomedes), not as arias written for display by brilliant performers. And here the Byzantine race developed creative talent.[1] In Antiochia in the fourth century the psalms were sung in antiphony ; the responses to a male choir were sung by a choir of women and children an octave higher. The melody was simple, and of course univocal ; the highest note fell upon the most important word ; the simple rhythm, ascending at the beginning of a phrase and descending at the end, depended upon the words. It seems, too, that the modulation by which emotion was expressed was already an element in the soloist's performance. It is said that the Allelujah hymns were brought to Rome from Bethlehem.

One further advance of great importance was effected by the musical sensibility of a Christian writer and saint, Ephraem of Edessa (306–378) ; the music of the arias had long ignored the quantitative accent of the grammarians and passed to a pure stress accent. In the hexameters of Bion's *Lament for Adonis* (about 100 B.C.) quantitative and stress accent were still in the balance, even in spoken verse. But now, just at the time when Syrians were revolutionizing hymnology and vocal church music, this Syrian replaced the quantitative by the stress accent, and thus imparted a new and modern character to prosody.

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[1] The heathen world, too, had felt the stimulus of musical inspiration since the rise of the Neo-Platonists. In metaphysics and mathematics the visual sense lost its importance ; serious music was fostered, and much that was new may have been produced that has since been lost to us.

Finally a new notation was devised for music. The Greek letters were replaced (also in the East) by " neumes ", that is abstract signs with melodic and rhythmical values which were the precursors of our notes.

It seems that Ambrose (340–397) introduced these Syrian musical innovations in Milan and Jerome (340–420) in Rome. Pope Damasus (died 384) is said to have been the first to systematize the new church music. Under Pope Coelestinus I (died 432) antiphonic choral psalmody found its way into High Mass. The great work of the next two centuries was the elaboration of the Mass. The masterpiece known as the Gregorian chant was the outcome of constantly renewed contact with the East, together with profound and strenuous thought and self-discipline ; Pope Gregory I (died 604) was at any rate its most energetic patron. In this book of chants, and in the order of service of which it formed a part, all the power of speech and music unite to serve the highest and give worthy and impressive utterance to the miracle of revealed truth, more especially the miracle of the Eucharist, and all the fullness of human emotions in its presence. In this sublimest artistic product of the Christian faith the ancient music still lived. The greatest and most fertile creation of the Byzantines and Romæans, it accompanied Roman missions to all the western and northern lands and formed the groundwork upon which creative eras built up the new part music that is ours.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE PLASTIC AND PICTORIAL ARTS

The plastic and pictorial arts in Rome were also dominated by Greek influence from the beginning, and more than ever from the first cultural prime (beginning 250 B.C.) onwards. The Romans never concealed the fact but rather liked to emphasize it. There are only a few genuinely Roman names among artists. C. Fabius Pictor (born 254 B.C.), a man of noble descent, besides writing a history of the second Punic war in Greek and Latin, seems to have attempted to establish a Roman school of painting in rivalry with the Greek school, just as Nævius and Plautus did in literature. His successor, Pacuvius (about 200–150 B.C.), who was also the author of famous tragedies modelled on Greek originals, was a nephew of Ennius and a native of Greater Greece (Brindisi). After that there are no more Roman names. The philhellenes recognized the unrivalled excellence of the Greek artists ; anyone who wanted to attain any standing in artistic circles had to possess or assume a Greek name. The Romans wrote on architecture (Vitruvius), but only occasionally and incidentally on the other plastic and pictorial arts (Pliny). They were only proud of their great utilitarian building feats. Frontinus (died A.D. 106), the great expert in the construction of aqueducts, regarded the useless pyramids and the monotonous Greek temples with scorn.

Must we, then, assume that the Roman race, which adopted Greek culture in every field and then developed it a little further, remained passively imitative in the plastic and pictorial arts, and that all " Roman " creative work in that field owed its origin to the Greeks, who continued to produce original work in music and painting on into the imperial era in Alexandria, or to the Alexandrian race, whose creative period began in the second century A.D. ? We know that the interest of the Romans in portraiture was keen, and was fostered by their ancestor-worship. Historical painting was popular, too, and was used in a thoroughly Roman spirit for purposes of political agitation. There was, therefore, a native tradition which may have undergone Hellenization at the time of the philhellenes, but was not quenched. We know that the altar of peace of Augustus is of Roman origin, and it was a masterpiece. Should we not, therefore, assume that a native Roman tradition existed in every field of art and was the source of most Roman work alike in plastic art, painting, and architecture ? For the whole race that sprang from the fusion of Italic, Etruscan, and Greek elements which began about 750 B.C. count as " Roman "; inextricably linked with them were the people of Greater Greece from the Greek colonial cities of southern Italy and Sicily, who had also been intermarrying with other races since 730 B.C., and therefore reached cultural maturity at the same time. And when we see that in architecture, statuary, and the painting of architectural subjects and landscapes precisely the same advance was made beyond the Hellenic and Hellenistic classic models as in statecraft, religion and philosophy, and literature, we are driven to the conclusion that not everything originated in Alexandria but that some part was a native Roman product, though this does not preclude Alexandrian stimulus and influence. And when we find Greek names on the *Odyssey* landscapes in Pompeii and on others, they may well be Tarentine or Neapolitan names, or the assumed names of Italic painters.

Roman architecture was confronted with great tasks from the close of the fourth century B.C., for it was the principal civic art in a great empire of rapid growth. This was the period when great roads were built (the Appian Way was begun in 312 B.C.) in connection with the laying out of new cities. We hear of Greek influence upon equestrian statuary (338, in the year when civic rights were conferred upon Capua) and upon coinage (in 268 B.C. silver coins were first minted in Rome; previously they had been minted in Capua " for the confederates "). The temples increased in length, on the Greek model, although in other respects they adhered to the old Etruscan style; Etruscan edifices did not stand clear surrounded by pillars, but were solid at the back, with large porticos raised upon high platforms and a stairway at the front. Thus the increased length stressed the main axis and was a step away from the Greek style of building free on all sides. From 200 B.C. onwards the first " basilicas "—market halls and law-courts—were built, still on the Greek model; the earliest of these, the Basilica Porcia, was Cato's work, built in 185 B.C. At the same time the Tiber port was modernized (in 192).

In 159 the Capitoline temple was surrounded by columned halls, and in 146 Marcellus used the Macedonian booty to build the earliest marble temple to Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina; the work was entrusted to a Greek, Hermodorus of Salamis, who built in the Ionic style according to the rules laid down by Hermogenes. Inevitably the philhellenes cherished the ambition to rebuild the future world metropolis with all the magnificence of a Greek capital; for since 212 masses of Greek sculptures had been brought to the city at every great triumph. About 150 B.C. Pompeii rose to prosperity when Puteoli became a port of entry for Egyptian and Syrian goods; Pompeian public and private buildings bear witness to various improvements which must have been even more in evidence in Rome at the same period. Especially the private houses, which at first were built with the atrium, adopted certain features of the Greek peristyle house. This was the first occasion upon which the equality of the two world civilizations was fully acknowledged in practice.

During the century of evolution (150–50 B.C.) Rome became a cosmopolitan city. On the high-priced land which speculators like Crassus exploited, the houses shot up, storey upon storey, as in the great eastern cities. Babylon, as Herodotus knew it, was built so; doubtless Alexandria supplied models for the tall buildings of Rome.

And above them towered the new temples and theatres ; it would never do to let other buildings over-top them, and their vast dimensions were the fruit of rivalry between party leaders. In Sulla's Capitoline temple (re-built in 83 after a fire) pillars were for the first time combined with arches. In Pompey's theatre (55) the first storey was adorned in the Etruscan style with half-columns, the second in Ionian, and the third with Corinthian columns. Pompeii was turned into a veteran settlement by Sulla in the year 80 and in addition to its temples and halls, its theatre and wrestling-school after Greek models, it was now equipped with the amphitheatre of a great city, a music-theatre, paved streets, and a drainage system.

Cæsar, the heir at once of philhellenic ideology and of the revolution and the founder of the new State, wished in his character of imperial architect to make a great Hellenistic city of Rome. He built the first imperial Forum. Beside the republican Forum that had formerly been the heart of the city his Forum appeared, relieving weight and casting shade ; it was a complete marble structure altogether in the Greek style, for the spirit of Hermogenes was now dominant in the world of art ; and at its centre stood the temple of Venus, the ancestral goddess of the Julian tribe. Augustus tried to find a means of expression for the Roman spirit in Greek classic architecture, as in the other arts. The second, larger imperial Forum, with the temple of avenging Mars as its centre (built in 42 B.C. after the battle of Philippi), and the first imperial palace on the Palatine designed with the Greek peristyle, were his work, A number of temples were rebuilt. But in the main the Hellenistic style continued dominant in architecture. Rome's drainage system was completed. There are also blocks of dwellings and mass graves.

Then a tremendous effort was made to excel the Greeks. Vespasian built the Flavian amphitheatre or Colosseum. Domitian's palace on the Palatine was a magnificent edifice, built by an emperor as the residence of a god upon earth. Between these two masterpieces one of the most beautiful of triumphal arches was erected, that of Titus.

The great architect under Trajan and Hadrian was Apollodorus of Damascus ; the new creative force of the Alexandrian race ministered to the Cæsars. Apollodorus designed Trajan's Forum, the finest and largest of the imperial market halls. He built Rome's first hot-spring baths, which were a model for all later ones. And his bridge over the Danube at the Iron Gates was a miracle of technical skill.

Hadrian had the first great dome set upon Agrippa's Pantheon (with an inner span of 43½ metres). His palace in Tivoli, known as Hadrian's Villa, was the first royal pleasure house to serve the purposes of State at a distance from the capital, and at the same time produce the illusion of country life; it was at once a Versailles and a Schwetzingen, with its mementoes from all parts of the earth. Hadrian also built himself a mausoleum, the present day castle of St. Angelo.

The Romans inherited from the Greeks a Hellenistic style of architecture adapted to all architectural purposes, temples and palaces, cities and utilitarian buildings.

Under Cæsar and Augustus these borrowings were fully assimilated, and original Roman features were added; there was a deliberate infusion of Roman calm, earnestness, and simple grandeur. Then the style attained freedom; under Nero and the Flavians the liberation of personality and the sense of world citizenship stamped themselves upon architecture. This was the period of the Roman edifices and structures, which seemed to excel all earlier achievements and break all the bonds of system. Massive mortar and brickwork (no longer the stone of domestic architecture) rose from gigantic vaults and cement foundations. The Corinthian pillar became more and more prevalent; pillars came to be used for adornment, like cornices and niches, to divide up the edifice rather than to support it. The eye swept over an unexampled height and breadth of wall. The roofs were domed. Architects sought to produce an outward impression of strength and grandeur, to overwhelm the spectator. At the same time the art of designing magnificent interiors developed. The practice became general of lighting basilicas, halls, and rooms by means of windows; it was in the reign of Augustus that window-panes were invented. Tunnel-vaults, half-cupolas, and cupolas increased in size, especially in the Flavian period, and their span was augmented. The effects produced by sheer space and light were enhanced; blended with plastic effects, but primarily with mural painting, they lent a fascinating variety to the buildings. People had discovered the æsthetic world of space, and sought its delights in halls and chambers and suites of halls and chambers; the illusion of space was produced by mural paintings of architectural prospects and every kind of illusory vista and distant view.

All these developments culminated in the second and third centuries A.D. The design of a great edifice built round a full length central axis, which we find in Egyptian temples between one and two thousand years before Christ, was now deliberately adopted and perfected in sanctuaries (at Baalbec) and in Trajan's Forum (Apollodorus of Damascus). The ground-plans of the baths of Caracalla and Domitian are models of symmetrical design round a central passage, faultlessly laid out within a rectangular space to fulfil their purpose. The Pantheon, which may also have been re-built by Apollodorous of Damascus, was a triumph of church architecture with its vast dome and the light streaming down from above into the single, spacious circular pillared chamber with niches for sacred figures. Here the one invisible God of the adoptive emperors, the Lord of the Universe, revealed himself. He is immanent in the space and light, and more tangibly in all the gods who are present and yet inconspicuous. To Phidias' Olympian Zeus, whose vast stature seems to break through the confines of the temple, the Pantheon forms a remarkable counterpart, unplastic but no less great.

The new religion of the masses, Christianity, which was destined to inspire the revival of the religious art, could not, indeed, form any contact with this imperial edifice, this temple of the Lord of the whole world. Even when imperial art took its stamp from the obligatory religion of the empire's saviours, and when Diocletian built himself a palace in Spalato which, in its rigid fixity, was half an armed camp and half a high priest's residence, the Christian masses continued to regard it as something Satanic and heathenish. There was no temple or palace of the ancient powers from which the Christian House of God could develop, and that was the only great architectural problem raised by Christianity ; to the accomplishment of that task alone all Christian energies in the field of architecture were bent. The original model of the Christian church is the basilica, the law-court of the imperial era and a secular edifice well-known and familiar to everyone and everywhere in evidence. It was a long hall, generally divided lengthwise into three, lighted by high windows ; it was an interior that could not but satisfy the artistic sensibilities of the third century and answer the needs of the religion of the invisible Christian God. It was easy to transform it from an assembly hall, with its impressive adornment of pillars, to a sacramental building with an altar and Holy of Holies. It was a simple form, with unexhausted possibilities capable of development by the spirit of Christianity. Under Christian inspiration a tower was added to the new temple on the Babylonian model ; within, the path of salvation led in the Egyptian style from the door out of the world to the Holy of Holies ; and finally vast images of holy, mythical, and divine Beings looked down upon the congregation from golden heights. The new edifices built by Constantine in Rome (St. Peter's), in Byzantium (St. Sophia), and in Jerusalem and Bethlehem were basilicas. But the new religion soon proved capable of appropriating rotunda churches, at first for purposes of burial and baptism only. For they had their origin in the same Byzantine nationality that produced the Fathers of the Church, and there was no longer any class cleavage between Christians and heathens. Quite at the end, therefore, of this Byzanto-Roman period Justinian (527–565) built a domed church in his capital to its patron saint, the greatest of its kind and the chief of Christian sanctuaries ; this was the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople (532–537).

In plastic art the Romans could achieve nothing original in statues of the gods, not only because the Greeks had achieved the highest perfection in that sphere, but primarily because the Roman spirit was moving towards monotheistic ideas of God along a twofold path—the Romans conceived of the Deity in many aspects, yet as one Fate and one moral authority, whilst at the same time they revived primitive rites and the custom of deifying their rulers ; thus their mythology dissolved into allegory, moral teaching, and history. It was only in plastic portraiture and in reliefs portraying historic scenes that Roman genius could prove its fertility and achieve original work.

It is recorded that the first bronze statue in honour of a national hero was placed on the Capitol as early as 439 B.C. ; in 338 the first equestrian statues were erected for the same purpose ; in 296 the she-wolf with the twins was set up, and imaginary statues of the legendary kings followed. We must picture all of these as Greek provincial art. There were colossi, too ; in 304 a colossal Hercules and in 293 a Jupiter were erected. The new school of Lysippus was extending its influence to Italy.

In the second century Polybius extolled the remarkable waxen likenesses of the dead which it was customary to place in chapels. Thus ancestor-worship exercised a practical influence and fostered the art of sculpture. The best surviving busts, therefore, of the republican era are exceedingly lifelike and individual, carefully and accurately modelled. In the Augustan age Greek influence transfigured and illuminated Roman naturalism, but sometimes altogether destroyed its gift for portraying individuality. In the best portraits of the Emperor and his family Roman earnestness and dignity are united with Greek idealism. In other contemporary works there is disastrous evidence of classicism ; Roman heads are placed upon the incongrous bodies of Greek gods. The conventionality and weakness of this courtly art is greatly in evidence in the statue of Claudius as Jupiter. Under the Flavian emperors the art of portraiture in Rome recovered its independence, having passed through the Hellenic phase. The statues of Titus and Domitian, with their square foreheads and broad faces, are natural, vigorous, and unforced. The women are softer and daintier, but equally lifelike. The lifelike style continued down to the period of the adoptive emperors, although the tendency to conventionalize revived with a view to producing an impression of simple, natural virtue and yet of divine vocation. In Hadrian's Hellenism this conventionalism led to an impersonal and academic elegance (the statues of Antinous, which set the standard for other portraits), but the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius depicts him at once as a man and as divinely inspired, serious and benevolent, calm, natural, and majestic. For centuries this work has been a source of admiration and instruction to the modern world.

After a brief orgy of Oriental self-glorification and deification, the earthly deity was driven by the pressure of barbarian invasion to accept the bondage of duty and service to the God above. Accordingly the personal features in the imperial portraits became less marked. The tendency was to model front-face. Rulers liked particularly to be represented by colossal statues and raised above humanity ; they gazed solemnly over the heads of men or down upon men, rapt in meditation or pronouncing judgment like God himself, with whom they were sometimes associated in mosaics.

The principal relief of the Augustan age is the altar of peace (13–9 B.C.) on the Campus Martius, with the allegorical sculptures of Æneas, Mars, Italia, and a festal procession in which the imperial family and their immediate circle are portrayed. The union of symbols (Rome's earliest history and the imperial ancestor ; Italy as mother) with contemporary history is as bold and striking as in the Parthenon. The Roman spirit of grandeur and solemnity, which nevertheless does not preclude human traits in the child figures, merges with the spirit of Hellenistic courtly art in a new unity. Even in this work there are elements of the picturesque, whilst in the later reliefs produced under the Flavians, Trajan, and the Antonines, the picturesque is altogether dominant and unshackled ; they are actually historical painting in stone without parallel elsewhere. The imagery in the triumphal procession on Titus's arch is much more lifelike, natural, and mobile than the mosaics of Alexander, and yet greatly simplified. Trajan's column towers up from the Forum of Apollodorus of Damascus like a gigantic, alien menhir—Apollodorus was a native of the land whence afterwards Elagabalus came to Rome, and the Emperor may have seen solar stones in the land of the Dacians. The reliefs on this column represent two whole campaigns of the Emperor who was himself buried in the base. In accordance with ancestral custom the Emperor showed the Romans in the market-place what he had done for the country; but nobody can see it. The 200 metres of relief winding round the column 40 metres high merely create the impression of immensity by their great size. Assyrian kings have been more successful in their friezes on palace walls and gates. The intention, however, was not that the pictures should produce the effect, but rather the idea that they are there, unseen, portraying to the senses everything that was known about the Dacian wars. The idea was growing more important than the ocular sense impression; yet the eye receives its due also in the reliefs of Trajan's victory and his peace-time activities, now on Constantine's arch.

We have to reconstruct Roman painting from what we see of these paintings in stone; it must have treated historical subjects, ranging from the pathos of the Dacians' self-immolation to the *genre* of life in the camp and lake-dwelling, more varied than the painting of the Greeks. Of course there were portraits, which must have been superior to Greek work in individual characterization and at least equal to the best mummy portraits, perhaps superior to them. The majority of the surviving mural paintings are from Pompeii, but a few are from Rome; those that treat of mythological subjects we can regard without hesitation as copies or variations of Greek originals, though they may have been the work of native artists. Indeed it is and doubtless always will be quite impossible to distinguish Greek from Roman work in mural paintings. But some share of original inspiration was certainly non-Hellenic. We know of a few Latin names of painters in the Claudian and Flavian period. As it is, one inclines to assume an original Roman contribution to the painting of architecture and landscape, corresponding to the original Roman contribution in other fields, such as architecture and literature. It may be, therefore, that some of the landscapes in the third style (the Augustan age) were original Roman work, as well as the better blending of landscape and figures in the fourth style

(Claudius to Domitian). What is remarkable in the landscapes, city views, and architectural vistas is the way in which the artists wrestle with the problems of perspective ; their linear perspective is almost correct, and on occasion they observe aerial perspective (the colour of the sky). They failed to grasp the mathematics of linear perspective, nor did they pay regular and adequate attention to aerial perspective ; they mastered what was needed in practice for theatrical decoration. But in spite of these limitations, they learned more than the Indians and Chinese, peoples who very nearly attained to the Graeco-Roman level. Neither for the Romans nor Greeks were there blanks in Nature to be acknowledged and veiled in mist. They endeavoured to fill the blank, not to ignore it. In consequence of this radical thoroughness, it is true, Greece and Rome seemed to have missed altogether the marvellous painting of Nature's moods by which Chinese landscape painters cast a spell upon her remote distances and near foregrounds. Every fault may be turned into a virtue. No fully developed science sprang from the ground prepared by Lao Tzu ; but to the Universal Oneness undifferentiated by logic, even when incarnate as Nature, Lao Tzu stood nearer than Xenophanes, who distinguished between Being and the illusion of the senses.

Pliny speaks of painting as a dying art, and indeed before A.D. 200 it was as dead as plastic relief ; and even great emperors were soon collecting the stolen reliefs of their predecessors for their own triumphal arches. But after the victory of Christianity painting slowly revived, not so much on Christian tombs, where symbolism was used almost exclusively, as in church frescoes and the illumination of Bibles and lives of the saints. Here the technique of heathen painting (like heathen music in the church service) was made to serve the ends of the Christian faith. Heathendom had learnt the technique of painting figures and groups, and it was now applied (especially in the East) to the painting of the sacred stories of the Old and New Testaments (in parallels even at that early date). The martyr's lives were depicted, too, besides allegories and scenes of adoration, and votive pictures were painted. Beside the wealth of Christian hymns we find a wealth of Christian paintings, no less effective as an embellishment for churches and holy books than was music as an embellishment of divine worship. There arose, too, monumental art which may be likened to the Gregorian chant. Some of its finest work is preserved in the mosaics, on the domes and upper walls of churches ; after the sixth century these were set in a golden ground.

SUMMARY

The Romans, pre-ripened by inheriting Greek civilization, slightly excelled the achievements of the Greeks in every sphere; but that slight advance was a consummation. They established a homogeneous world empire embracing all the older civilizations of Hither Asia, the Mediterranean lands, and western Europe. In their hands the bourgeois republic and the enlightened monarchy culminated. In religion they attained to a philosophical and universally human monotheism. Catullus, their great self-revealing poet, was the precursor of Petrarch, and Virgil, their great epic poet and the originator of the romantic, subjective epic, the precursor of Dante. They gave birth to the rhetorical, spoken tragedy of passion and the social romance, and perfected the epigram. In the field of learning they originated propagandist history and the history of civilization greatly conceived; and they raised jurisprudence to the rank of a science. In plastic and pictorial art they continued to work successfully on the problems of vast edifices and interiors and perfected the art of portraiture. The Byzantine-Romæan race stepped into the heritage of the Romans. A bureaucratic State was established with a monarch by divine right, and within it a fourth estate rose to power. Men's outlook on life assumed a religious, Christian character. In literature the love-romance and sermon reached their consummation. In the sphere of learning the special sciences that had grown up in Alexandria were completely systematized, and in arithmetic the body of knowledge was extended. Jurisprudence, also, was summed up and completed. The creative Roman spirit solved the greatest architectural problems of exterior and interior construction (the dome structure and the Christian basilica). In painting and music the heritage of earlier days was pressed into the service of Christianity. In the mosaic pictures in churches and in the Gregorian chant art assumed a monumental character once more. In Christian art and science Roman civilization had gathered together and classified a durable legacy, available for the labours of future generations.

SUPPLEMENT

THE ANCIENT INDIANS AND CHINESE

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The ancient Indians and Chinese must also be counted among the great creators of human civilization ; chronologically and in their evolutionary level they are most closely akin to the Greeks. But geographically they belong to a different cultural region, and the civilization that they produced is to us something alien and remote. Moreover, they are to our minds differentiated from their contemporaries, the Greeks, by the fact that in spite of numerous barbarian invasions and racial changes, their speech and civilization have remained outwardly homogeneous and are " alive " to this very day. Any account of man's cultural achievements must include the chief Oriental civilizations, note their evolutionary level, and trace their origin in certain racial mixtures. It is necessary to do this in a Supplement and not in the main body of the book, for too little research has yet been carried out in the vast mass of literary and artistic material produced by these great peoples of the ancient East to allow of a clear outline and brief survey, such as is possible with our own cultural predecessors. Thanks to the peculiar character of Indian civilization, its greatest monuments are of uncertain date, and, thanks to that of the Chinese language, much that is of profound import remains obscure and contentious. Both civilizations are remote from our own, so that few Europeans are working on the vast mass of material, whilst the Indians and Chinese have not sufficient capacity for severe scientific research to master it themselves. Here, therefore, even more than in the case of the chief European civilizations, I must be content with tracing a few main trends and giving a sketch of what is familiar and what seems essential to me. In this first part of my book I propose to deal only with the peoples of antiquity ; consequently I shall take into consideration only the ancient or " Sanskrit " Indians down to the Gupta period, and the ancient Chinese of the Chou, Ch'in, Han, and T'ang periods.

Both the ancient Indian and the ancient Chinese are among the later civilizations of antiquity, and sprang from the soil of earlier, highly developed civilizations. In their *Rig-veda* the Indians have blurred the traces of these predecessors, and they did not adopt whatever system of writing may have existed. The Chinese admittedly accepted the writing and culture of the Shang period. In each case a timeless monism imagined an original revelation to the people in question, but the Indians made out their predecessors to have been godless blackskins, whilst the Chinese carried their own history back to include that of their precursors. The fact that a form of monism was attained proves, however, that in both cases there must have been a previous civilization at least as high as Babylonia's. The Indus and Ganges regions were irrigated, settled, and dotted with towns before the irruption of the Indians, just as the Hwang-ho region was by the Shang people before it was conquered by the Chou tribes.

THE ANCIENT INDIANS

RACIAL FORMATION AND POLITICAL HISTORY

The Indo-Germans, Persians, and Indians appeared at a comparatively late date in the country to the east and south-east of the Caspian Sea as emigrants from the primitive homes of solar civilizations. We can hardly doubt that the pre-Indo-Germans who, coming from the same sphere of solar civilization as later the Medes and Persians, had been pushing down into the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris from the Iranian mountains ever since 4000 B.C., and also the Sumerians, Elamites, and Kassites, each in turn sent waves of immigrant tribes into the valleys of the Indus and Ganges, just as the Indians did later. There were probably trade relations between Elam and Elamite and Kassite India in pre-Aryan times. The Aryan Indians came to India equipped with bronze weapons, and probably they had already adopted cremation burials.[1] The countless relics of stone weapons and implements and the burial mounds in India in which no metal objects are found must be pre-Aryan. The other monuments of solar civilization—the stone pillars (menhirs) and stone circles, and the dolmens containing metal objects—may in part be Aryan, for the Aryan Indians came from the home of solar civilization and must have been sun-worshippers, like the Dorians, until the loftier speculative thought of the newly rising race gave birth within the country to the religion of the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*. It is true that they brought with them Indra, Mithra, and Varuna, the Asvins and the sacrifice of horses and soma, loftier divinities and more elaborate rites than any known to the solar religion of the Neolithic Age ; but still these formed part of a solar religion and were much more nebulous than in the *Vedas*. In spite of certain archaic, well-preserved features and in spite of their style (which was formerly regarded as the prototype of an antique language, although in reality it is a literary style, the style of a religious canon, uniform, free from dialect, and conventional), the *Vedas* are of late origin, hardly earlier than the seventh century, and belong to the period when the national character and the religion of the new, Aryan-pre-Aryan race were in process of formation.

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[1] The Persians buried their dead uncremated in graves (the tomb of Cyrus) even before Zoroaster's time. In the *Rig-veda* we find both cremation and burial. It is possible that the Indo-Germanic custom of cremation only arose in the lands where solar civilization prevailed, and where the Indo-Germans had their origin, after the departure of the Perso-Indian peoples. The custom obtained among the Dorians and Italic peoples. On the other hand the Persians may have abandoned it, not only on grounds of doctrine but partly under Assyrian influence. The adoption of cremation pre-supposes a fervent religious adoration of fire likewise in the home of the Indo-Germans.

The Vedic poets regarded the enemies who resisted the Aryan immigration all as blackskins, disturbers of sacrifice, low savages, the contempt of the knights ; and later when they were settled all along the borders of the civilized country, especially in the south, they were regarded as heathen who spoke an uncouth jargon and were the abomination of the priests. But it appears from their own accounts that these " savages " had an advanced urban civilization, with money economy ; they had kingdoms of considerable size and fortresses, and impressed their opponents by their wealth and their knowledge of magic. Many a curse upon " heartless skinflints ", " devoid of faith, honour, and sacrifice," may have found its way into the *Vedas* as the result of the conflict between knightly and urban civilization in the seventh century. Not everything can be so explained satisfactorily, for it is too sharp a contradiction of the empty formula of the " blackskinned jabberers " and the low level of their national culture.

The *Rig-veda* gives us the ideas of the period of conquest current in the seventh century, some concrete memories (especially of the Vasishthas), and a great deal of invention (Indra and Agni lead the " five nations " across broad lands and rivers and subdue fortresses and tribes by dozens, just as Yahu leads the Children of Israel to Palestine and destroys the former inhabitants of the land before their advance). But primarily it contains religious speculation, monotheistic in tendency. And the whole is a hymnbook sanctified by the priests for purposes of sacrifice. From this canon collection of hymns we must pick out the scattered historical facts with the same caution as from the Jewish Torah ; and we must regard the descriptions of tribal chiefs, who are essentially " cattle-owners " and " those who desire cattle " (warriors) and have no ambition but to sacrifice so as to obtain cattle and to become rich so as to sacrifice, as counterparts of the prophetic and learned visions of pious Bedouins that evolved into the fairy-tales of the Children of Israel in the wilderness. In actual fact the Aryan conquerors had skirmishes with their more highly civilized and nowise " black " predecessors ; gradually they captured the land and then the cities, and mingled with them to form a new race capable of creating a higher civilization. This racial mixture must have begun about 1200–1100 B.C., and the process must have been most active in the Ganges basin. For there, after 700 B.C. a new civilization arose, the great civilization of India. Like all great civilizations, it began with a religious movement from which, as in Judah, there arose the legend of a primeval people chosen by God, in close communion with Nature and God, pushing into India from the wilderness, and crossing the mountains and the Land of the Five Rivers (Punjab) under divine guidance; the end is the capture of the Ganges basin and its retention by the Bharata, the foundation of the first great kingdom in the heart of the future India.

Sudas, king of the Tritsu, a Bharata tribe and probably the dominant one, victoriously repulsed the league of the "Five Peoples" on the Parushni. Here Aryans were fighting against Aryans; other songs show that previously the Bharata had conquered the Land of the Five Rivers with the Five Peoples. Both parties appealed to Indra and Agni; but they decided in favour of Sudas and his High Priest Vasishtha, whose descendants preserved the memory of the "War of the Ten Kings". It may well be that we have here an account of the first conclusion of the Aryan migration of peoples in India. The Aryan conquerors of the fertile Ganges basin appear as its defenders against the later irruption of their own kindred, whom they drive back for good to the less fertile Indus valley. In the Ganges basin, thus defended and held, the new racial mixture could then begin. The battle must have taken place about 1200 B.C.

Struggles in the Ganges basin, probably later in date, are described in the great heroic epic of the Indians, the *Mahabharata*. From the Bharata people has sprung the State of the sons of Kuru, with its capital of Hastinapura (the Elephant City) on the Ganges, ruled over by King Santanu. The five sons of Pandu, after a preliminary partition of the kingdom, overthrow his house in a great battle between the Jumna and Drishadvati, in which all the peoples that went to make up the later Indian nation are called upon to fight and all the heroes of legend find a place. The historical kernel of this legendary battle may perhaps be a fresh Aryan migration of peoples, or perhaps a change of dynasty in the Kuru kingdom. The sons of Pandu are said to have been born in the Himalayas, but received their portion of the kingdom in Indraprastha in the heart of the "sacred land of the Kurus". At any rate Prakshit, the future ruler of the Ganges basin, was a scion of the house of Pandu. The struggle did not involve any interruption in the process of racial formation, and it cannot be dated.

In the development of all nations there comes a pause after the immigration of important racial components destined to produce a new mixed race and a new civilization; amongst the peoples of antiquity this often leads to a total lack of all sources of historical knowledge for centuries. Not till the first cultural prime, about five hundred years after the beginning of the process of racial mixture, is there a revival of tradition, together with great original achievements. In the case of the Indians these fragmentary indications of the Aryan immigration are followed not only by the unrecorded centuries of racial mixture, as with the Greeks or Chinese, but there is hardly any recorded history of the actual creative period. One or two references to Buddhist Councils, supported by reliable Greek statements concerning Alexander's Indian campaign, enable us to calculate the date of the Buddha's life, but he is the only great personality of India's prime whose dates can be determined. But the Buddha was a critical thinker, like Socrates or Confucius in the corresponding chronological and evolutional development of the Greeks and Chinese. His work pre-supposes a great theorist born, like Parmenides and Lao Tzu, some fifty or sixty years earlier.

This would date the birth of Yajnavalkhya, the first Indian classic, at 610–600 B.C. Yajnavalkhya was the father of Indian monism. His religious speculation on the Atman was the fruit of the religious movement which gave us the songs in the *Rig-veda,* and it constitutes a great spiritual achievement, the crown and consummation of those songs. At a later date those who reduced the Vedic canon to a system incorporated the Atman doctrine into the commentaries on the *Vedas* and re-stated it in the spirit of the canon, so that its original form was lost. Yajnavalkhya's was a creative mind, and his significance for India was identical with that of Amos for Judah. Indian culture begins with a great prophet, not with a poet like Homer. He is the first whose name has been handed down, linked with his spiritual achievement; the poets, authors of fine lyrics and epics as in Judah, who were his contemporaries or followed him, are nameless.

All that incidental and conventional observations in the canon tell us of the cultural and social conditions of his time is that the centre of gravity of Indian civilization had moved eastwards. Yajnavalkhya's great patron was Janaka, prince of the Videhas, whose territory was not in the central provinces between the Ganges and the Jumna, but further east, on the northern bank of the Ganges. There was no longer a great kingdom. It seems that the country had broken up into countless small States, cities, and principalities, like Palestine in the eighth and Greece in the seventh century. Political and intellectual life must have been stirring; we hear little of the countless feuds, but all the more of literary contests in which princes zealous in the cause of instruction offered thousands of cows as prizes and cracked the skulls of the defeated scholars—according to the feeble and dimmed imagination of the later Brahman schools.

From the soil of the new monism and the vigorous individualism of the first creative period there sprang up a rationalist school which, in its many-sided intellectualism, dissolved existing beliefs in scepticism and egoism. Siddhartha, of the house of Sakya, the Buddha (the Illuminated One), who lived approximately 550–480 B.C., was the great thinker who endeavoured to check this disintegration by means of his doctrine of the origin of suffering and its subjection. He first came forth as a preacher in Benares. King Bimbisara of Magadha (on the southern bank of the Ganges) is said to have been one of his patrons. In the midst of the small States the Magadha kingdom constituted the first step in the formation of larger political units of power, just as, in the midst of general individualism, the community of the Buddha's disciples constituted the first step towards a universal human community of religion embracing the various classes and individuals. In the course of the following century the group of disciples developed into a Buddhist church which, partly rejecting and partly compromising with the Vedic religion, was probably already engaged in establishing a system of monks and laity. In the meantime Bimbisara's dynasty had died out (408 B.C.). It was succeeded by the princes of Vaisali (where it is said that the first Council was held) and of Bihera (with Patna as capital), but neither of these regarded Buddhism as a political power which might exercise a decisive influence.

At this point Alexander the Great made his appearance in India, in 327 B.C. He conquered the rulers of the Indus basin, the most powerful of whom seems to have been a Puru king. Then he pressed forward in 326 as far as the Hyphasis in order to subdue the whole Ganges basin; there, however, his troops forced him to turn back, and he followed the course of the Indus to the western sea. His Indian empire collapsed behind him. Chandragupta (Greek Sandrocottus, 316–296 B.C.), said to be a native of Patna and a man of low birth driven into exile by the Nanda princes, took advantage of the Brahman's hatred of the foreign invaders from Greece, the disorders caused by Alexander's invasion, and yet more those which followed his death, in order to establish, with the help of the mountaineers, what was at first a small kingdom on the Upper Indus in opposition to Alexander's satraps; then, when the Puru king was murdered by a Greek, he inflamed the nationalism of the warrior caste and captured the whole basin of the Indus. At last in 315 he overthrew the Nanda dynasty in Patna with the help, it is said, of a Brahman Minister, Chanakya. Thereby the first great Indian kingdom, embracing the Ganges and the Indus basins, was established. Seleucus I, Nicator of Syria, allied himself by intermarriage with the new dynasty in his rear, and ceded Eastern Gedrosia, Arachosia, and Paropamisus. His ambassador, Megasthenes, describes the new State with its capital of Patna as an agricultural country in which the Brahmans and the warrior caste constituted the first of seven sharply divided castes, and the peasants tilled the soil undisturbed amidst contending armies. Chandragupta's son, Bindusara (296–269 B.C.) was as closely allied with Antiochus Soter (281–261 B.C.) as was his father with Seleucus. He begged the Greek to send him, besides wine and figs, a Sophist so that he might compare Greek wisdom with Indian. His son Asoka "of the kindly glance" (269–232 B.C.) extended the boundaries of the empire to their farthest limits, from Afghanistan to Central India. Of prime importance was his conversion to Buddhism (261 B.C.), which he confessed to be the religion of universal human love and purity (259 B.C.), and established as the State religion at the Council of Patna in 250. Above caste and above violence, an enlightened, pious, civic spirit of humanity was to unite all Indians—nay, all mankind—in an empire of peace and reason. Asoka's edicts are the first monumental written records of the Indian people, and likewise a final summing up of the doctrine of the Buddhist church in its purest form. The new State church, with its monasteries and its begging monks, enriched by kings and citizens, soon began to rule and to degenerate. Whilst it was spreading beyond the frontiers of the kingdom and penetrating among the masses, to which it adapted its teaching, the State decayed. In the year 178 B.C. a general made an end of the reign of the glorious dynasty. The new Sunga dynasty (178–66 B.C.) began its rule by persecuting the Buddhists, and the monasteries were compelled to disgorge some of their plunder.

The period of the Chandragupta dynasty (316–178 B.C.) is the "Alexandrian epoch" of the first Indian civilization, a period of enlightened citizenship, of flourishing industry, art, and scholarship within a great military and bureaucratic State governed by a monarch. After a revolutionary period, of which we have no record—later the Buddhists called Bimbisara's dynasty the " dynasty of patricides "—the second prime of this civilization must have followed, beginning about 400 B.C. and lasting till nearly 100 B.C. Then civilization and the State were disintegrated by internal disorders.

Even in the days of Asoka new Greek kingdoms (Gandhara art?) had sprung up and spread towards the Indus, thanks to the secession of Greek satraps from Syria and campaigns of conquest south-eastwards. In the second century there were Greek " kings of India " ruling in the Land of the Five Rivers, side by side with the Sunga dynasty in the Ganges basin. They were overthrown about 100 B.C. by a tempestuous invasion from the north of peoples known as Yüeh-chi according to Chinese and Sakas according to Persian sources. Before long the whole of North-western India was under the sway of a Saka dynasty (the Scythians?). King Kanishka (from A.D. 78—the Scythian era) became an ardent Buddhist, and it was under him, at the Council of Kashmir, that the popular form of the Buddhist religion was first formulated. Asvaghosha, the classical biographer of the Buddha, was his contemporary.

The invasion of north-western India by the Scythians was an important event in the development of Indian civilization because the infusion of new blood produced a new race which reached its cultural prime in the fifth century, reviving and consummating the ancient culture of the earlier race in the Punjab. Under the dynasty founded by Gupta in A.D. 290 India's last great poets and scholars appeared in the period between the fifth and seventh centuries, and all were now known by name. Drama took its place as a leading branch of literature, and beside it the elegiac and epigrammatic lyric and the romance flourished. Learning (astronomy, medicine, and grammar) assumed its final form in lists and text-books. The great systems of philosophy and the classic epics were cast in their final form. Kalidasa, the greatest of these later classics, may have lived at the court of Chandragupta II (A.D. 402–13) in Malava in the Punjab. In the Punjab also, in the sixth century, lived Asanga, the monk who carried Mahayana, or popular Buddhism, to its extremest development.

Since the first century A.D. Buddhism had reached China and captured it. It is chiefly upon Buddhist pilgrims from China (Fa-hsien, A.D. 400–414, and Hsüan-Tsang, A.D. 629–645) that we depend for accounts of Indian conditions at this time. From their reports we learn that in the seventh century Mahayana Buddhism was dominant in northern India, whilst the older Hinayana Buddhism had transferred its centre of gravity to the south. The two schools were in conflict. From the sixth century onwards Jain Buddhism, a degenerate variety, was rising to power in the Vallabhi kingdom (Gujarat). But in addition to the Buddhist sects there had long been a fourth rival: a popular form of mysticism had arisen from Brahman speculation, and this was now assuming the offensive against Buddhism. The revival of classical poetry (the epics) and scholarship (the *Vedas*) in the Gupta kingdom must have given the initial impulse to this new popular religion; the Hindu religion arose, a popular form of Brahmanism. Kumarila (A.D. 720) founded it in order to oppose Buddhism, and it derived its name from the land of the Indus, where the *Vedas* had their home and the most recent civilization its centre of gravity. But after the disappearance of the Gupta dynasty (about A.D. 530) the political centre of gravity of the whole civilization shifted to Central India, to the Deccan. Here about 500 the Chalukya, a royal house from northern India, had founded a kingdom which, although it was partitioned in 630, yet persisted for several centuries. In the Deccan, too, Sankarakarya (788–820 B.C.) was born, at whose hand the Hindu religion received its final scholarly form, in association with the Vedanta philosophy. The new teaching proved stronger than Buddhism, even in its Mahayana form; it soon captured northern and central India; about 1200 Buddhism had almost died out in India.

The second Indian civilization was the fruit of a Scythian-Indian racial mixture in the Land of the Five Rivers and the adjoining territory, and it was at its prime between A.D. 400 and 800; about 900 the last creative era came to an end. A hundred years later the Mohammedans appeared in India, and after centuries of struggle they overthrew the Hindu princes and the Hindu religion.

CONSTITUTION AND GROWTH OF SOCIAL CLASSES

The sources of India's political history, like those of her social and economic history, are naturally scanty and lacking in chronological landmarks. Here, too, our chief sources are the Brahman and Buddhist canons, and of course the material they provide is in accordance with the canon, that is, in harmony with its inventions and aims (" laws "). In consequence of this poverty of material and of its permeation especially with Brahman theories, the process of development appears beautifully simple and clear. The patriarchal and knightly agricultural State springs from the primitive state in which the Aryan peoples lived; the priest gains the mastery over kings and knights; then comes a Buddhist counter-tendency; the castes are the fruit of the struggle of Aryan—pure blood against a lower race. But in fact the story was by no means so simple. The Vedic poems are late; when they (the *Rig-veda*) were composed in the seventh century B.C., some five hundred years had passed since the period of immigration, as was the case in Greece when the nucleus of the *Iliad* was composed. The conditions described in the *Rig-veda* are not those of the immigration period but of the seventh century, as they appeared to the rising Brahman caste (though the Brahmans did not at that time yet constitute a separate class), in whom religious speculation focussed, and to the warrior nobility whose sacrifices were invested with a deeper religious meaning by the new prophets; in just the same way the *Iliad* describes Greek knights of the eighth century and not Proto-Achæans and Proto-Dorians. And in the process these Brahmans invented a primitive reign of Nature (including in it a few genuine facts from the history of early times), just as the Rechabites did in Judah, or later Tacitus or Rousseau. Of course in the seventh century the Aryan race was no longer pure in the basins of the Indus and the Ganges. No immigrant people keeps itself racially pure for five centuries, and the surest proof that the Indians of the seventh century were a mixed race is the fact that they gave birth to the new Indian civilization. Without racial mixture they would have remained culturally barren, halting just upon the Aryan plane which, when compared with the Indian, was barbarism. It is very significant that in the *Vedas* the " goat-nosed blackamoor " has become the type of the original, native Indian in the basin of the Indus: the immigrants had in the meantime gained the upper hand throughout northern India and, being sufficiently mature to stress racial differences scientifically, they were conscious of the distinction between northern and central Indians, civilized Indians and Dravidians. That distinction was erroneously transferred to the earliest times and interpreted as a distinction between immigrant Aryans and the indigenous inhabitants of northern India. They had forgotten altogether that fair-skinned, civilized peoples had been settled in the basins of the Indus and Ganges, and that they had intermarried with these. Under the influence of Brahman fabrications and speculation, the Indians of the Indus and Ganges—the civilized Indians who believed in the *Vedas*—now began to feel that they were " Aryans ", and to keep their race pure from the infusion of inferior, especially dark, blood ; and did in fact produce a new and pure, but nowise Aryan, breed in the castes of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas ; but this purity of breed was a culmination, not a beginning.

If we wish to ascertain how the social classes grew up in India, we must throw off the trammels of the fabrications of the Brahman canon, try to disentangle the conditions of the seventh century as depicted in the *Rig-veda* from the fanciful imaginings about a primitive era (as in the case of Homer), and deduce later social conditions from the Vedic speculations (the *Upanishads*). We have only one fixed chronological landmark: about 300 B.C. there were seven sharply defined castes, and Brahman enlightenment was so powerful as to enable the peasants to work in comparative peace, undisturbed by the feuds of the princes. That was what struck Megasthenes, the Greek foreigner, particularly ; of course, he exaggerated what surprised him and stated the facts too rigidly and unconditionally ; for side by side with the castes Buddhism flourished. Only a few decades later it overthrew the supremacy of Brahmanism, and in Asoka's reign a powerful monarchy and an urban citizen class had set their stamp upon the country and civilization, even in the eyes of foreigners.

The hymns of the *Rig-veda* portray for the most part the social conditions of the seventh century B.C., but present them in the form of a conventionalized picture of the immigration period. The dominant class was a knightly aristocracy who felt themselves to be " the people " and identified themselves with the freemen of the immigration period. In actual fact there were other freemen, peasants who upheld their claim to their ancient lands in this and the following period, but they soon came to count for nothing beside the rising knights and priests. The knights were the heirs to the ancient assemblies of freemen ; they elected the princes and ratified their titles, they held counsel on public affairs and decided questions of war and peace. When we hear of " halls " for popular assemblies in the strongholds and village settlements, the houses of the nobility are meant, where the companies of noble clansmen held counsel, pronounced judgment, and amused themselves. As for the rest of the people, only those receive notice who were of importance to the nobility, just as in the *Iliad*: the makers of chariots and the smiths, who provided the warriors with chariots of war and armour, the sacrificial adepts who helped or represented the prince or head of the house in his religious duties, and the bards and heralds. The knights surrounded the princes and had already undermined their authority to a great extent, depressing them to the position of equals, though *primi inter pares.* Noble knights and their wives—ladies like Helen and Penelope—were occupied with their festivals and feuds, sacrifices, contests, and wars in all manner of leagues. The Vedic religion and the cult of the dead prevailed among them. In this society there was scope for the new religious speculation concerning release from death, and for the heroic epic which told of the feats of the period of immigration and the war between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pandu.

The actual protagonists of this rising Indian civilization, the creative spirits who gave birth to the religious movement and from whose midst sprang the majority of the Vedic hymns, the nucleus of the *Mahabharata*, and Yajnavalkhya, the first great classic of Indian civilization, belonged at first neither to the knightly nor the priestly class. About 700 B.C. a process of social ascent must have been going on in India, like that of the knights in Germany about 1150 or the court nobility and citizens about 1700. Probably, as in Greece, it first gave birth to the new class of knights and later to that of the priests. All that is blotted out in the records that have come down to us. Yajnavalkhya and Sandilya appear as Brahmans in accordance with the canon, that is, the legend invented by the new Brahman school—just as to the Jews Amos came to be a minor prophet in comparison with Moses. Brahmans dominated the tradition through which the *Vedas* and epics were handed down ; they created the canon and transformed it by means of omissions, transpositions, and commentaries, but not by means of falsification, for its substance was divine and holy. When we find in the Vedic hymns that the knights with their natural priesthood of kings and heads of houses play a dominant part in comparison with the professional priests (*purohita*), we have there a proof that the knights were moulded to a social class before the Brahmans, and that the priesthood, though its inception may have been simultaneous, rose later to a position of power.

The religious thought of the Indian revival was directed towards release from death. Side by side with the new and loftier deities there was a development of sacrifices to the dead (horse and snake sacrifices) and of the orgiastic cult of the elixir and food of life (soma). Yajnavalkhya preached salvation by the merging of self in the Universal One, in monism. At the present day at least, his teaching is linked with a doctrine of the migration of souls according to merit or guilt, and of re-birth in a higher or lower social position. This doctrine and the social conditions of the period from the seventh to the fourth century B.C. gave rise to the castes in India.

In the first instance Brahman thought, moulded by great prophets, was a universal doctrine of salvation for all mankind, a release from fear and superstition through true understanding and right conduct. According to this teaching everyone can attain freedom and bliss like Yajnavalkhya through a right understanding of the essence of the universe and a right valuation of earthly possessions. We can still discern the universally human quality of the original idea in the scholastic doctrine which was finally evolved, of the path traversed from the disciple learning the blessed knowledge to the house-father, thence to the hermit in the forest and the saint, the path to which the canon, especially that of the Brahmans, points. Every man can tread that path, and in the Buddha's time, shortly after Yajnavalkhya, many did who were certainly not Brahmans by birth. The Brahman caste was only in process of formation and beginning to close its ranks, and the *Vedas* did not then constitute a completed canon reserved by the Deity for the twice-born only.

But naturally it was the most advanced circles that first accepted the new doctrine of salvation, and those were the nobility. Yajnavalkhya and Sandilya debated before princes and noble lords and ladies in society. These classes, too, were in process of formation, their ranks were open to admit the able and energetic from below, they were enthusiastic supporters of progress, and they possessed the necessary material resources alike for the great sacrifices and rites by which a better lot in life and death might be ensured, and for cultured leisure and new ideals. It was the knights who first accepted Vedic religious thought, just as in Greece it was they who first accepted Homer. When they closed their ranks to those below and became reactionary, Vedic religious thought became their own particular possession and they stamped it with their own character.

Meanwhile the new religious thought had given birth to a new priesthood, the Brahmans. Quite automatically the prophets and sacrificial adepts had developed into the professional representatives of a new system of knowledge. It was necessary to learn the elaborate sacrificial rites if they were to be performed correctly and efficaciously, and the new, saving perception developed into scholastic knowledge, handed down and elucidated with accurate precision ; this meant, of course, that it had to be reconciled with existing beliefs if it was to reach the broad masses. As a matter of course the Brahmans allied themselves with the dominant aristocracy. The princes and nobles had accepted this philosophy, they made use of it and paid for it, fostered it by means of contests and the institution of sacrifices, and were proud of the new and precious knowledge and eager for the promised and very practical benefits of these magic rites, in which they had faith. The Brahmans rose to the position of an aristocracy, a new aristocracy of knowledge and intellect side by side with the aristocracy of the sword ; soon they claimed a position even higher than that of the aristocracy of the sword and endeavoured, as masters of the whole domain of religion, learning, and art, and as the possessors of traditional wisdom and creators of the canon, to ensure that position for themselves. The aristocracy of the knights had made the princes dependent upon themselves, and now the Brahmans made the knights dependent upon themselves in the name of God and reason. That could not, of course, be accomplished without a severe struggle : when we find an emphatic declaration that at the royal sacrifice the Brahmans are to sacrifice among the warriors, we discern a point where the representatives of the sacred book were not victorious in their struggle for supremacy.

Beside the knights and priests a citizen class arose, as was everywhere the case. They, too, came under the sway of the new culture which, like every culture, sought to penetrate further and further into the masses of the people. The artisan and the merchant were allowed to participate in the knowledge of the *Vedas*, and even the peasant was admitted to share in the sacrificial and redemptive wisdom. At its inception the new religious thought was inspired by communion with Nature and aspiration towards Nature, and sought universal salvation through natural reason and oneness with Nature. This led to the fabrication of an ideal of natural life, regarded in its timeless aspect as the free life of peasants and warriors (an aristocracy of landowners and a commonality of free peasants), and in its historical aspect as the tribal freedom of the period of immigration. Brahman theorists loved the peasant as the prototype of usefulness and simplicity, as the nourisher of mankind in close communion with Earth, and as the representative of rational humanity, pleasing to God, and at times they even succeeded in securing peace in which he might carry on his labours, in the form of a truce of God between the armies. To the class of sacrificial adepts the peasant was welcome as one who paid them honour and bought rites and spells, and was willing that the ancient religious rites out of which the new thought had grown should be revived for practical purposes in harmony with the ideas of the nobility. The citizens, too, had their part in the new culture ; they stood for reason, through which they had risen in the wake of the nobility and priests, and they paid well, for the cities were growing rich, and aped the higher classes until they developed their own cultural forms as the fruit of reflection.

These were the three classes, similar to those which we have seen growing up amongst quite different peoples. In the corresponding process of evolution in Greece the knights and citizens took a more prominent part than the priests (Delphi) ; in Persia the three were grouped very much as they were in India. So, too, the further march of events was similar. Everywhere the citizens came to be the dominant class and the influence of the nobility waned. Priests in Persia and Sophists in Greece (the Brahmans were something between the two) dominated society. How was it that in India castes arose, that is, classes determined by birth and occupation and held together by a religious bond ?

Indian religious thought is monotheistic-monist in character, that is to say its goal is timelessly eternal, divine Being as the essence of the universe and the salvation of the individual by absorption and return into the Eternity which was from the beginning. Earthly conditions and the differentiation of the individual had to be explained in the light of the essence of the One. Class distinctions as well as the different lots of men were explained by a man's conduct, which was right or wrong according to his knowledge and passions : in accordance with his merit or guilt he was born and born again until he reached the goal of re-union with the Divine.

It was partly this theory which produced the caste system : actual " human beings ", the representatives of the three higher castes, were known as " the twice-born " ; they it was who could attain salvation through knowledge of the *Vedas*—the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas (knights and warriors) and the Vaisyas (peasants and merchants). The " once-born ", united in the fourth caste of Sudras, all the proletariat, had no access to the *Vedas* and could not, therefore, attain salvation and eternal Being ; they were destined from all eternity to serve and to be extinguished by death. The way to union with God led through certain stages of life on earth ; such stages of eternity were the classes, which were expressions of a divine plan, the appointed form to which the re-incarnated returned, eternal Being. This form was the fruit of speculation upon Being and re-incarnation. There was no injustice involved in it, for everyone who was " human " was capable of receiving education and knowledge by the divine will, and it rested with himself whether he would rise in the next life and be born in a higher caste till he attained to absolute unity with the One.

This element of speculative thought, which sought to explain everything in the world as regulated by reason and in harmony with eternal Being, united with social conditions to produce the caste system. Wherever an aristocracy of knights arises it tends to close its ranks and become an isolated caste and at the same time a class distinguished by birth and occupation. In Sparta the knights united to form a dominant class of landowners and warriors which barely tolerated the merchants and reduced the peasants to helots whose lot was unending servitude. This example shows particularly clearly what contribution the dominant arstocracy had to make to the Indian caste system : it was due to them that " good birth " was stressed as a prerequisite of true humanity—noble birth, that is, viewed in the light other than that of religious speculation ; the indissoluble connection between birth and occupation seemed natural and obvious. Five hundred years after the Dorian immigration the Spartan knights represented themselves as " Dorians ", a conquering, ruling class within the nation, of pure blood, as contrasted with the lower classes who were of alien blood, inferior, defeated ; and it was on this that they based their claim to supremacy. The class of Kshatriyas in India were comparable with the Spartan knights ; they did not arise till about 700 B.C., but they were closely welded ; whilst their class was in process of formation they accepted the new Vedic culture as readily as did the Spartans Homer's heroic epic, but afterwards they closed their ranks to those below with equal harshness in the effort to defeat the claim to power of the rising popular masses, and proclaimed themselves to be " Aryans " and a ruling class by birth and occupation. They were forced to admit the Brahmans to share their privileges, but they admitted the peasantry and the citizens unwillingly and only as inferiors. They made helots of the proletariat, the " blackskins ". Following the example of the knights, each class was based upon birth and occupation ; the three upper classes came to be regarded as " Aryans " in contrast to the inferior race ; they alone might participate in the *Vedas* and the " sacred thread " of the *Sutras*. Brahman religious speculation ensured the dominance of the two upper classes for all time. It was not altogether in harmony with the theoretical basis of the doctrine of caste that the Brahmans, like the knights, laid stress on pure blood and ancestry. But " caste " was now identical with " colour " ; the proletariat, being "coloured", remained beyond the pale of salvation, and the conquered indigenous population were represented as "Dravidians", like the savages who were met with between 700 and 600 B.C. and were despised as uncivilized. And in actual fact, in spite of centuries of intermarriage, the Indians of the Indus and Ganges basins were fair-skinned in comparison with them, whilst within the sphere of the Aryan castes the Brahmans succeeded on the whole, by the careful avoidance of Dravidians, in remaining fairer than the average civilized Indian. It must be remembered that for a time the infiltration of immigrant waves of white ruling tribes—Scythians—into the land continued.

Thus if we regard the development of Indian civilization in the light of conditions obtaining amongst peoples of a similar level of culture, and of its own earliest intellectual products, instead of basing our knowledge on the inadequate information provided by Indian scholarship, the rise of the caste system between 600 and 300 B.C. becomes a simple matter. Pythagoras stood at approximately the cultural level of Yajnavalkhya, ; he too preached world unity and salvation through rational piety and even re-incarnation, and he too, starting from the fundamental idea of his system and of an aristocratic society which he loved and which cleaved to him, arrived at something akin to caste—the esoterics and exoterics—although, indeed, his idea was rather more akin to that of Confucius. Plato created a loftier type of Utopian caste State, based upon his own rationalist demands and upon Spartan models. Out of like ideals and social conditions like schemes arose. Throughout Egypt at a later date priests whose thoughts were fixed upon eternity created, in the name of divine unity and reason, a meagre counterpart of the Indian castes on a much lower plane, based upon a system in which all occupations were impersonally hereditary.

The Brahman system must have completed the first stage of its growth about 300 B.C. The Brahmans were the chief opponents of the Greek conquerors and were, in spite of their timeless and disintegrating ideals of salvation, nationalists in the struggle for their own culture. Chandragupta founded his great kingdom with their help and that of the knights, as a liberator from the yoke of the barbarians and criminals. Megasthenes tells of seven strictly separate castes in the third century.

Long before the completion of this first stage in the growth of the caste system the Buddha arose (born about 550 B.C.) with a doctrine of salvation that was neither aristocratic nor speculative, and was bound to clash with the growing caste system and come into conflict with its principal protagonists, the Brahmans and knights. It made its appeal to all mankind ; a simple and rational formula, accessible and comprehensible to all, was to bring salvation to all. The *Vedas* were no longer necessary for salvation. But even this doctrine of salvation to mankind, like Yajnavalkhya's, had to permeate a large social class and compromise with older doctrines if it was to influence men's minds. The citizens had meantime become the intellectually dominant class, that is the Vaisya caste in the Brahman system which had been kept under by the two upper castes. They were ripe for the acceptance of a loftier religion of their own, and ready to take up the cudgels against the Brahmans and knights. The great kings, who were also suffering everywhere from embarrassing restrictions imposed by the power of the dominant priests and nobles, supported this tendency of the urban population to rise in the social scale, willingly lending the assistance of their mercenary armies which had to be paid out of the citizens' taxes—there was no longer any use for the knights in warfare. Chandragupta was still dependent on the upper classes ; especially from the Brahmans he appears to have received much help. But Buddhism must have been already a perceptible force in his and Megasthenes' lifetime ; it would appear that Megasthenes obtained his information from Brahmans, since he is silent on the subject. Asoka, by accepting Buddhism as the official State religion (about 250 B.C.) led the rising citizen class to a complete victory, and a new ruling class was added to the two already existing and compelled their unwilling recognition.

But Buddhism as a citizen religion, hostile to the Brahmans and the *Vedas*, was no longer the teaching of the Buddha. It had absorbed much that was of Vedic origin, in particular the doctrine of the wheel of births that must be brought to a standstill. It was no longer widely different from Vedic doctrine ; in particular the adoption of the theory of re-incarnation made the doctrine of caste tenable even to Buddhists, although the Brahmans and knights were no longer the dominant castes, the Sudras were no longer denied all prospect of salvation, and the monastic orders ignored caste. Moreover, shortly after its victory the citizen class closed its ranks to those below just as the nobility had done at an earlier date. The citizens were glad that the proletariat should be confined within the trammels of caste ; they sought to ally themselves with the higher castes and adopted certain of their customs and ideas. Thus the caste system survived the triumph of Buddhism ; it outlived its prime under the kings of

Chandragupta's dynasty and, together with the whole Brahman doctrine, found support in the great kings and princes when Buddhism, with its monasteries enriched by the State, its domineering monastic superiors wielding a plenitude of worldly power, and its host of begging monks, was felt to be as cramping and burdensome as formerly the Brahmans and knights with their sacrifices and their claims. The ruling classes—Brahmans, nobility, and propertied citizens—joined in resisting the monks and the penniless masses. Bourgeois Buddhism came into conflict with mass Buddhism and took the part of the Brahmans, who had elaborated their teaching in a scholarly and systematic spirit and were making a vigorous stand against the proletariat (the Sudras). Internal social conflicts must have worked themselves out under a religious guise; the propertied classes against the proletariat, the State against the monastic church, fought as the representatives of different creeds and sects, different philosophic systems.

When the centre of gravity of the kingdom shifted westwards and the Scythian kings rose to power and ruled the Indus basin, Buddhism once more gained a position of vantage. The Buddhists won the support of the barbarian kings for their own faith in its popular form. The aliens had no interest in maintaining the power of the Brahmans, who denied them the privileges of the *Vedas*, hated them as barbarians, and despised them as Sudras ; nor had they any interest in the bourgeois Buddhism of the Ganges cities which were not under their rule. Resistance to the barbarians breathed fresh vigour into Brahmanism in the East. It now gained ground everywhere at the expense of Buddhism and assumed its final form as a system and a social organization. In opposition to the abstract, intellectual Hinayana Buddhism and to the barbarian mass Buddhism of the Scythian kings, a new religious movement sprang up which revived the ancient gods amongst the people and (in the west) gave birth to the second Indian civilization between the fifth and ninth centuries A.D. The Gupta kings (A.D. 390 and onwards) sought a link with the memory of Chandragupta and aspired to be liberators from alien rule and saviours of India's ancient culture, and although they were tolerant and came to terms with Buddhism, yet their courtly culture, the new classical Indian culture, was rooted in ancient Vedic and epic tradition. Whilst mass Buddhism reached its consummation at the hands of Asanga in the fifth century in the Indus basin, Brahmanism became a powerful rival of bourgeois Buddhism in the Ganges basin. Brahmanism, too, evolved a doctrine adapted to the masses, Hinduism, which completed the first stage of its growth and triumphed about A.D. 800. This new popular religion was monotheistic in its Brahmanical essence, but polytheistic and materialist in its popular development; it destroyed Buddhism and was accepted as the general Indian philosophic creed. At the hands of Sankarakarya, a native of central India, it was carried to consummation. Its greatest monuments are found by the mouth of the Ganges, in Orissa, and in south-eastern India, territories which did not form part of the ancient home of Aryan civilization. In this religion, too, the castes were maintained, but certain Hindu sects rejected them altogether. We see, therefore, as the final stage of development and the outcome of a compromise between the classes and masses of India, a state in which all parties received their due under the aegis of an Indo-Brahman religious philosophy, in which none could oppress another, and which showed signs of incipient materialist influences and disintegration, in spite of castes and sects. Birth, wealth, and knowledge conferred power; there were means of social ascent open to the masses, and, in the general disintegration, everyone looked after his own interests, his own well-being on earth, and his own salvation. The populace no longer possessed the vigour necessary for the achievement of great deeds, but a sentiment of cultural unity prevailed, nourished by religion and strong enough to hold out against the assault of Islamic and Christian conquerors. Here, as with the Jews and Persians, the divided popular masses, lacking the strength to produce a ruler from their own midst, ultimately came to tolerate alien domination. But neither release from the caste system which Islamism brought in its train, nor admission to the new ruling class on conversion, had power to destroy the Hindu religion.

Religion and Philosophy

The Jewish view of the universe was wholly religious, that of the Greeks wholly philosophical (at least in the second phase of their civilization), whilst that of the Persians, Indians, and Chinese stands midway between religion and philosophy, the Persians inclining rather towards religion and the Chinese towards fully developed philosophy. The Indians occupy a position between the two; theirs is a monistic religion of salvation, evolving on the one hand as monotheism, on the other as the formulation of systems. Here we have philosophy and religion quite unseparated and inseparably interlocked ; monism remained embryonic, the several varieties of monotheism formed additional embryos, and all were mutually dependent, germinating and growing in interlacing confusion.

The first prime of the first Indian civilization began about 700 B.C., so that the racial mixture from which it sprang must have begun in the Ganges basin about 1200 B.C. We may assume, therefore, that the immigration of the Indian Aryans, after their separation from the Persian Aryans, took place in the foregoing century (1300–1200 B.C.). The Indian Aryans brought with them a religion which marked a considerable advance upon the Neolithic solar religion : a Trinity of great gods, Mithra, Indra, and Varuna, appears to have been common to all the Aryans. We cannot tell how far the other Vedic gods, who are supposed to be of Aryan origin, were anything more than names in the period of migration. Even the three great gods are known to us only in the forms which they assumed in later Indian and Persian religious thought, in which their development and characterization took altogether contrary directions. Most likely even the principal gods had not assumed very distinct forms in the Aryan period. Their descent from the ancient solar gods, Man and Her, must have been more perceptible than in the *Vedas* where, in addition to them, the solar brothers themselves, the Asvins, with their sister Surya, the daughter of the sun, have survived as separate divine figures, besides Manu as the first hero and first man, and Hari as the divine hero. In addition to beliefs concerning the pantheon or Aryan Trinity, there must have been beliefs concerning fire and an elixir of life playing a part in the thought of the common Aryan stock : it appears that the Aryan Indians burned their dead, and crushed an intoxicating drink out of the soma herb for the purposes of their orgies.

In India the immigrant Aryans must have found religions which likewise had their origin in Neolithic solar religion. The burial mounds, which are wholly in character with the Stone Age, were certainly the property of the pre-Aryan population, and it is unlikely that all the menhirs and stone circles are Aryan. These religions were easily fused with Aryan ideas ; as they were themselves already adapted to a southern land, they may have helped to hasten the adaptation of newly imported elements.

Indra must have been the chief god of the immigrants ; he was doubtless their leader during the immigration, then the royal god of the new rulers and of the country where the intermarriage of Aryans and pre-Aryans began and was soon accelerated, thanks to a process of cultural fusion which was all the easier because of religious similarity. In the Vedic hymns we can still clearly recognize in Indra the ancient Stone Age solar hero; the efforts of more advanced religious thought to sublimate him were defeated because he had acquired so definite a character in a less pretentious age, and because of his strong associations with ancient conditions and social organisms. He was the strong, gigantic hero with long hair, fair or red; he bore the sacred weapon, overcame the " enemy " or serpent with it in the New Year's fight, castrated and killed him; he cleft the mountain-side and set the " wives " free from imprisonment in the cave; he created the world, ruled it as the first king, and maintained order in it as a terrible warrior who overcame all enemies by his might. We have echoes of primitive ideas dating from the Stone Age in the constant reference to him as " the bull ", in the statement that his enemy is the son of the cow Danu—also, therefore, a bull—and that the " wives " are cows. The fight with the dragon and the creation of the world after the cleaving of the " mountain " reminds us of Babylonia; possibly the explanation is to be found in a pre-Aryan colonization of northern India by Elamites or Kassites. In the Vedic hymns there is no reference to the birth and death of the divine hero; the sole relic of the ancient connection with a belief in resurrection is the close association of Indra with the soma sacrifice. Indra was, in fact, the god of the soma drink, he loved the intoxicant best of all the gods; with it he inspired and braced himself and his followers in the orgies, so that they might be victorious. The Indra of the *Vedas* is an eternal god and has no longer any connection with death. Gods and mortals are distinct. The sacrifice of the bull and the orgies in which the bull's blood confers strength and immortality have been transformed into a magic drink which inspires and braces gods and men. It is only in the epics that we still find the divine orphan child in all his helplessness and the god who dies miserably in the person of a human hero. Probably this liberation of Indra from birth and death did not take place till about 700 B.C., at the beginning of the great era of Vedic religious thought which produced the new pantheon. At least the fervent adoration of Indra in the soma cult of the Vedic hymns gives us the impression of freshness and youth. In that case Indra, the royal warrior god of the period of intermarriage before 700, would still have known birth and death. But it may be that even before the Vedic era the god first began to lose his human traits by a purely intellectual process of adaptation to an older civilization, approximately on the Babylonian plane. Indra is extraordinarily like the Babylonian Enlil as a god of the storm and the empire. It is possible that his home was in Indraprastha in the land of the Kurus (the place of his birth and grave in the popular cult), although in the Vedic hymns he has no local associations and is confined to no one kingdom. In that case the revival in the seventh century would be explained by his relation to the soma cult and by the romantic ideas concerning a primitive era prevailing in the religious movement which brought a new flowering-time to Indian civilization; Indra, the god of princes and warriors, had to receive his due, since it was the knights who were absorbing the new culture. At any rate there was a time when Indian civilization touched the Babylonian plane before it could rise higher.

Mithra and Varuna, too, with Surya and Rudra, may have belonged to a pantheon on the Babylonian plane before they took their place in classical, Vedic religious thought. Mithra and Varuna must at one time have been the two year-brothers; that is shown by the fact that the animals offered in sacrifice to the one were light, to the other dark, and that the former was worshipped as the creator of the day, Agni (fire) in the morning, and the other as the creator of night, Agni in the evening. They were the sun by day and the sun by night, and the sun was the eye of both. Later Mithra receded into the background and Surya, the solar planet, took his place. Varuna, as a dark god, became the god of the nocturnal heavenly bodies, and also of the depths, the sea, and the waters under the earth (Ea, Poseidon). We have indications of a partition of the universe into the realms of the air and the earth and the waters, besides the principal heavenly bodies. Just as in Babylonia there was a storm god, Adad, beside Enlil, Ea, and Shamash, so in India there was Rudra, the thunderstorm, with a red face and blue hair and belly, beside Indra, Varuna, and Surya. Vishnu, the great runner, who, like the sun hero of the earliest times, traversed the universe in three strides, was at first less prominent than these. The fact that the female divinity corresponding to the Babylonian Ishtar, Indra's consort and paramour and the goddess of sexual life, plays quite a minor part in the *Vedas* is clearly due to the religious outlook of the seventh century, which was one of monotheistic monism, and was later of a sacerdotal character; her temple prostitutes in historic times are proof of her existence in the pre-Vedic period.

The golden age of Indian civilization began about 700 B.C. with a religious movement, so it appears. It seems that all manner of prophets arose, as in Judah before Amos, and that all manner of orgiastic doctrines of salvation found adherents, like the haoma transports of the bull-slayers in Persia combated by Zoroaster, or the Dionysan ecstasies in Greece before the appearance of Thales and Anaximander. Men preached new and higher ideas of the gods, they sketched ideal, primitive states of Nature, and new and deeper meanings were attached to all the resurrection rites of the older religion—the sacrifices that were to ensure the return of the dead to life and a better lot in the hereafter, especially the horse and snake sacrifices, and the magic spells associated with the soma, the elixir of life ; these rites were used to secure life, release from death, and dominion in this world. A forceful trend towards unity, the timelessly eternal and the enduring, alike as Deity, as Nature, and as a means to secure power, immortality, and blessedness, breathes in these speculations of nameless poets of the seventh century and later ; they pass through all the phases from monotheism to monism—the one God of the Jews, the dual God of the Persians, the Greek philosophy of the elements, numbers, and the Logos—and at last a supreme prophet, whose name has justly been preserved, attains to a form of monism based upon concepts of the elements and spirits.

The identification of the great gods with one another, or with one of their number, appears to be not far removed from the Babylonian plane. Thus Agni is " Varuna when he is born and Mithra when he is kindled to flame " ; he is " Indra to the mortal who serves him ", and in him " are all the gods ". But if we compare this formula with the identification of all the great Babylonian gods with Marduk, we are immediately struck with the freer and loftier thinking of the Indians : Agni is an element, a universal principle ; the names of the three great gods are used symbolically, and everything has come to be impersonal and intellectualized. The figures have become completely nebulous in the well-known couplet in the *Rig-veda* : " It is called by the names of Indra, Mithra, Varuna, and Agni, and is called the Bird of Heaven. The priests call the One by many names : Agni (Fire) and Yama (Death) it is called, and Matarisvan." That couplet is of very late date, long after the time of Yajnavalkhya, but it illustrates the trend of this speculative thought, embodied in formulæ of identity.

We have something akin to Jewish monotheism in the query concerning the one God " who alone is God amongst the gods ", "who gives us life and gives us strength", and "whose shadow is immortality, is death". "Who is God, that we may offer sacrifice to him?" is the refrain of this hymn. Of all the great Indian gods Varuna doubtless is most closely akin to the Yahu of the Jews; Vedic religious thought made him lord of the universal reign of law and the moral order. He, too, was the celestial lord of natural law (*Rita*), as seen in the courses of the heavenly bodies, especially of the larger ones, the sun, the moon, and the planets, but also in the succession of the seasons and the elements. His concern, too, was the moral law of just retribution, of punishment, but also the forgiveness of sin. But he was far less personal than Yahu, the Lord of Hosts and the God of Israel: natural law was the very essence of his being; he could not violate it, nor could he, the Eternal, know a Chosen People or any plan of world-wide conversion through an historical revelation.

On a somewhat lower plane Varuna, as the representative of all that was lawful and good, might have demanded a representative of the unlawful and sinful as his adversary, as Angromainya was the adversary of Ahura-Mazda. But the trend of thought was towards unity, and tolerated no cleavage in the universe.

Speculation concerning Varuna started from the starry heavens. Varuna as the ancient god of the stars, following eternally predestined paths and seeing all things, even by night, came to be lord of all law, including the moral law. So too, Indian speculation concerning the elements—the counterpart of Greek natural philosophy—started with the heavens and with the sun regarded as fire. Agni (Fire) was not originally one of the great gods; he was merely the fire of the hearth and the sacrifice regarded as a god. But the new religious thought gave him a place beside the three great gods; like them he was the Universal and comprised within himself the universal gods. He was the solar fire, born of heaven; he was the lightning born of clouds that were heavy with water; he was earthly fire, kindled with the tinder. He could be traced everywhere—in the sky and the clouds, in the sea from which the sun rises, in stone and wood, and in living creatures as warm life and the fire of passion. But he was the bringer of civilization as well as a natural principle. As the sacrificial priest of the gods he was the master of the sublimest knowledge (sacrificial fire), and as the giver of the beneficent warmth on the hearth (the domestic fire) he was the lord of domestic life and comfort; marriages were celebrated in his presence and he was man's friend in the struggle for existence against Nature. It was he, and no longer Indra, who had made the conquered soil fertile. Indian speculations concerning fire did not attain the heights of Greek natural philosophy as represented by Thales or even Heraclitus. But there was unmistakably speculation concerning the elements ; it never got so far as genuine physics ; the personal element persisted, but there is a compensating gain from the metaphysical point of view. This Agni monotheism, which bordered on monism, contained the germs of natural philosophy and a philosophy of civilization and history.

Finally, religious thought concerning the Brahman corresponds on a lower plane to the Greek speculation on the Logos.[1] " Brahman " is cognate with " Briht " (magic spell). " Brihaspati " (the Lord of the Magic Word) was the predecessor of " Brahmanaspati " (the divine Lord of all sacerdotal knowledge and power contained in the *Veda*). A secret power lay concealed in the word—the name and text—which laid hold upon the essential and influenced the actual. In the *Vedas* the priests gathered together the mighty words ; they stood for the knowledge with which men could command good fortune, riches, offspring, victory, and blessings, could obtain release from sickness and death, and could move Nature and the gods. The threefold knowledge of the hymns, songs, and sayings of the *Veda*, or " seven-syllabled Brahman " (because the four parts of the *Veda* make up seven syllables) constituted the sacred and omnipotent " knowledge " or Brahman. Men no longer thought in primitive visual imagery, believing in the magic power of an image or sound ; a new and higher explanation of the universe had replaced the old, childish beliefs. The Brahman was the One, the divine essence of the universe. He who knew it was himself divine and could move the universe and become himself a blessed and immortal god. We do not know the order in which these several speculative doctrines appeared. Those concerning Varuna and Agni seem to me to be earlier than those concerning the Atman, whilst the Samkhya and re-incarnation doctrines may also be later. But without doubt the doctrine which makes the Brahman, or sacerdotal knowledge, the essence of the universe is considerably later than the Atman doctrine. It may be that the endeavours of the sacrificial adepts to modernize the magic rites designed to confer power and life after death through horse and soma sacrifices, by re-interpretation, in the profounder spirit of the religious movement after 700 B.C., came at the early stages of speculative thought about the Brahman, before Yajnavalkhya and during his lifetime. But the possibility of identifying the Brahman and the Atman only arose after Yajnavalkhya had created his Atman monism and after the new teaching had triumphed and, by compromise with the older doctrines, a more exalted priestly lore and a priestly class had come into being.

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[1] Logos also means " word " in the first instance, then " essence " and " the reign of law ".

Yajnavalkhya was the first classical poet-thinker of Indian civilization, the Amos or Zoroaster of Indian religion. He was a prophet, not a bard like Homer; Indian civilization remained religious in character, though it came near to the fully scientific outlook. Yajnavalkhya's name had been preserved solely as that of a prophet; it is not the name of a great personality, but of a vehicle of divine truth. But, just as was the case with Amos, he was known as one prophet, not as *the* founder of the Vedanta religion. The timeless habit of mind, supported by his own declaration that he taught the truth as it was from the beginning, placed him in a succession of prophets. No Moses overshadowed him, but he lost his position as the founder of a religion. We recognize his true position only because he stands out as the most concrete and palpable thinker in the later canon, and his principal doctrines form a clearly outlined whole. Amos presented himself as the mouthpiece of Yahu; Yajnavalkhya revealed no personal God, but the eternal, divine One, the impersonal Essence of the universe. Just as he taught men to lose themselves in the One, so his personality is lost in his teaching the canon.

The *Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad* is the evangelical scripture which records his life and teaching. Just like the Christian Gospels, it contains only a few facts and genuine sayings of the Master, and these are modified to conform to a later school of thought; they are legendary and canonical. Yajnavalkhya lived before the composition of most of the Vedic hymns and all the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*. His teaching was the source of the evolution of Indian thought that ended in systems, including the Vedic canon which transformed the Master into a priest and developer of Brahman speculations.

Yajnavalkhya lived about 600 B.C.; it is unlikely that he was born much earlier, for the critical thinker who was the ultimate product of his ecstatic theory, the Buddha, lived about 550–480 B.C. Lao Tzu was born in 604 B.C., Confucius in 555, Parmenides in 525, and Socrates in 470. The *Upanishad* provides Yajnavalkhya with a family tree of fifty generations through which the divine teaching was handed down from the gods to those who first gave it written form;

but this schema, in which Yajnavalkhya is preceded by twelve teachers, is quite useless for chronological purposes. According to the *Upanishad* he was a Brahman, one who knew and developed further the primeval and sacrificial wisdom of the *Vedas*: in actual fact he was not a priest, for priests in the genuine sense of the word and as a class did not arise till later. He was not of noble birth, neither Brahman nor knight, for he had no patronymic (just like Amos). Nor was he a sacrificial adept, for a saying of his which is certainly genuine declares that he did not know the proper way to sacrifice. Only one true fact seems to have been handed down: that he wandered about as an itinerant teacher, and took part in dialectic contests at the court of Janaka, prince of the Videha, where he won distinction. But the nature of these contests is obscure and much that we hear of them is legendary, half forgotten by those who handed it down, as, for instance, the regular prize of "a thousand cows" and the regular penalty for the defeated party of having his head broken. I would assume that Yajnavalkhya, like Xenophanes, travelled from land to land as a prophet of release from death, blissful in his sense of inviolable unity with the divine One, and that he was welcomed in the halls of princes and nobles as a sage who was genially kind, who delighted in life yet rose superior to life, and who was exalted above sacrificial lore and orgiastic frenzy. The *Upanishad* records that he lived to be old: at the age of seventy he gave expression to his satisfaction because, in spite of the sacrificial priests whom he had offended and who foretold that he would be chastised, he was yet alive. He certainly did not become a homeless wanderer: that Brahman ideal belongs to a much later era and was attributed to him because he had become one of the principal representatives of "forest wisdom". According to his own doctrine he was necessarily united with the One everywhere, whether at court or in the forest, whether in marriage or alone. All, therefore, that we can deduce from the beautiful legend of his parting from his wives (Mary and Martha?) is that he was probably married, and that he considered women as well as men called to find release from death through knowledge of the true essence of the universe.

Yajnavalkhya was a child of the Indian religious movement of the seventh century, as Amos was of the Jewish religious movement in the eighth. Assured, illuminated, and conscious of the grace of God, he pursued his way between the prophets of a loftier idea of the divine (Agni, Varuna) and the orgiasts who sought release from death and fear in soma intoxication. He sought the new God with a sense that he was divinely destined to find him ; he did not look for release from death in frenzy, but held that the way must be revealed to the intelligence. Whilst he was seeking the saving divine principle with passionate fervour and confidence, the great vision of the One was suddenly revealed to him—the one knowledge and the one blessedness in union with the Universal Being, by which all fear of death and suffering is swept away.

It may be that the doctrine of this One, the Atman, first took the form of speculation about the elements, like the doctrine of Agni. All is " air ", so a Greek natural philosopher, Anaximenes also taught : " air " is the air of the atmosphere, the wind, the moving force in the universe ; " air " is the breath of man, the vitalizing force in the universe, the symbol of life. That was a perception belonging to the sphere of natural science, like the perception that fire is everywhere and gives life or destroys. But what was new, non-material, and decisive was the fact that Yajnavalkhya placed breath and not wind at the centre of his thought, that he stressed man and not the universe. For thereby he managed to pass from a theory of Nature to the practice of salvation. The essence, the power within man, was breath ; the essence, the power in the outer world was air ; both were one and the same, and man as a soul was part of the world soul, one with the essence of the universe. From that oneness man drew his life, to that oneness he returned at death. All this was not so logically inferred, otherwise it would have developed into a materialist natural philosophy like that of Anaximenes. Yajnavalkhya reached his position through feeling, and the concrete formulæ provided by religion and the knowledge of Nature only confirmed a new and assured certainty : there is one essence of man and the universe, and that is God, apprehended through reason. In this unity is immortality and secure Being ; all else is non-Being, meaningless and vain. Here we have metaphysics in place of natural philosophy and a religious concept of Being in place of personal concepts of God and humanity. A practical road to salvation and an assurance of salvation are united with the supreme theory or doctrine of God. Not till this was attained did men begin to think out the facts, to distinguish and define Being and Semblance, Nature and the soul, knowledge and salvation ; idealism, materialism, and a new scepticism arose. In Yajnavalkhya's teaching it was all harmony ; he lived and taught the newly perceived oneness in radiant bliss.

The Atman was All, the essence, the sole reality and the sole worth in the universe, as we should say, in more abstract terms.

But it was not interpreted in a material and physiological sense, although it was likewise breath and air; it was a symbol for the Invisible which moves and animates, the one force and reality in the world as it is presented to man's perception. In clumsy images we are shown that it is something altogether non-sensual, intangible as the sound behind which is the reality of the drum, or as the smoke which indicates the presence of fire. It is all perception, just as a lump of salt is all taste, which is intangible when dissolved in any quantity of liquid and altogether determines its character. As actual reality the Atman cannot be grasped, it is indestructible, infinite, illimitable. We cannot say: " It is this and that," but by whatever name it is called we can only repeat: " No, no "; and yet it is all, and in all. The Atman dwells in humanity and in that which is non-human: " That which is thyself, dwells likewise in all, in the Universal." It is the essence of the Whole, the breath of life, reason in man and the universe. To know this confers bliss in life and release from death, for in life as in death man is a part of the One, the Essential, that which has worth. He loses nothing with his personal existence, for reason survives, a part of the Universal Reason. All that ceases is separate consciousness; as part of the one Universal Reason man still perceives the One; now for the first time he is wholly blissful in the One, but he can perceive nothing else; once he has entered into the One there is nothing else to perceive, nothing individual that can contemplate itself as separate; there is no isolation, for that involves limitation and has disappeared, being unessential like the whole world of the senses.

We cannot be sure how far Yajnavalkhya himself defined the Self as " neither thick nor thin ", " neither eye, ear, voice, understanding, nor warmth ", " beyond hunger and thirst, sorrow and error, age and death ". To me it seems that all that is the work of his followers, as also the discussions of the sleep in which we dream and profound, dreamless sleep. Such discussions pre-suppose a further elaboration of metaphysical doctrine in the realm of individualism, of psychology, and physics, of idealism, and of materialism. To the idealist the world is semblance, life a dream, and the absence of desire in profound slumber blessedness; Yajnavalkhya argued in support of idealism, but he knew only one blissful life in the Universal; he took delight in the many-coloured actuality of the senses, knowing that it was all a mere veil; in waking life he was immersed in the One, blessed in the tranquillity of his knowledge.

Just as his teaching was devoid of physics and psychology, so apparently it was devoid of moral theory; his doctrine was religion and morality in one. We know that he did not offer sacrifice (his followers attenuated the saying to "did not sacrifice correctly"). He who is essentially one with the divine One and knows it, cannot sacrifice to him and pray to him (that is to himself). Nor can he sin, for everything that can be attained through sin is of no account to him. What, then, can lure him from the path of rational righteousness? It was later teachers, no longer inspired by the new perception, who made deductions in a materialistic sense and taught that all moral conduct is a matter of indifference, since man will in any case end in the unconscious One. If Yajnavalkhya perceived this menace to his teaching, he sought to avert it in maxims which seemed to his disciples capable of misinterpretation. At any rate they attributed ascetic tendencies (setting forth as a homeless wanderer) in old age to the Master who, to judge by his fundamental way of thought, must have lived in harmony with natural morality, happy in the fewness of his wants. Further, the doctrine of re-incarnation according to merit and guilt was attributed to him, but I can hardly believe that he can have held it. Just as it seemed impossible to Socrates or Jesus that a man could fail to grasp the simple formula of salvation, or could nevertheless frivolously sacrifice his salvation, so Yajnavalkhya was doubtless convinced that his doctrine must bring happiness to all alike. When it was rejected, he could only pity the poor creatures, but he would hardly set up a fantastic doctrinal compromise like the theory of re-incarnation. Doubtless it is not altogether out of the question that he may have tolerated it, just as Pythagoras and Confucius tolerated exoteric doctrines. But even that seems to me in contradiction with his ecstatic joy in salvation; he was a theorist, an enthusiast, not a critical thinker.

Yajnavalkhya's teaching forms the basis and starting-point for the whole development of Indian philosophy. In it we find the attitude towards the main problems which remained dominant, and the germ of all later logical analysis. Indian philosophy was always a religious philosophy of salvation, and release from death was its central problem. Yajnavalkhya brought release through the glad tidings, the liberating knowledge, of the indestructible oneness of man with the core and essence of the universe. He who realized the emptiness and worthlessness of all other knowledge and possessions would only desire the one true knowledge and would live by its light; he would not weary himself by perverse striving, but would live in the world and accept it joyfully as the outer shell enveloping the kernel which was his; he would be free from the burden of desires, sacrifices, and fears of death. In the hopeful ardour of this gospel of the Atman we find the same genial worldly wisdom and egotism as in the Buddha's teaching. The doctrine of the Atman is a metaphysical monism; true, it has not the clarity and scientific character of Greek monism; there are very different planes alike of monistic and monotheistic perception, and Indian monism is more imperfect than Chinese. Yajnavalkhya grasped the essence of monism, the certainty of essential oneness with the one impersonal, but divine, Essence of the universe, the blessedness of a life free from fear and of immortality in death, and the joy of being able to live humanely, naturally, rationally, and righteously and to set up sure knowledge against burdensome formalities and superstitious opinions. He had the one thing needful and everywhere adopted a positive attitude, embracing the essential with ardour and accepting the unessential and mischievous with a superior smile, as mere semblance which would dissolve itself, as a temporary obstacle which must of itself cease to be. He was at peace within his own soul and with all the world. His doctrine was as revolutionary as that of Amos or Xenophanes, but it was utterly unfanatical, for he knew nothing of a jealous God nor of fully developed logical and moral passion. In unity and peace and the certainty of conferring happiness (akin to Jesus), and rapt in blissful emotion, Yajnavalkhya remained unconscious of any disintegrating forces that might lie concealed in his teaching. But there was such a disintegrating element and it was inherent in the logical phase which produces monism: semblance and essence, Ego and Nature, the rule of Nature and the demands of morality—these were laid bare for rational investigation, although in the Atman formula they were only stressed for the sake of an exquisite unity. But amongst the disciples these pairs of opposites necessarily clashed and were therefore realized and elaborated.

Unfortunately we know very little of the history of these developments. According to Buddhist sources we may assume that Kapila, the founder of the Samkhya system of philosophy, was senior to the Buddha, and that Nataputta, " the Great Victor ", was a contemporary of the Buddha, but somewhat older. We know with certainty that the Buddha was the critical thinker in this historic process and that he withstood the dissolution of dogmatic monism into the individualistic scepticism of sophistry. The actual process must, therefore, have been going on roughly between 580 and 520 B.C., the period between Yajnavalkhya's first appearance and the redemptive achievement of the Buddha. Of course it did not reach its climax till the time between 520 and 480, corresponding to the period of the Peloponnesian War in Athens; later still it spread amongst wider circles in the form of rationalism, and at quite a late date it petrified in systems.

Yajnavalkhya's doctrine of reason and salvation was bound straightway to meet with opposition from the sacrificial adepts and theorists, who were just in process of becoming a learned class. A doctrine which inevitably made the gods of no importance, sacrifices mere extravagance, and sacrificial lore false sophistry, was disadvantageous to them. But their resistance cannot have been very strong; indeed the doctrine did not attack the temples and sacrifices, it did not require their destruction, but only vied with them as a higher type of knowledge. It did not touch the State and the propertied classes. Nor was it opposed by an organized church or a closed caste of priests with a canon; the embryo class of Brahmans was itself seeking a loftier divinity and higher knowledge. It was precisely the Brahmans, therefore, who finally recognized and canonized Yajnavalkhya, after some opposition. In its idealist aspect, indeed, the Atman doctrine was compatible with a religion of divinities and sacrifices. Once the Brahman had been brought in contact with the Atman, the two could be identified and incorporated in the canon of sacrificial hymns and interpretations which was arising, being regarded as the supreme secret knowledge. We cannot tell when that happened, but it must certainly have been after the death of the Buddha, for all systems were based upon his formula; the creator of the Brahman-Atman doctrine might have been Sandilya.

Vedic philosophy in its final form is at one with Yajnavalkhya in regarding absorption in the divine One and the loss of individual existence and consciousness as self-evident; there was only an apparent contrast between the Ego and the universe, a contrast which vanished automatically at the touch of true knowledge. Again, there was no difficulty in accepting the thesis that he who knows the truth will act rightly; that is, he will abandon the world of the senses and so the temptation to sin, and will strive for nothing but absorption in the universal One. Yajnavalkhya's doctrine of the One was utterly free from doubts, a very intoxication of knowledge and bliss, passionately sure and inspired; in the hands of his disciples who created the Vedic canon it became a theory of idealism, disparaging the reality of the senses with rational pessimism, abjuring all sensual pleasures, and representing life as a dream and union with God as the blessedness of deep and dreamless sleep. In practice the tedious study of the *Vedas* was made a prerequisite of simple insight into the essence of the universe, and only he who had learned the *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas*, and the *Upanishads*, and mastered all the sacrificial lore, could attain blessedness. Asceticism played a great part as a means of gaining power over gods and Nature, and had therefore great attractions. Man, and especially the Brahman, reaches union with the One by a long road through discipleship and marriage, the hermit's life and penance. All this represents a coarsening of the Atman doctrine, compromises with the later doctrines of the rationalists and ascetics, concessions to the human nature of the faithful who craved for magic power and the lust of the senses and regarded asceticism as meritorious, and, moreover, concessions to the sacrificial religion and the Brahman class. There is little vital, creative force in this development of the Atman doctrine ; it came about almost as a reaction against the Samkhya and Yoga doctrines, against the learned scepticism and the practical mysticism of those who were fostering the monistic germ.

" Samkhya " means " ruled by number " : the author of this system—probably Kapila by name—regarded number as essential to a knowledge of the universe, just like Pythagoras, with whom he must have been more or less contemporary. The universe was fundamentally ruled by number, not in the aspect of a primal harmony but because all things might be beautifully ordered and distributed in numerical series (the science of lists) ; even the doctrine of man's re-incarnation according to merit or guilt, of a just and almost mathematical retribution in a successive series of lives may (as with Pythagoras) be made to fit into this philosophy of number and order. Side by side with Xenophanes in Greece we find Pythagoras, and side by side with Yajnavalkhya in India we may find Kapila. The essential perception was the same with the two Indians and the two Greeks, but the Indians were far less scientific. Kapila, who seems to have been somewhat younger than Yajnavalkhya, developed the doctrine of the Atman on the basis of his principle. He, it seems, was the first to oppose the Ego to the universe. He set up the distinction between the Ego and the universe in antithesis to absorption in the One, and so began the logical antithesis of the terms and the scientific assimilation of the parts of Yajnavalkhya's formula ; and the process was based upon the statement that the universe as it presents itself to man is ruled by number. The multitude of individuals may be conceived numerically, together with their parts and faculties, and likewise Nature both as a whole and in parts. Separate and divided individuality came to be regarded as of essential importance and the question arose: "What am I and what is the Other-than-Self in this sport of Being and Semblance?" The question arose, too, of the fate of those who were without knowledge and acted wrongly, who remained enmeshed in sensuality and sin. The Samkhya system, which may have been the work of Pankasikha, teaches within the sphere of the separate sciences what the soul (*Purusha*) is and what Nature (*Prakriti*), how both evolve, and how in the end the individual merges once more in the Universal Spirit and Being. But at the beginning there is an eternal duality at the foundation of the universe, and that is contrary to monism.

The significance of the new teaching lay in its sober analysis and numerical conception of the universe as it is presented to man. This stirred to life alike Vedic idealism and sceptical materialism, and men began to assimilate the universe empirically through the separate sciences. The new method was applied to determine in the idealist spirit what was Being and what Semblance, what Self and what Other-than-Self (*Tat twam asi*, Thou art that—so the formula ran), but materialist atomism and amoral scepticism also sprang from the soil of the new mode of thought. Logic came to birth and celebrated cheap triumphs; it was even more primitive than the logic of the Greek Sophists, but it did constitute an art of disputation, with identity and antithesis and all kinds of inference, in which words, images, and objects were deceptively confused. We know only a few of the principal syllogisms of Indian Sophists, but these suffice to show that they were as ruthlessly radical as their Greek fellows and could prove, disprove, throw doubt upon, and disintegrate anything whatever.

Yajnavalkhya's doctrine contained the germ of its own dissolution: he had denied the personal gods and set sacrifices aside, disputing their power to ensure salvation. If the Atman were universal, then everyone must ultimately merge in the Atman, whether he were pious and good or sinful and wicked, for all died and lost their individual personality and consciousness. This inference now came to be stated and proved. People repudiated all religious and moral duty; men were guided by "Fate, Dispensation, Nature", and at death all personality was dissolved. There was no more retribution for murder than for good deeds; murder was no sin and good deeds no merit; free will and moral retribution were a delusion. True salvation from fear and death lay in the recognition that this life and the world of the senses were the end, that there was no re-incarnation and no bliss to follow, that every man had the right to live his life to the utmost, and that the limit of his rights was the limit of his strength and cunning. This sophistry must have disintegrated political and social life as well as religion and theoretical morals. The ties of caste, replacing lost associations of blood and custom, must have been in part a reaction against it. In the records which we possess the social process is not emphasized, for the whole outlook of the Indians upon life was individualistic, concerned solely with personal salvation ; even upon the basis of monist and Buddhist orthodoxy, social cohesion would have been impossible without the aid of castes and religious societies.

The continued activity of reason, the sober elaboration of the antitheses contained in the monist formula, the stress laid upon number—duality and multiplicity—and upon individual personality, all combined within a short time to develop from Yajnavalkhya's metaphysics, with its appeal to reason and universal Oneness, an amoral Sophist philosophy of which the substance was natural science and formulas, a philosophy which called all values in question, even that of truth itself: Sophists offered proof of the truth and falsehood of any proposition and the righteousness and unrighteousness of any act. Of course this reasoning without premisses attacked successfully all theories of salvation, alike those of the sacrificial adepts and those of the philosophers.

And like the Sophists even the pious—both those who believed in sacrifices and those who believed in the Atman—the adherents of the developing Vedic religion, began to doubt the value of works and knowledge. Even in Yajnavalkhya's days the sacrifices were complicated and costly and he had repudiated them as a means of salvation. The knowledge by which he had replaced them had proved to be ambiguous and therefore uncertain, and besides, in the hands of the Brahmans it became more and more vast and incalculable. People had to learn and learn for ever and yet never reach certainty, or else pay a Brahman and go to him again and again for advice, and once more without any guarantee that their endless labour would really bear fruit.

Yajnavalkhya had promised immediate bliss in this life in the Universal One to everyone who perceived the truth. If his road of knowledge no more led to the goal than that of the sacrificial priests, if it ended in doubts, in vain theories, or in a scholastic system of costly and wearisome justification by works, there was still the possibility to attain bliss and union with the One through deeds and intensified emotion. Sensual and materialist scepticism rejected theories and led men to give themselves up to egotism in conduct and enjoyment; pious scepticism followed in the same path and led men to devote themselves to the life of the hermit and penitent, to practise asceticism and mysticism. The Sramanas—those who exerted themselves, as contrasted with the Brahmans, or those who knew—sought a direct road to bliss on the basis of the doctrine of the Atman, but by an irrational method; they became practical mystics. They put aside all knowledge and all doubt and clung to that which was essential. What was required was to cast aside all that was valueless and not necessary for salvation: the family, position, riches, power, learning, and sacrifices were neglected; without possessions or dependents they betook themselves to the forest solitude and sought the Atman within themselves; they meditated within their own souls with the help of a particular technique of breathing and posture; they died to the outer world, fasting and without wants in order to attain inner vision, or else they tortured and exhausted themselves in order to kill the life of the senses, to atone for past sin, to accumulate the power of penance, and to compel visions and absorption in the Universal One. One of the creative spirits of this school was Nataputta, who called himself "the Victor", a senior contemporary of the Buddha; later the teaching of his disciples merged with that of the Buddha as Jain Buddhism. We know his teaching only in the form which it assumed under the influence of the Buddha and his apostles: all suffering was to be overcome and the wheel of births was to be brought to a standstill. The formula according to which the sin accumulated in previous lives must be atoned for and not increased might well be his own; that this could be achieved only through severe penance and self-torment must certainly have been his own teaching. His victory over sensuality and desire amounted to complete mortification of the flesh to the point of suicide at the moment when he believed himself to be pure and secure from re-birth; probably he believed that so he would lose himself in the One. His belief in salvation through action, his pessimism concerning knowledge and life, and his flight from the world must have originated a school of thought—the Buddha and several of his principal disciples learned from Nataputta or his followers. Possibly he was the father of the ascetic doctrines of salvation, including those incorporated into Brahmanism. At any rate people began about this time (round about 550 B.C.) to adopt the life of hermits and penitents in India. The Sramanas, called " Gymnosophists " in Greek, became numerous ; in a time when caste and the Brahman canon was in process of formation, when established custom was disintegrating and innovation was rampant, an illiterate form of piety, associated neither with caste nor wealth, was bound to attract large numbers ; the gifted and ambitious who were prevented from rising by the new barriers of caste, the simple and artless and pious who desired only salvation—the need of the age drove more and more people to follow this path. So, too, the critical thinker of the first Indian civilization, the Buddha, followed it and found that it did not lead to salvation.

Siddhartha,[1] of the Sakya tribe, whose tribal surname was Gotama, was born about 560 or 550 B.C. in Kapilavatthu ; his house held a high position, but within it his own family was of minor importance. In his youth he shared in the labour of the fields of which his father Sakko had charge, and the memory of it recurred in later life at a decisive moment. He does not appear to have married. Stirred by the sight of " birth, age, sickness, death, pain, and dirt " (to quote the later scholastic formula), he left his home after a little time, whilst still in his prime, in his early manhood, and set forth as a homeless wanderer with shaven hair and beard, clothed in the yellow robe, against the wish of his weeping parents. He renounced the heritage of the Sakyas. He was now the Sramana Gotama. Two teachers are mentioned as having instructed him in the elements of theory : Alara Kalama, who spoke of " the realm of that which is not ", and Uddaka Ramaputta, who taught him to know " the limits of possible perception ". He had, therefore, studied philosophy and Sophism and had not found salvation in them. For after trying the road of theory he tried that of practice and subjected himself to torture in the forest near the fortress of Uruvela to the point of exhaustion through hunger and holding his breath. It seems that at this juncture he tested Nataputta's doctrine, and a few admirers of his asceticism appear to have attached themselves to him.

Then one day—perhaps when, exhausted or discouraged by his vain labours, he was resting under a tree—he remembered how in former days when he worked in the fields at his father's home, he had found blissful gladness in the shade ; and all of a sudden it flashed upon him that the state of painless, tranquil gladness was indeed the salvation that he sought. Clearly that was the substance of the " illumination beneath the Bodhi tree ". He had set a new goal to labour, an earthly and natural state of painless tranquillity.

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[1] See also the account given in my *Religion und Philosophie* (Kröner, Leipzig, 1924).

Thereupon he abandoned self-torment altogether, and alone in the forest of Uruvela—for his companions cut aloof from the apostate—he developed his doctrine of release from death in peaceful meditation ; it evolved into a complete system of rational knowledge and considered practice. He was now the " Buddha ", " the Awakened ", as he called himself, or " Tagatha ", the " Perfect ", as his disciples called him later.

He quitted the forest as a saviour in order to proclaim his joyful tidings. In Benares he met his former companions in penance, and induced them to listen to the " sermon of Benares " and to join him once more. Thenceforward he wandered through the land teaching, not as a monk but as a sage who lived in the world in glad tranquillity, without the ties of family or possessions and without metaphysical or ascetic superstition. His nephew and favourite disciple, Ananda, tells of his considerate courtesy in society, and we can only picture a man of polite manners as well though simply dressed and appointed. He liked to take part in social meetings and banquets and scorned neither flesh foods nor attendance at the public baths. During the fine weather he was a wanderer and during the rains well-to-do followers and patrons offered him hospitality in their houses and gardens. There he taught by means of discussion or rested in calm meditation, free from desire.

Disciples gathered around him and a following in all classes accepted his gentle teaching. Rich merchants and high court officials took an interest in the sage ; even King Bimbisara of Magadha seems to have noticed him. After a long life of wandering and teaching the Buddha died at the age of seventy from meat poisoning—his disciples later re-interpreted " boar's flesh " as mushrooms grown in soil trampled by swine—in the arms of Ananda, whom he comforted, saying : " Do not be cast down. Have I not always taught that everything that we love must depart and cease and change ? How could that which is subject to decay not decay ? You have long served me lovingly, Ananda ; you have done well ; go calmly on, and soon you, too, will be freed from illusion ". His body was burned in Kusinara and his disciple Kassapa set light to the pyre. We know the place of his grave.

The Buddha taught verbally, proclaiming and elucidating his formula of knowledge. He did not write, for his formula seemed to him so simple and forceful that it could be imparted to every man by word of mouth and could not fail to carry conviction. This basic formula, together with a few " sayings of the Master " constitute the essence of the *Discourses of the Buddha* which contain the Buddhist canon. But, like the sayings of the Master in the Christian gospel, that essential core has been changed and interpreted in accordance with the teachings of his disciples. None of these *Discourses of the Buddha* are genuine, but the majority have some saying of the Master at the core. The lengthier *Discourses* are scholastic dissertations, interpretations, and sermons upon genuine or forged sayings of his. But it is quite possible to reconstruct the fundamental ideas of the Buddha in all their scholarly completeness and luminous brevity by reference to the gospel version.

" One thing only I proclaim : suffering and the extermination of suffering " ; so runs one saying of the Buddha which is certainly genuine. Beyond that one thing the sage's knowledge did not go. That alone man needed, and that he could know. Whether man could know more, the Buddha did not say ; such knowledge as he himself had encountered beyond it he had found uncertain, contradictory, and superfluous. One of his disciples asked about the truth of other doctrines, and the Buddha cut the discussion short : " Let that alone. I will show you the doctrine." Sariputta wanted to know who was the wisest man of all times—doubtless it was the Master ; the Master replied with the mocking question whether he knew all who had been wise and all who would be so in future. When asked whether the Ego existed, he was silent, as also when asked whether it was non-existent. Khama the nun told the King of Kosala that the Perfect had not revealed whether he would live after death or not. A wise man was cautious, well aware of his limitations and his goal, and he confined himself to the one thing needful and within the scope of certain knowledge. He adopted the same agnostic attitude as Socrates. When he was asked whether God existed, he did indeed reply : " Truly, our feelings tell us plainly whether there are gods." That is, again like Socrates, he calls to witness the emotional certainty of faith where there can be no certain proof. This emotional faith was not part of his doctrine ; in the doctrine everything was absolutely certain, strictly positive, and susceptible of proof.

Man knows with absolute certainty that he suffers and does not wish to suffer ; he feels a natural yearning for painless bliss.

He searches for the causes of his suffering, and finds that he suffers because he desires; the thirst for possessions, for love and marriage, for all kinds of pleasure, causes suffering; therein are the roots of strife and bloodshed, self-torment and the torment of others.

He who realizes this can set a term to his sufferings; he ceases to desire, to "be attached"; by reason he overcomes the fatal impulses.

Straightway suffering ceases, and fear, and the torment of self and others; salvation is accomplished.

The redeemed man now lives a natural life, without attachment, in cheerful equanimity. He has no wants, is poor and chaste of his own free will, simple in his dress, moderate in eating, but nowise an ascetic or one who flees the world. He lives in the world, not in the forest, he joins in social meetings and is courteous, amiable, witty, and grateful for acts of kindness which neither burden him nor place him under an obligation. It is not retirement but the avoidance of all attachment that makes him solitary. Since he desires nothing and has no ties, he has put away all things—yearning and hope, the sorrow of parting and remorse. He lives in the tranquil present, without past or future; neither extravagant yearning for the One nor fear and pain upon quitting this life lead him astray. In the midst of life he is blissfully alone. All that links him with others is the desire to enable them to share his bliss. As soon as all have attained salvation, peace will reign upon earth.

Temperate and free from wants, the redeemed will be healthy. But if sickness and pain visit him, he will bear them calmly and patiently without burdening others. He has nothing to fear, for he has made his peace with death, the inevitable fate of all transitory beings. He does not ask what comes afterwards, for that only leads to idle care and striving. If, as our feelings declare, God is, then he will not disappoint us; but even to lose ourselves in the void is painless. The manner of blissful absorption in life is very characteristic of this doctrine. A man repairs to the pleasant shade of the forest, or to an empty hermitage during the rains, sits down cross-legged with upright body in a position that can be maintained for a long time without strain or burden or tension. "Deliberately he breathes in and deliberately he breathes out." When he breathes in deeply he knows: "I am taking a deep inward breath." When he breathes out deeply he knows: "I am breathing out deeply." Other ideas that are allowed or recommended are: "I will breathe whilst conscious of my whole body," or "I will breathe and so calm this bodily structure".

The Buddha's life is proof that he did not despise labour. Man ought to work, but only so as to live without pain, no more. The Saviour set a value upon the tranquil enjoyment of Nature, upon refined habits, and witty speech, but he valued still more highly the breathing exercises of his meditations, self-absorption in the pure consciousness of existence and life ; that was to him the purest of earthly joy. The Perfect man will be loving too, cordial, and natural, but without attachment and sacrifice ; love, considerate behaviour, and courtesy lessen the points of friction ; egotism of this kind is a peace-maker.

Such was the doctrine of the Buddha in its original form. It resembled that of Yajnavalkhya as the mature, sober reflection of reason in a particular phase is always akin to the first ecstatic impulse to comprehend the world in the same phase. Both thinkers sought to release all men from fear and death by natural reason, the one in soaring, divine ecstacy, the other in the modest and sober consciousness of his limitations. To the one the assault of the spirit was the supreme concept of all contemplation of the universe, to the other it was the endeavour to adhere strictly to fact, to the formal proof of causality and the severely logical inference. To both morality melted away as something of no account. Neither he who desires the One nor he who no longer desires anything has any temptation to sin.

Yajnavalkhya's monism was primitive compared with that of Xenophanes or even of Parmenides. But it contained the essential core of all monistic metaphysics. So, too, the Buddha's critical formula was primitive compared with that of Socrates, but it did contain a clear definition of right conduct regarded from the point of view of a clear goal, of happiness. With Socrates that definition was of universal scientific validity; he showed a method of discovering what is right conduct in each individual case, and conduct itself was considered as a matter of ethics. With the Buddha the definition was only semi-scientific ; instead of method we have a causal and logical formula, and conduct was considered as the concern of religion and the theory of non-ethical values. Socrates' formula supplied the basis of logic and a system of science, whilst the Buddha's presented one indisputably correct and compelling logical inference, an example for many, and his system remained a religion or doctrine of salvation. The Buddha's doctrine has points of contact with Parmenides, Heraclitus, and Epicurus ; in all cases the Greeks are stronger in the realm of theory. Parmenides' inference regarding Being and non-Being, when compared with the Buddha's regarding suffering, is more far-reaching and pregnant for our comprehension of the universe. Heraclitus stated a universal law of flux from which the Buddha's perception only picked out the one causal connection. And Epicurus, the man of practice, developed a whole psychological theory of non-ethical values, or pleasure and pain, which the Buddha held only in embryo. The Indian's achievement forfeits nothing of its intellectual and practical importance through such a comparison of evolutionary planes. Because of its scientific clarity, combined with a certain unscientific, restricted narrowness, it was capable of providing the core of a world religion. Moreover, all logical thinking and all the framing of systems—though on an evolutionary plane lower than the Greek—was linked up with it, just as they were with Socrates in Greece, and in both cases against the will of the critical thinker. The Buddha's formula of salvation became the core of all Indian systems; even Yajnavalkhya's teaching we know only in so far as it was a formula of human salvation; originally it was probably much more theoretical—a method of comprehending the universe from which salvation might be deduced.

Of the Buddha's disciples three are especially prominent in the canon; the Brahman hermits Sariputta and Moggalana, two brothers or friends who died early, before the Master, and Kassapa, also a Brahman hermit from the forest of Uruvela, who outlived the Master and is said, as his closest disciple, to have set light to his funeral pyre; he is likewise said to have summoned the first "Council" a year after the Master's death and to have led its deliberations. In the canon the Buddha calls Sariputta his "foremost disciple", as Jesus called Peter, and he repeatedly declared that the other two were blessed in their perfect understanding. It is in them, therefore, that we must seek the authors of the orthodox doctrine and the monastic organization; they it is who must have remoulded the doctrine in the spirit of Brahman asceticism. There are still visible traces in the canon, as it has been handed down, of a resistance put up by Ananda, the Buddha's nephew and most intimate disciple, to the transformation of the doctrine and the church in the spirit of monasticism. He knew from his years of close association with the Buddha that this trend was contrary to his intention. The Buddha had place in his communion for ascetics and citizens, Brahmans and court nobility; he could bring salvation to all, and all were to him "illuminated" like himself. Even in his disciples he could tolerate metaphysics and a monastic habit of life as a thing of minor importance, but he could never teach and organize such things. That would have meant to him a relapse into the superseded past, just as the doctrines of Peter and Paul involve a relapse into heathenism and Judaism.

Sariputta and Moggalana must have constructed a monastic doctrine based upon metaphysics out of the Master's formula even during his lifetime. After their death and that of the Master, Kassapa declared this doctrine to have been the Master's real belief, and he organized the monastic community within the lay community. All three had their roots in older theories and ascetic practices and were, therefore, well qualified to act as intermediaries. Of course, like Paul, they made their own new and original contribution (Sariputta, perhaps, most of all). Unfortunately we do not know enough of the earlier speculations regarding re-incarnation and Nirvana and of the earlier asceticism to be able to distinguish precisely what was new.

At any rate, the monastic doctrine was a metaphysical doctrine. It is silent on the subject of the Deity, immortality, sacrifices, and the Universal One, and, like the Buddha, it rejects self-torment; but it is quite positive on the subject of re-birth according to merit and guilt, and of the wheel of births, the great world machinery of becoming and passing away. Like the Master, it teaches that suffering may be ended by absence of desire—but not with the earthly aim of blissful gladness and peace of mind, rather with the other-worldly aim of fading into nothingness and stopping the process of re-birth. It teaches men not to " attach " themselves, but as monks, with vows of poverty, chastity, and abstinence from meat, with regular confession and absorption in Nirvana; in that way merit may be acquired, if only in order to fade away and not, as with the Brahmans, to attain power over Nature and the gods. The monk is the more exalted being, and the lay community only revolves round the ascetic community of monastic orders, serving them, providing for them, and receiving spiritual nurture in return. These monastic orders were destined soon to erect monasteries and develop a scholastic system in the service of world salvation and the influence and extension of the faith.

About 300 B.C. there must have been a very active and widespread spiritual life. The Brahman and Buddhist religions must have been developing their canon and their church life in rivalry. All schools of theoretical and practical philosophy flourished, for the Buddha had provided them all with a formula for a system and a model of logical elaboration. And in addition to the philosophical religions and the Vedic gods, " Dionysus " was already worshipped in the mountains and " Heracles " in the plains, the gods of later Hinduism, Siva and Krishna, the heirs of the philosophic religions. Further, there was Alexander's invasion and the consequent contact with Greek culture through a long period of Greek influence which was vehemently opposed at first and then tolerated within limits. Greek Sophists appeared at the courts of the great kings, held dialectical contests with Indians, and stood for humane enlightenment and a loftier scholarship. Most important of all, they introduced writing which was readily adopted by the Buddhists, always modern in spirit, as a means of preserving and spreading their doctrines.

Asoka Piyadassi (263–226 B.C.), the grandson of Chandragupta and son of Bindusara, who was a mighty conqueror (Foe-Destroyer was his second cognomen) and accessible to the cultural influence of the Seleucids, adopted and recognized Buddhism, the new humane civic, and monastic religion of mankind. We can tell from his Edicts, the first great written monument of Indian literature, which were scattered over the whole of his wide empire, that he confessed to it as a religion of reason, of loftier humanity and human duty. He taught his people to be law-abiding and practice the universal dictates of morality not in the name of the Buddha, but in his own name, as a king beloved by the gods and loving mankind ; they were to honour father and mother, to be kindly to friends and relatives (their neighbours), to be generous to Brahmans and monks, to spare life (that is to refrain from flesh food, especially no doubt in order to check the senseless animal sacrifices and the gluttony of the sacrificial meals), and to show toleration towards those of other faiths ; these things were to be taught and spread abroad by the viceroys on their circuits every five years and by the overseers at all times. He sought to promote the general welfare through his viceroys and news-writers, who supervised everything and were responsible for law and order ; through educating his subjects, who were to learn to control their sensual nature, to fulfil their duty rationally and humanely in purity of heart for their own good in this world and the next, and to be patient and peaceful ; through the erection of fountains and the planting of trees in the roads ; through the reconciliation of religions ; and through combatting superstition. By this means he hoped to bring salvation to his own people and their neighbours, and, if his successors and their subjects held fast to that which was good, to establish the reign of peace and reason upon earth. Asoka was a Buddhist, and at the Council of Pataliputta he unified and purified according to his own mind the religion which had recently been raised to influence and power. But everywhere in his Edicts a reformed Brahmanism was accorded equal rights with Buddhism. Both religions had a common element of humanity, rationality, and morality, and the king, who stood for an enlightened and absolutist divine right, endeavoured to make both instruments of his schemes of world-wide benefaction. His imperial idea and his humanity was more religious and his rule more patriarchal than that of the Greek great kings, more akin to Darius than to the Greeks, but both sprang from the same spirit of reason and morality.

After the time of Asoka Buddhism remained a State religion in so far as such a thing can be in India, Buddhism being what it is. It developed great monastic power and soon became a menace to the State, alike through its wealth and the ambition of its superiors and through its hosts of monks and its influence over feeble rulers. It seems that Chandragupta's dynasty fell a victim to its Buddhist piety. The general who founded the Sunga dynasty (178–66 B.C.) appears to have restricted the influence of the monasteries and favoured the Brahmans. But the power of Buddhism soon increased again; the Scythian kings, especially Kanishka (from A.D. 78 onwards) favoured it; from the first century A.D. onwards it prevailed in China, from the fourth century in Korea, Cochin China, and Mongolia, and from the sixth in Japan and Java. Mani, who sought to establish a world religion based upon existing religions in the third century A.D., incorporated Buddhist elements in his teaching so as to bring the chief doctrines alike of India and of Christianity into the service of his work of unification.[1]

Kanishka's Buddhism was already on the way to the mass Buddhism which was ultimately to find its Pope and ecclesiastical State in Tibet. From the Hinayana (the Little Vehicle), which Sariputta and Kassapa had founded, there gradually evolved the Mahayana (the Great Vehicle), and from the bourgeois and rationalist doctrine of salvation a barbarian religion of the masses. The Buddha himself was assimilated to the sun-god of primitive times. His mother, Maya (the world of semblance), conceived him immaculately when "Being" entered into her. He was born immaculately in the garden of Lumbini; all the trees burst into blossom, the animals loved one another, and fire was spontaneously kindled, for he was the god of Nature and Light. Dangers menaced him, but they were averted. The gods protected the fatherless and motherless child. In the kingdom of his foster-father, the Sakya prince, the golden age lasted so long as he was growing up. He himself enjoyed all the pleasures of dominion and the life of semblance, married, and begot a son: then the sight of age, sickness, and death made a hermit of him. Under the Bodhi tree, and again in the grove, he was tempted by Mara, the Evil One, but he repulsed him and then received illumination. He entered the capital as a victor, converted the king, and ascended to heaven in order to convert his mother and the gods. Once more he was menaced by the treachery of his disciple Devadatta, but he escaped and died at a ripe age when he himself willed it. He foretold his death: boar's flesh, or mushrooms grown in soil trampled by swine, caused his fatal illness, just as the sun-god fell a victim to the boar. He died in the grove and Nature in tumult mourned the god of the dead. Like the dead bodies of Osiris or Dionysus, his remains were scattered throughout the land; they were concealed within the stupas which had evolved from the ancient burial mound; likewise the solar pillars (menhirs) and stone enclosures were consecrated to the Buddha. He himself entered Nirvana, which had become very much like the divine Universal One. The heaven above the world of the Buddhist gospel was peopled by almost all the gods of the Vedic religion and by countless spirits and demons.

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[1] Since both the Avestic and the Vedic canon were completed in the Christian era, much that is common to both may have been introduced into the Holy Scriptures at this period for purposes of compromise and propaganda, and may not be of primitive Aryan origin.

Asvaghosha's *Life of the Buddha* was the gospel of Kanishka's day. The philosophic religion had turned into a popular religion with a divine and beneficent Saviour. By compromise with the Brahman faith and popular tenets, gods and hopes of immortality had found their way into it. Subsequent development in India led to the complete Mahayana, a doctrine for the masses set up in the sixth century A.D. in the Punjab by the monk Asanga; as opposed to Brahman ascetics who obtained divine powers, he taught belief in Bodhisattas, living people on the road to Buddhahood. Corresponding with the god Vishnu, who took living shape whenever justice became weak and injustice strong, we find re-incarnations of the Buddha; pity and charity came to be the motive impulses in the great Bodhisattas, who remained in the world as saviours out of compassion (Avalokitesvara and Mangusri); so, too, pity and charity were the means of salvation for the faithful; simultaneously, indeed, "the love of God" found its way into Hindu doctrine. A new formula of suffering arose, according to which all suffering springs from egotism and all salvation from pity and charity, whilst the saint must bear the burden of all creatures and buy the liberation of the universal Whole from its wanderings through hell, the animal world, and the realm of the dead, by the dedication of his Ego. But at the same time this world was filled with gods and demons, distorted and horrible images like those of Hinduism, and the art of salvation became externalized, scholastic, and merely technical. This culmination of mass Buddhism was the work of the second Indian civilization and, further, of non-Indian Buddhists. For in India itself Buddhism was inwardly rent by the Hinayana and Mahayana schism, at any rate from the fourth century onwards, and from the seventh century onwards it was persecuted by Hinduism,[1] and exterminated shortly after A.D. 1000; it was overthrown by the more popular religions: Hinduism, variegated and multiform, and Islam, simple and clear, both of which were more alluring and fanatical, more tangible in their divinities and the hopes that they held out.

The reaction of Brahmanism against Buddhism must have gained fresh force in the Ganges basin at the end of the Chandragupta dynasty (178 B.C.). When the ancient Magadha kingdom broke up and the centre of power shifted to the Scythian barbarians in the Indus basin, and when Kanishka expressly took Buddhism under his protection, Brahmanism, which was always nationalist in contrast with the super-national spirit of Buddhism, must have gained further influence as the true representative of the national character and civilization. The Brahmans had begun to write, and a Vedic canon stood opposed to the Buddhist canon. A host of ascetics spread its doctrines, just as the monks spread Buddhist doctrine, and the romantic revival of the ancient epics and customs which must have been brought about through scholarly labours from 300 B.C. onwards, supported by Brahmans and Kshatriyas, must have benefited the Brahman religion. But the vigour necessary for new creative achievements was lacking; the mass religion of Brahmanism, as of Buddhism, was the work of the second Indian civilization (from A.D. 400 onwards). The Hindu religion sprang from a revival and consummation of the Vedic-epic outlook on life; it arose through the blending of Brahman monotheism with the cults of Hercules-Krishna and Dionysus-Siva, of which we find traces from 300 B.C. onwards in a new, creative, popular religious movement.

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[1] The drama *Malati and Madhava*, dating from the eighth century, gives us some idea of the hybrid religion of the enlightened courtiers and citizens and the conflict of sects: the pious Buddhist nun unites the lovers in a spirit of charity and humanity. The better type of Siva worship was quite compatible with this school of Buddhism, as also was magic, black and white; but the bloodthirsty rites in honour of Siva and Durga were gaining ground at the expense of the enlightenment of the educated classes. Madhava himself, the gentle lover-hero, in his magic rites used still palpitating human flesh, and the royal prohibition no longer had power to prevent human sacrifice in the celebration of the orgies, but only a lucky chance.

From the monism of the Brahman-Atman doctrine a vague, personal supreme Deity, Brahma, must have emerged, perhaps even during the first Indian civilization. With him were now associated two great gods, crudely and vividly conceived, Vishnu-Krishna and Rudra-Siva, so as to form a triad which may be likened to the Christian Trinity, though it lacked the simple clarity of the Trinity. Krishna was a Hercules divinity—he was identified with Hari. When the dividing line was drawn between the great and immortal gods and the mortal heroes, and when the universal, world gods were in process of development in the seventh century B.C., he must have sunk from the position of a god to that of a hero, while Indra and Varuna rose. He was the fatherless sun-child who, persecuted by his wicked uncle, grew up among shepherds, was weak at first and only outmatched his persecuters thanks to his cunning through a variety of clever tricks (like Hermes), but then became the victorious hero and bridegroom of the New Year mythology. Thus he appears in the *Mahabharata* epic as the real victor in the struggle of the sons of Pandu against the sons of Kuru; he is mortal as a hero and eternally re-born as the ancient sun-god. He, who must always have been worshipped by the people in the forms of many an ancient sun-god, was exalted once more to godhead in the newly rising religion by union with one of the great gods of the *Veda,* Vishnu, the god who measured the world in three strides, the great runner of the primitive solar religion. This dim figure dated back to the earliest times, like Indra, and philosophy now made him co-extensive with the universe, like Brahma. Vishnu came to be Universal Being which permeated all things, Universal Nature with an infinite variety of form, the beneficent, radiant, and just power. Vishnu appeared in many incarnations from the beginning to the end of the world; he created himself as a saviour whenever justice grew weak and injustice strong; he had been the fish in the first Deluge which saved Manu; he dwelt in the heroes of myth, and he would be the victor of the last days. But his most impressive incarnation was as Krishna-Hercules, the great Saviour of the heroic age; as Vishnu, Krishna became a world wide, omnipresent God and Lord, whilst in Krishna Vishnu became the divine man, the powerful

Mediator, and the bringer of salvation who was very near to man. In the *Song of the Lord* (*Bhagavadgita*), which is part of the *Mahabharata*, Krishna reveals himself as Vishnu and the Saviour; the doctrines of the Atman and saving knowledge, of endeavour and saving action, Samkhya and Yoga, are united in a monotheistic creed. The body is transitory, of no account, only the soul lives within it and seeks union with the Deity, through thought, but primarily through action, not concerned with passion but serenely bent upon the fulfilment of duty and the attainment of the supreme goal. Renunciation likewise leads to salvation, but activity is better; to do that which is ordained is natural and brings salvation. But right conduct is guided by the love of God (*bhakti*), whereby man apprehends Krishna, the divine man, and Vishnu, Krishna's true self. Pious zeal reconciled the contradictory doctrines of the ascetic philosophers, the Brahmans and the Buddhists. Asoka's spirit was recalled to life, in heroic guise. We hear echoes of Stoicism in the doctrine of salvation through unflinching virtue, of the personal and divine Universal, and of the subjection of passion and necessity through the fulfilment of duty to the point of the dissolution of the Ego.

The third great god of Hinduism was Siva, the Gracious One, likewise a universal god who incorporated all the forces of destruction and generation in Nature and all sensual and irrational ecstasy in man. He was the Lord of the Mountains and of the thunderstorm, the god with the destroying sun for his eye and the moon adorning his head (horns); he was the bull and the procreative phallus; he was darkness and destruction (as an element and an era), but he, too, it was that brought life and blessings; he was the creative force in Nature and the incarnation of the powers attained through sacrifice and penance. The demons were his servants, and the sciences and arts had their origin in him. He moved in the orgiastic dance, and lost himself in rigid absorption in the Brahman.

These three gods were three and one. Each was worshipped separately and in his own way: Brahma and his consort, Sarasvati (learning), intellectually and without images, Vishnu-Krishna and his spouse, Lakshmi (kindness and beauty), by means of images through human care and offerings, Siva and his equally terrible wife, Kali, the Black One, Durga, the Inaccessible, in the phallus and through orgiastic rites and bloody sacrifices. And yet the initiated knew that they were all one in the Universal One, incarnations and aspects of the eternal nature of the universe and mankind. This triad, like Christianity, provided a formula for the worship of God by the highest thinkers and moralists as well as by the lowest and most superstitious in India. The Brahman and the natural and moral philosophy of the classical period are associated with the divinities of the Neolithic solar religion, the radiant and dark gods, the New Year hero, the bull and the phallus ; and every local cult, every cult of tree or stone, could be linked with it. Beside free cognition and moral volition there was room for all varieties of orgiastic mystery and animal worship and human sacrifice. It was this wide span which gave Hinduism the power to destroy Buddhism and to hold its own against the proselytising activities of Islam, even when Islam was master in the land. This enabled it to make spiritual conquests in Further India after it had received its intellectual consummation at the hands of Sankarakarya (A.D. 788–820). There on colonial soil it produced in the ninth and thirteenth centuries the mightest works of plastic art in the architecture of the Khmer civilization.

The Indian philosophy of life stopped short between Greek monism, with its fully scientific attitude towards Nature and ethics, and Jewish monotheism. The moral monotheism which resulted as a mean was more naturally many-sided, freer, but for that very reason more complex and open to attack than the Jewish and kindred Persian monotheism which ended in Islam. Like Greek monism, it admitted a certain type of polytheism, but without the Greek clarity and beauty of artistic form. In compensation it had, in fascinating abundance and complexity, all the powers of the evolutionary phases between which it came ; reason and phantasy and all the life of instinct and impulse stirred this religio-philosophical mass of germination and growth, of cold concepts and heated agitation. In *The Song of the Lord*, W. von Humboldt greeted *the* philosophical religion, and Schopenhauer in the *Upanishads.*

LITERATURE

We cannot attempt anything like an exhaustive survey of Indian literature from the point of the history of evolution in this Supplement, so vast is its quantity and so uncertain the names and dates throughout the first Indian civilization ; moreover some part of it has not yet been explored, especially in the sphere of learning. We will, however, present within the chronological framework of the two civilizations a survey of the principal branches of literature, with the primary purpose of determining its evolutionary plane in comparison with the Greeks and Romans.

The first Indian civilization produced religious lyric and epic poetry, the *Rig-veda* and the *Mahabharata,* anonymous poems which can only be very approximately dated, and which were finally collected and arranged in the canon at a very late period. In the second Indian civilization there were romances, dramas, lyrical epics, and Nature and love lyrics ; these were the work of named poets at the Gupta and other courts, and belong to the period between A.D. 400 and 800. Between the two come fables and tales, parables, farces, and fairy-stories ; for the most part they probably originated in the first civilization, but were not collected in canon form and perfected till the second.

The hymns of the *Rig-veda* and the epics of the *Mahabharata* must have germinated and grown up at the same time. The religious movement of the seventh century was the soil in which they grew and flourished. That movement raised Indra, Varuna, Agni, and Yama to the position of great, universal gods, and degraded Arjuna, Krishna, and Karna to that of mortal heroes. Side by side with the earliest ecstatic songs on the greatness of the new deities and the earliest monotheistic visions, the earliest of the more individual heroic songs must have sprung up. Both developed from the relics of the solar religion in a new and creative age, and both must have been recited at the same festivals, at contests (New Year) and sacrifices. Both types merge in one another ; the hymns to Indra depict the same primeval struggle among the gods as the songs of Arjuna's victory ; the fight of the Bharata and Tritsu in the *Rig-veda* is a pre-historic memory like that of the sons of Pandu and Kuru in the *Mahabharata.* Similarly the authors of the new hymns and epics were doubtless the same. Besides the sacrificial adepts and bards of olden times, there were the creative spirits in the newly rising stratum which produced the knightly and priestly classes. But a distinction must have arisen very soon ; the authors of the hymns and sacrificial philosophers felt themselves to be the prophets of a new and divine wisdom, and compared with them the bards of the heroic songs sank to the position of mere preservers of great historic memories. The former became priests—a class which pushed its way up above the princes and knights—whilst the latter remained no more than bards ; they were popular, and even indispensible at knightly festivals, but they were not one of the higher classes. Sacerdotal intellectualism must have relegated the heroic epics to the realm of worldly things, and that all the more vigorously the more they were conscious of a common origin and the more absolute their own claim grew to represent the one and only truth. The hymns came to be a sacred possession, and it was of the utmost importance to preserve and enhance the antiquated character of the language, for therein lay their divine quality and their assured efficacy. The heroic songs, on the other hand, were for the time being carried along upon the stream of lingual development, which must have flowed rapidly in the seventh century. It was not till the end of the first phase of intellectual and class development that the Brahmans and bards were re-united in a common opposition to the rising bourgeois class with its Buddhist rationalism, which rejected as superstition alike the *Vedas*, the sacrifices, and the religious and epic myths ; and then the epics, too, were collected and embodied in the canon in accordance with Brahman teaching.

The hymns of the *Rig-veda* are largely a product of the seventh century, but composition in the sacred language—used spontaneously at first, no doubt, and afterwards as a convention—continued in later centuries. These lyrics embodied not only the new religious thought which gave birth to loftier ideas of God and more complicated sacrificial rites, but also the spirit of the chivalrous age with its love of feuds, its greed for plunder, and its delight in great sacrificial banquets and drinking-bouts, together with its pride in ancient tribal and family memories. Alike the loftier and the more material sentiments found expression, fresh and spontaneous and often passionate, in the best of the hymns. Besides vivid descriptions of Nature in bold strokes, there are on occasion fine intellectual distinctions. True, the original pieces in this great collection of songs are in the minority ; the greater part is monotonous, learned and sacerdotal variations on a few main themes, for this was a canon hymn-book, collected and developed for purposes of sacrifice and magic and other rites of divine worship. The *Rig-veda*, therefore, gives us an imperfect notion of the lyric poetry produced by the rising Indian civilization after 700 B.C. A few scattered secular songs which found their way into this book of spiritual songs prove that there was much more. There is the song of a physician who converses with herbs and praises their virtue, one of a bard who discovers in the persons of a carpenter and a smith, a physician and a priest, as well as in his own person, that everybody runs after rich clients, a lament and a song of accusation by a gambler on whom the gaming table has cast its ban, and a merry description of frogs that wake up in the rains, jump about, and make a noise like drunken priests at the soma kettle; all these are specimens of the type, and may have been preserved for the sake of instruction or ridicule (of the bourgeois or sacerdotal element in knightly circles) or because of their great popularity. They prove that the classes had already developed to great complexity, and that people were capable of mocking in most unholy manner at holy things (like the soma drink); in the same way the *Margites* followed Homer. Much more of the same sort must have been lost; there must have been chivalrous love songs and drinking songs, class satire, and perhaps even political poems, counterparts of Archilochus and Alcæus, though on a somewhat lower plane and less personal than the Greek poems. Some of this may have been carried over into the collections of the second civilization.

Just as epic poetry revolving round Saul and Jonathan came to flower in Judah after Amos, and a heroic song of Cyrus in Persia after Zoroaster, so great epic poetry emerged in India from the piety of the seventh century after or contemporary with Yajnavalkhya. In all three civilizations the prophet was of primary importance, his name was preserved, and his achievement formed the nucleus of the canon; the epic remained anonymous and was incorporated in the canon or attached to it at a late date or not at all; only when we reach the Greek plane was the epic poet Homer the author of the loftier concepts of the gods and at the same time of chivalrous and humane cultural ideals; priests and knights, the sacred and the secular, were no longer opposed. Nevertheless, Indian civilization stands nearest to Greek in this respect; the Vedic hymns and the earliest epics must have been closely akin in form and substance. The epic in its final form contains myths about the gods, creation, and heroes, and is saturated and permeated with religion and philosophy; and ultimately, as a complete compendium of all knowledge, it became closely associated with the Vedic canon and formed a counterpart to it. Just as the hymns and the sacrificial and magic texts of the *Veda* are united in a single whole, so are the epic texts: the *Mahabharata* contains the totality of Indian epic poetry up to 300 B.C.; it corresponds not to Homer, but to Homer with the Cyclic poets in Greece; and in addition it contains the theological and cosmological speculations of a later era, besides the whole of jurisprudence—all that was useful to know and pleasant and captivating to listen to. In a land where men's minds were everywhere directed towards unity (monism) within multiplicity, epic as well as lyric and philosophical poetry becomes a great unit, an all-embracing text-book for the less learned, beside the most holy *Veda*.

The nucleus of the *Great Song of the Struggle of the Bharata* is the dissension and the war of extermination between the sons of Pandu and Kuru. Even this nucleus, like the song of the Wrath of Achilles in the *Iliad*, has undergone wide extension by the introduction of other heroes in addition to the Bharata princes. Then other poems of a heroic or philosophic character are introduced as episodes. In its earliest form the poem is said to have contained 8,000 verses and finally it contained 100,000, of which some 20,000 treated of the main subject.

That subject is historical—a fratricidal war of the early days between the ruling Aryan tribes which were already in process of dissolution and advancing along the road to Indian nationality and Indian civilization. It may be that there was really a change of rulers in the Bharata dynasty, assuredly there was in the Bharata country. But this historical memory was filled out in all its wealth of incident from the solar myth. As in Babylonia and Greece, the epic drew its vitality from solar mythology.[1] The local and tribal sun-gods were transformed into heroes and the ancestors of royal houses, when the sacred legend with its human traits, especially the birth, mortal danger, and death of the sun-god, came to seem unworthy of the great universal gods. We can still recognize the strife of the solar brothers, born without a father, as the original basis of the history of the sons of Pandu and Kuru ; indeed, the two eldest in the two houses were born on the same day, so that they were almost twins. The Pandu play the part of persecuted orphans ; through the craft of the dominant house they are reduced to misery and obliged to fly the country ; changed even in appearance (disguised) they lead a wretched life till the day of vengeance dawns, the New Year battle. Their champion is a great archer, Arjuna (akin to Hari also in name), who wins the bride by bending the bow and hitting the mark, strikes down his principal enemies, Bhishma and Karna, in the battle, and founds the new royal house in Hastinapura. Constantly the plot is extended by means of duplication. Twice the sons of Pandu lose the kingdom at dice and are reduced to misery ; the decisive duel occurs repeatedly ; not Arjuna, but his brother Bhima, overthrows Duryodhana, the malicious enemy of the sons of Pandu, in an antiquated fight with clubs. But through the repetitions, alterations, and dislocations, we cannot fail to recognize the original substance of the New Year legend, the victory of the persecuted orphan who at last casts off his disguise.

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[1] A second offshoot of the solar religion in India would appear to be the images on coins. The solar symbols are preserved on the earliest coins : the solar wheel and disc, the swastica and ship, the horned altar, and the solar brothers and animals (the bull and boar, or the elephant and lion). Similarly in Babylonia the symbols on seals were a heritage from the solar cult.

It is no more possible with the *Mahabharata* than with the *Iliad* to extract the original poem treating of this heroic struggle from amidst the alterations. Amongst the additions made by bards, and especially amongst the changes made in the process of collection and incorporation in the canon by learned Brahmans, it has been preserved only in outline. But it is easy to discern that the central poem must have been the work of the knightly and not the Brahman spirit. Delight in the battles of heroes and joy at the ascent to Indra's heaven inspired the heroes and hearers of the original poem, and even the earliest of those who expanded it and assembled all the " tribes " of civilized India and the neighbouring lands in the great battle. The gods of the original poem must have been Indra, Agni, Varuna, and Yama, as in *The Song of Nala and Damayanti.* In another episode of the poem in its final form, Arjuna is transported to Indra's heaven. The original nucleus may have been composed in the seventh century B.C. ; at latest it must have been the sixth. It was the work of a great poet, though his name has been lost and he failed to attain to the importance of Homer for his people's culture. On pre-Hellenic evolutionary planes the centre of gravity was still in religion and prophecy, and the worldly, secular bard was less prominent. India's first great epic poet did not create the gods and the whole philosophy of life of the first civilization ; he was only a link in the chain of its operation. Nevertheless, the characters which he created were near enough to Homer's in vitality and detail, and even the Greeks saw the " sufferings of Priam, the laments of Hecuba, and Andromache, and the valour of Achilles and Hector " mirrored in the Indian heroic songs ; indeed, we might well suspect Greek influence in the lot of Karna : if Indian rhapsodists were acquainted with the wrath of Achilles and his divine weapons, they might have been borrowed and assimilated in just this manner.

The heroes' characters are clearly delineated ; they are and remain types : Arjuna, bold and discreet, and Bhima the impetuous champion ; Yudishthira, the calm, self-controlled, and just ruler ; Duryodhana, jealous and envious, but a brave hero ; Dhritarashtra, his blind old father, the weak, undecided, wavering king. Krishna, the Black, is all cunning and wise advice ; Drona, the armourer, all honest devotion ; Gandhari, the mother of the sons of Kuru, is the soul of maternal sorrow, cursing Krishna's murderous cunning ; Draupadi, the soul of faithfulness and humility. These types are not so perfectly lifelike as Homer's heroes, nor do they form a complete set of age types and characters ; but each presents in a few strokes a peculiar quality which remains constant whenever they appear. Even we to-day are moved by their heroism and their fate. But the best proof of the poet's limited power of individualization is that they remind us as much of the types presented in the *Songs of the Nibelungs* and of *Gudrun* as of Homer (Duryodhana-Hagen, Bhishma-Wate), and that there would be no difficulty in identifying them with gods, that is with embodiments of qualities (Yudishthira with Dharma-Justice, Arjuna with Indra, Bhima with Vayu, the Storm ; Krishna reminds us of Loki).

From the outset the great gods of India, Indra, Agni, and Varuna, were less differentiated than those of the *Iliad.* If they played any part in the original poem, it can only have been as onlookers, benevolent visitors or judges between combatants, as with Nala. They had been raised not merely above mortality, but above personality too. We saw how, with the poet of the Wrath, the preservation of personal differentiation among the gods, in spite of the introduction of Fate, was an expression of the power of visualization side by side with that of abstraction. In India that power likewise was feebler, and plastic art achieved nothing like the Zeus of Phidias or the Hermes of Praxiteles.

Thus the total substance of the original kernel of the *Mahabharata* is less profound, less human and moving, than that of the original *Iliad.* The glorious hero is doomed to die, but he does not wail and despair like Gilgamesh, nor is he humanly sensitive, affected, and yet resolute to die like Achilles ; he bears his mortal lot with something of the ancient, romantically tinged Indra-worship which scorned timidity as womanish and knew, like Islam, that the gates of heaven were open, but first and foremost with a ruthless determination to defend his life by any and every means, whether sportsmanlike and chivalrous or not, and to be even with his opponent. The principal lesson of the poem is thoroughly worldly : " Kill your enemy by any means in your power." Perhaps it was even more strongly stressed in the original poem than in the finished work, where the Kuru, likewise, fight with the help of fire and the gambler's cunning. It may be that there honest but foolish and old-fashioned knights were defeated by the tricks and unknightly methods of warfare practised by the modern, unscrupulous sons of Pandu and their adviser, Krishna, and the lament of the defeated Duryodhana, that honour in battle is a thing of the past, was the moral of the original poem ; for in the finished poem he in particular, in view of his own actions, cannot make such an accusation unchallenged. If that were so, the Brahman editors would have made a subsequent adjustment, without much respect for morality, for now both sides fight dishonourably, that is, in terms of Indian politics, cleverly and effectively, but to the honour of the Deity ; for divine justice metes out punishment to all the guilty, even to Krishna, the divine man of the finished work, whose command covers Arjuna and Bhima, and not only to the hard-hearted and treacherous sons of Kuru.

The other epic poems incorporated in the tale of the Pandus' struggle plainly have their origin also for the most part in the ancient solar mythology. The Indian deluge legend of the rescue of the primeval king Manu by the grateful fish in the divinely appointed washing away of created beings is a relic of divine mythology preserved here.[1] Ishtar's journey to hell to fetch away her dead husband reappears as the fate-compelling loyalty and wisdom of Savitri, who follows the god of death, Yama, and succeeds in moving him to graciousness and mercy by her gentleness, her untiring conjugal love, and her wise admonition that true benevolence is the duty of men and gods. Various battles with giants originated in the ancient New Year fight of the sun-god. The loss of the woman in the year myth appears as the rape of Draupadi by an insolent man of violence, and so on. The whole sacred legend is incorporated and transformed in the poem of *Nala and Damayanti*, the Indian counterpart to the wanderings and home-coming of Odysseus. Nala, the godlike hero, is preferred by Damayanti to the gods themselves as a wooer and is happily married to her ; but Kali, the demon of gambling, possesses him and he loses everything at dice, his kingdom and even his robe, to his brother, who banishes him and drives him forth to a life of misery. Only his wife he does not forfeit and the danger of even that calamity brings him to his senses. She follows him into the wilderness, but he leaves her in order to compel her to return to her father. After long seeking him, lamenting in the wild woods, and undergoing all manner of trials and mortal dangers, she comes as serving maid to a royal court and thence is sent home. Nala, like Siegfried, passes through fire and reaches the serpent Karkotaka, whom he delivers. In gratitude the serpent changes him into the " charioteer Vahuka " and condemns the demon within the hero's body to severe torment—here an ancient journey to the Underworld has been transformed to a fairy-tale of magic. Disguised and unrecognizable, Nala now lives as a cook and charioteer at a king's court, yearning for his deserted wife. She, meanwhile, sends out Brahmans with a message that they are to proclaim everywhere, but which only Nala will understand. It does in fact reach the transformed hero, and he, sighing and weeping, gives the messenger an answer in which, without mentioning his name, he begs for forgiveness for having deserted her. Thereupon Damayanti causes an announcement to be made in the town where Nala lives to the effect that she is about to choose a new husband. The king resolves to woo her and Nala is almost in despair. He drives the king's chariot when he goes to woo the bride, and on the way the king instructs him in the science of dice and numbers and thus renders him proof against the dangers of gaming. The demon is at last compelled to go out of him and is utterly defeated, and reduced to pitiful and humble prayers for mercy. But the hero is still unrecognizable to his wife. On their arrival she recognizes the clatter of his chariot ; her maid finds Nala deeply affected and he repeats his answer to the former message with tears. Damayanti sends the children and he embraces them as his own ; there are also bodily marks which bear witness in his favour. Then she receives him and he explains and excuses his possession ; the wind bears witness to her purity, and now she recognizes him and follows him to his own kingdom, which he wins back from his wicked brother by playing with Damayanti as the stake. The more human and tender spirit of the *Odyssey* prevails in this *Song of Songs* of married faithfulness, as in that of Savitri ; the laments of the deserted wife and the penitence of the gambler belong to an age more instinct with natural feeling than the song of the Pandu war. But even here Greek poetry is superior in the delineation of character, in its concrete and natural plots, and in natural humanity.

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[1] Compare my essay *Wanderungen und Wandlungen der Sündflutsage* in *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Kröner, Leipzig, 1924).

The second great epic of the Indians is the *Ramayana*, the heroic song of Rama's deeds. It is the work of a single great poet, conceived and carried out according to plan ; it is a work of literature, and aims at expressing ideals, at winning the audience for an ideal under the guise of a pleasant and enthralling tale, and at displaying imagination and skill in versification. The poet, Valmiki, wanted to revive a decaying knighthood and to mend manners. From all that we are told of his life we can only suppose that he was a Brahman and ended his life as a hermit. If we may compare the *Mahabharata* to the *Iliad,* then the *Ramayana* is a counterpart to the *Æneid,* only the attribution of divinity to the ruling house is lacking. A king of Kosala, Rama's grandson, may have been the poet's patron, for we cannot date the poem earlier than 500 B.C. and round about 400 is a more likely date. The *Ramayana,* too, contains solar mythology, but it is dim and faded as in the *Æneid.* The hero's humiliation and banishment through a woman is his own choice, the grand action of a noble son of the gods ; the loss of his wife is merely an occasion for magic deeds. Even such ancient relics as the friendship of two heroic brothers and the efforts of a demon princess (Ishtar !) to seduce the hero to inconstancy, appear in quite a modernized form, as moral examples. Rama is a model man who knows and acknowledges only one object in life : to live absolutely for the fulfilment of his human and moral duties. He is characterized by reverence and obedience towards the gods and his parents, love and compliance towards his brothers and sisters and friends, constancy in marriage, and unwavering endeavour to do right, to confer prosperity and peace. He believes absolutely in divine Providence and never clings to semblance and possessions ; he is the hero of the sword, a master of clear and rational reflection and courtly manners, and yet, with all his merits, piety, and gentleness, truly human. So, too, all his relatives, his wife, his friends, and his servants are pious, kindly, and virtuous. The poet has some difficulty, with all this excellence, in getting the plot in motion ; he can only bring himself to sacrifice the virtue of one hunch-backed maidservant. The " wicked " queen who has Rama banished, and his father who succumbs to her wiles, are largely excused by mother love and penance for past sins. Only the monsters and demons are bad by nature and vocation, so it appears—but even one demon is a model of good conduct. And all the animals that are introduced, particularly the monkeys, but also the vulture Jatayu, are helpful and benevolent to the virtuous. The world is a theatre of divine justice and mercy, of human activity obeying the will of the gods, of pious virtue and the promotion of rational peace and well-being in time and eternity. We are conscious here of the spirit which animated the edicts of Asoka and the *Bhagavadgita,* but guided entirely by Brahman and knightly ideas. The character study of the hero is animated by an ideal, and his heroic deeds suffer because divine help is guaranteed to him and he is so noble as to be beyond the reach of temptation. We might ask whether he and his wife are not purely allegorical incorporations of concepts; undoubtedly Rama's chariot is meant to carry the noble man on to perfection. The poet's strength lies in his pure and piously moral outlook; his pious love of Nature enables him to move us through his descriptions of forest scenery and people, and he can always enthral us with his romantic fairylike fancy (Hanuman the monkey), whilst the tranquil clarity of his well-constructed plot and his enhanced skill in versification produce an agreeable impression of culture.

Besides the new world of supreme gods and courtly heroes, a genealogy of gods and heroes, a doctrine of world eras, and lastly legends and fairy-tales had their origin in the myths of the great period of the development and decay of the solar religion in India.

There is no individual corresponding to Hesiod in India, but the evolutionary phase which he represents occurred there too. The Deity as an invisible guardian of human activities, informed by a thousand messengers—servants and saints—is an idea belonging to India as well as to Hesiod; the admonition to do one's duty in accordance with one's social position occurs frequently. A whole group of poems, the *Purana*, are concerned with the creation and restoration of the world, with the genealogy and chronology of the gods. As the divine and heroic epics broke up in a semi-scientific spirit into these poems (over a wide field Indian science retained the poetic form), so in other works they were resolved into minor fragments; fables made their appearance, farces and proverbs emerged.

In the *Ramayana* we see the transformation of heroic saga into romantic and adventurous fairy-tales, stories of demons and animals on a grand scale. In a number of episodes in the *Mahabharata* we can discern in detail the transition from the older epic and mythology to the fairy-tale, the fable, and the proverb. But it is chiefly in the older parts of the Buddhist canon that we find proof of the existence of a literature of fairy-tales, fables, and farces in the first Indian civilization. In sermons and proverbs the Buddhists made use of the epics in prose form for the propagation of their doctrines, and in addition to the epics, perhaps inspired by them and modelled on them, of newly composed secular didactic and comic pieces; they are, therefore, made to serve as confirmation of Buddhist doctrines, to present the opponents of Buddhism as ridiculous and bad, or else to elaborate the life of the Saviour in legendary form, just as they render his sermons pleasing, vivid, and popular. Buddhism was of decisive importance in the development of prose in India as well as in that of writing. Its sober lyrics supplanted love poetry throughout wide circles of the bourgeoisie; its parables, legends, fables, and proverbs embodied ancient material, used with a bias, and gave it written form. Finally, the Buddha legends produced a new literary epic, and in the first century A.D., Asvaghosha sang of the divine Saviour in the literary form created by Valmiki. But it was not till the golden age of the second Indian civilization, from the fifth century A.D. onwards, that Indian prose—fairy-tales and didactic works as a branch of literature—reached their culmination.

In the first Indian civilization the epic was the chief literary form, and its representatives would have held Calliope to be the most excellent of the Muses. The *Mahabharata* developed into a sacred book side by side with the *Vedas*, and the epic metre was the universal metre throughout wide tracts of scholarship. During the course of the first Indian civilization epic poetry covered the whole road from Homer to the Alexandrians. From the poetry of a knightly class, fresh and vigorous and natural, there grew up courtly and moral exercises in the literary art, conscious and intentionally didactic, but tenderly human and sensitive to Nature; from heroic songs there grew up an encyclopædic canon of all useful knowledge, the *Maharabhata Bible*, containing at once a philosophic monotheism and polytheism, the foundation for genealogy and chronology, cosmology and jurisprudence, the history of primitive times and a doctrine of morality. Preceding and accompanying this process of scholarly summing up went the fragmentation of the single type of poetry into learning and minor didactic and light poetry. The recognized lyric poetry of this first epoch of Indian civilization consists of religious hymns and songs. Songs of love and war and drinking songs lacked the vigour to assert themselves beside these. Fables and proverbs, too, which, as in Greece, developed during the epic phase, could only persist in a religious connection, in the canon or in sermons. Poetry was uniformly anonymous.

A change came about during the second Indian civilization: poets were now known by name everywhere and works or collections assigned to individuals appeared. Literary epic poetry dissolved into lyric poetry and artificiality. Instead of hymns and spiritual songs the dominant form came to be the personal love and Nature lyric, clever miniatures. From lyric poetry emerged the Indian drama in its perfection, and that now become the chief literary form.

The short story and sage reflection attained literary independence in the fable and in collections of fairy-tales and proverbs. The creative power of the second Indian racial mixture had not quite vigour enough to rise above the earlier evolutionary plane, but it was adequate to endow it with new and more personal forms of which the germs lay dormant in the earlier phase. India nearly attained to the level of Alcæus and Sappho at this point, the fable and farce reached their culmination, epic material was cast in lyrical dramatic form, and men mastered the art of depicting Nature and presenting mob scenes.

The brief little tales, beast fables and parables, farces and marvels, which had appeared in the course of the first Indian civilization and were first handed round by word of mouth, then given a place in Buddhist and doubtless too in Brahman tracts, attained during the second civilization to an independent position as a recognized branch of serious literature. They were collected within a larger framework. The collections of Indian fables have found their way among all civilized peoples. For instance, the *Panchatantra* (*The Five Books*) was translated into Persian in the sixth century A.D. and became, through the medium of Islam, a world-wide textbook. These short stories ought to be called " illustrative stories ", not " fables ", for in each some piece of practical wisdom is embodied in an entertaining form. The Indians treasured them as wisdom, mingled with proverbs devoid of illustrative narrative.

The narratives which formed the framework for these collections were little more than rough outlines ; some beast fable or ghost story, much like the rest, is expanded so as to provide the framework, particularly through conversations in which a proverb can be quoted ; and every proverb may be the occasion of an illustrative tale. Thanks to this packing method, the reader always has the pleasure of knowing what has gone before when the interrupted story is resumed. Within this main framework beast fables proper (e.g. that of the monkey who draws the axe out of the tree and is caught himself, of the sparrow who overpowers the elephant, and so on), farcical tales (begging monks are not particularly popular ; feminine wiles and follies are a favourite subject), parables (often sentimental—the noble robber, the grateful animals and the ungrateful man, and Sir " What-man-should-have "), and tales of marvel (the weaver who goes wooing as a god on an automatic bird ; the Brahman's son who was a serpent ; the mouse who has to play the part of a Brahman's daughter) are intermingled in gay confusion. The subject matter suggests the moral observations on men and the observations on animal Nature. There is little material derived from the epics (genuine fairy-tales, the last relics of the solar myth, are almost entirely absent), but much derived from sermons; and accordingly the morals enforced are those of practical, everyday wisdom and of Brahman theory (to reflect on re-incarnation; to secure the favour of the god or force his compliance).

These illustrative stories were one of the chief branches of literature in India. They are still esteemed as an entertaining form of "wisdom", something between the Jewish collections of proverbs and Greek ethics. There must have been similar stories in Greece, too, in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., for in the fifth century they were re-told as short fables (Æsop), altogether simplified as to subject matter and sharply logical in character, or as complete romances containing a wealth of material (Herodotus; later the *Milesian Tales*, and finally Apuleius; here the narrative framework is carefully selected and the single tales may almost be regarded as types of the principal categories of the short story). In spite of this advance they never attained to the foremost rank; alike as literature and as wisdom they were of secondary quality. In India, on a lower plane, they occupied a more important place. Everywhere where development remained below the Greek plane they were esteemed because they imparted concrete wisdom, unconcentrated, tangible, and entertaining. Indian beast fables are often more akin to *Reineke Fuchs* (*Reynard the Fox*) than to Æsop—conditions at court are treated especially broadly—and their morals apply often rather to the particular case than the more consummate Greek beast fables.

So, too, Indian romances are collections of short stories within a framework; Dandin's *Adventures of the Ten Princes*, possibly of the sixth century, may serve as an example, for it is the chief among them, widely known and far-reaching in its influence. The framework tells of the expulsion of a Magadha king and the recovery of his kingdom by his son. Like all these romances, it is skilfully composed and provides a centre of interest (the story of the prince who is to be the king of the heroes). The poet divides his work into base and superstructure; but all that is merely external, and actually the stories simply stand in juxtaposition with the framework providing an introduction and two of the constituent tales. The forest of Vindhya is inhabited by meritorious penitents and savage tribes—the hermit's grove and the surrounding wilderness take the place of Arcadia—and here a little son, Prince Rajavahana, is born to the exiled king. Nine other royal children are miraculously brought to join him, and so the heroes grow up, until a penitent, who by sacrificing his life for a Brahman has been purified and raised from a savage to a Brahman, accompanies the prince to the Underworld so that he may witness how the penitent becomes lord of the dead; the prince's comrades search for him and the adventures begin and are related by the prince, in the order in which the heroes re-join him.

We might describe the separate stories as literary tales of heroism and gallantry. From the courtly epic and the simple illustrative story a new literary type had evolved for the entertainment and instruction of court circles. Rama's adventures with gods and animals in long past days were supplanted by the adventures of living heroes in the contemporary India of the sixth century; for everything that happens in these stories was possible to the Indian mind, and the audience believed in demons and magic, although they saw how the rationalist heroes abused such beliefs in order to outwit others. The moral code is that of the court—heroism and love meet with their reward. Society attached great importance to cultured speech, imaginative and witty, a style which strikes us as affected but gave the audiences of those days repeated opportunities to display their mature comprehension of obscure meanings in words and imagery and their courtly culture. This style corresponds exactly to Gongorism and other bombast in the Europe of 1550–1650, on the same evolutionary plane.

The human subject matter is brave and moving humanity. Parents and children or lovers are parted in bitter sorrow and reunited in bliss; one father is driven by sorrow for the loss of his son—after eighteen years!—to throw himself over a mountain precipice and is caught by the son. Fate raises the characters and casts them down, from the throne into the forest, from the bridal bed to prison, and again from the place of judgment to the palace. Besides these excitements and emotions we have charming pictures of gazelle-eyed maidens playing at ball, wandering in the garden, or at rest in the women's apartments; inspiring pictures of doughty attacks by heroes and bold stratagems to outwit enemies, set parents and lovers free, and help the poor; and elevating pictures of resolute endurance of heroes and ladies in distress and humiliation. We are here in the sphere of drama, but a drama devoid of tragedy, for the gods and the piety, vigour, and ability of the heroes restore the balance as a matter of course; a drama, moreover, devoid of any profundity in characterization, for, vivid as these figures are, they lack full individuality; their souls move on conventional lines, although—or because—they express themselves by such external means as shuddering, fainting, tears, and breaking into smiles.

The core of the plot is always external—perhaps an extraordinary stratagem, perhaps a marvellous meeting, or for the most part both. Rajavahana is united with his beloved by a Brahman before the very eyes of the king, who believes that he is only seeing a mirage provided for his entertainment; awakening after the bridal night he finds his feet in fetters and is kept a prisoner for two months. Another hero lands on an island with Ionians, entertains a monster with stories so that it cannot devour him, till another monster flies past which has carried off a maiden; the monsters fight and kill one another, and the maiden is the hero's beloved. A particularly popular incident is the outwitting of a wicked wooer by the pretence that the bride is possessed, or that he must beautify himself by means of a magic ceremony; the hero-lover kills him in the process and takes his place. One tale is literally the story of the collapse of a kingdom because of its ruler's immoral life; the hero saves the crown for the heir, killing the usurper and then leading the boy before the people after secretly liberating him from out of an image of Durga. Another tale describes the wiles of a master thief who first produces a sham lucky bag and then steals it himself—in order to provide for the marriage of a poor Brahman and then to buy himself a concubine.

We are shown a world like that of late antiquity, and, indeed, it may be that the romances of late antiquity exercised an influence. But it is also a world like that of Spain, where the romance of *Amadis de Gaula* and the dramatic novel *La Celestina* were followed by the literary romance of Cervantes.

In the second Indian civilization the romance supplanted the literary epic as a means of courtly entertainment and instruction; at first the epic retained its dominant position and continued to attract the more subjective poets, but later it petrified into bombast and superficial cleverness (a decorative style). Kalidasa, the great classic of the first prime of the second Indian civilization, a great lyric poet who re-vitalized or first vitalized the epic as well as the dramatic form with his own spirit, began by writing literary epics on the model of the *Ramayana*; he lived in the fifth century, and possibly on into the sixth. He sang of the princes of the race of Raghu (Rama's house) in his first epic, strictly following the rules of the art. In his second he wrote freely, in his own individual style, inspired by a vital feeling for Nature and understanding of love, describing the marriage of Siva and Parvati, the daughter of the Himalayas. Unluckily we cannot compare his work with Alexandrian poetry, for that has been destroyed except for a few slight fragments. By the sixth century the literary epic had already degenerated to something utterly affected and artificial. The story of Nala and Damayanti serves to express such lyrical subjects as the joy of the newly married and to display virtuosity in versification, whilst that of Rama is just good enough to provide an object lesson in Panini's rules of grammar. At the end of this process of development we have the Byzantine glorification of the king of Thanesar by Bana ; a contemporary patron is placed on an equality with Rama, and on longer in verse, but in ornate prose ; the present day and the prose style held the field. Artificiality likewise reached a climax later in the " poem " which treated simultaneously the subject matter of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* in verses with a two-fold meaning.

Kalidasa himself developed descriptive lyric poetry of considerable length and lyric drama from the epic. In *The Cloud Messenger* (*Meghaduta*) a banished spirit, who has been parted from his beloved wife for a year as a punishment for misconduct, sends yearning greetings northwards, to his home, from the forest of Rama, where he is expiating his misdeed ; a cloud is to find and console his beloved. After a sacrifice of flowers he describes to it the way from Ramagiri to the mountain Kailasa and his house in Alaka, over fertile fields and broad forests, over holy lands famed in legend, great cities, mountains, and rivers ; the city of the genii, Alaka, rises in its majesty. The beloved lady will see the cloud as she offers sacrifice or talks with her thrush, sings or sighs on her sleepless couch ; the cloud is to take her word that everywhere and at all times he sees her living form near him, that he stretches out his arms to the empty air, yearning for her, and that he will soon return to a blissful consummation of their love. This is a counterpart to the amorous elegies of the Romans (and perhaps of the later Alexandrians). This, too, is a product of the second civilization which does not rise above the first, but is its completion and culmination. Yet in spite of nearness to Nature and amorous tenderness, Roman elegies are more tangible, physical, and concrete than *The Cloud Messenger*.

In Kalidasa's description of India from a bird's-eye view, in his tender and detailed portrayal of yearning and the lover's alluring images of his distant lady, and in the worshipful flight of his soul towards the cloud as a god of love, there is something of

Yajnavalkhya's emotional monism, a sensitiveness to Nature and love, which is not Graeco-Roman. Indian monism was the monism of the Atman, still embryonic and indefinite ; the One and Universal was breath—Atman means breath—in the Universal and in the breast, in the many-coloured veil of divine Nature. To Xenophanes the Universal was " Being " ; he saw Nature quite clearly and tangibly—the clear, cold water, the white bread, the sweet, yellow honey ready for the sacrificial banquet before him—and with sharp decision he demanded a rational, natural way of life and moral code in the name of the Deity. From such monism there arose a sense of worship in everyday things and the duties of capable citizenship, which Parmenides analysed intellectually. Corresponding to these different types of monism in the Indians and Graeco-Romans, we find a different attitude towards Nature ; in the West practical natural science emerged and the art of portraying Nature concrete and complete ; in the East natural philosophy dominated the whole field, an ecstatically religious and vague worship of Nature in her wide extent and of aimless but delicate detail. People perceived less, did not grasp all, but on the other hand they saw some things that escaped the Greeks and Romans.

Within the realm of this new delight in Nature falls *The Cycle of the Seasons*, also attributed to Kalidasa, though it can hardly be his work. Here, too, images of Nature and love are closely interwoven in the description of the seasons, but the element of personality is less prominent than that of system ; the poet has sought and fairly well attained a Greek perfection of descriptive art. There are similar forceful descriptions in Alcæus, but they are far more vigorously personal and concise. In India the whole is impersonal, the images succeed one another almost as in a catalogue, and the cycle is not used by a vigorous poet for the purpose of expressing forcible passion ; only the fundamental, undifferentiated sentiment for Nature and love is vigorous and vital.

Kalidasa has no peer in the realm of the longer lyric ; even the best of his successors are artificial and barren beside him. His actual pupils and those who developed his work are the lyric poets of single stanzas, Amaru and Bhartrihari ; some of the tenderest and loveliest single stanzas are to be found in Kalidasa's dramas, for instance, the sun song in the introduction to *Sakuntala*. Bhartrihari belongs to the seventh century, and according to Buddhist accounts he alternated between life in the world and the cloister. Both these poets aimed in their short lyrics at delicate observation and reflection ; they are akin to Anacreon and the epigrammists, but their verses are far less personal than Anacreon's, though their courtliness, gallantry, and acute observation are very near to his ; they are less piquant and concise than the Greek epigrams, though equally carefully polished. These miniature poems, variations on a main theme, were collected and issued in groups of a hundred. The main theme is love. Again and again Amaru depicts in fresh and dainty images the newly married couple sharing their first jest, the lover first offended by the beloved, waiting and yearning or jealously angry, rejoicing unobserved in the beloved asleep, in every kind of pouting displeasure, reconciled after a lovers' quarrel, and sorrowing for the loss of love after prolonged anger. Bhartrihari complains of the conduct of the god of love who lurks in the wood (the body of the beloved) as a robber, fishes in the ocean of the world for men (with woman as bait) and roasts them, or makes lovers love at cross purposes. He describes the wind which disorders the beauty's hair in winter and catches at her dress like a lover ; he describes the blossoming spring, with the murmur of bees and the yearning of love, the darkness wherever the beloved is not, the entrancing delight in every movement of a young, gazelle-eyed maid, the madness and agony of love, and the will to renounce. In *The Hundred Stanzas of Love* this same Bhartrihari portrays in like varied and brilliant images the folly of sensual pleasure into which man blunders like a moth into the flame or a fish on to the hook : life is misery from the unclean and cramped imprisonment in the womb to the pain of parting in the season of love and the scorn that is the lot of old age ; happiness, power, and riches are an illusion ; pleasures vanish like lightning flashes, all life dissolves like a cloud in the wind, and one thing only is to be desired—the hermit's life of profound meditation in the forest, " where old gazelles will rub their horns against my body without fear." Here again, in the delicate and sure observation of these little pictures of lovers' lives, and in the similes from Nature and love tenderly portrayed in one or two strokes, the spirit of Indian monism is once more dominant.[1] In Greece as early as Homer we find Nature pictures broadly executed, tangible and actual, used for purposes of simile, but in the Indian epic there are only picturesque epithets and images briefly indicated, and it was not till the second civilization that elaborate imagery was used for purposes of art ; moreover, it was always delicate, dimly coloured, the outcome of acute observation of Nature and character like the

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[1] There was also a very realistic and material science of the art of love.

Japanese one-stanza lyrics and paintings of a single branch or a single animal. And yet there is again an element in these poems that is more akin to the Greeks than to the eastern Asiatics, a scientific tendency that strives after completeness in these observations of love, a clinging to the human creature who is never lost in Nature, an intellectual and epigrammatic bent. But the whole is un-Greek in its lack of the personal element and its sportive, fleeting quality.

The drama, too, in India was the product of lyrical feeling. Kalidasa, the classical lyric poet of the first prime of the second civilization, was also its classic dramatic poet. But the dramatic form was far older than the literary dramas. When the Aryans invaded India they must have brought with them, along with sun-worship, the New Year processions and contests, and probably also "plays" in honour of the harvest, the dead, and the Christmas festival, representations of the sacred solar legend. They must have met with similar performances already established in the country, though these would have been transformed by the development of a higher civilization and doubtless adapted to the character of the country. In the great classical movement of the first civilization (700 B.C. and thereafter) these early seeds of drama must have been forgotten by the educated classes, as they were in Greece, and have sunk to the level of popular and barbarian customs, partially or wholly despised. But they survived, and were at last incorporated in the loftier religion as Krishna plays ; events in the life of Krishna, especially his love for Radha, and perhaps also parts of the story of his birth and death, were presented in processions (*yatra* means walk), partly in song and partly in dialogue. The Brahmans were satisfied with this introduction of the heroic divine man into the cult and with the process of unification and refinement which contented the people and did to some slight degree educate them. No loftier speculative thought became associated with it. Nor do these processions appear to have induced a new and creative impulse in poetry, which continued epic in character, although dialogue in the epics, like dialectic in philosophy, assumed considerable importance, and although logic doubtless taught men to discern all manner of disharmonies, antitheses in the realm of theory and practice. The world was divided into the One and the Many, into Being and the Transitory, and conduct into sin and righteousness ; but the great discovery of the Indian evolutionary plane is the reconciliation of these antitheses, oneness and bliss in the Atman, retribution through re-incarnation, the means of stopping the wheel of births through right knowledge and action, and absorption in God. The Indians did not attain to fully developed theory, to the antitheses of mutually exclusive opposites as eternally irreconcilable; where they approached near to it, they dropped one term as worthless and empty—for instance, the physical world of semblance—and all was well again. On this plane, therefore, there could be no tragic feeling; logic itself bridged the gulf which it rent open in Greece; philosophy and religion had a tranquillizing and satisfying solution for all conflicts, a serenity which assured unity and justice to all, and even restored immortality.

The Indians of the Hellenistic period must have become acquainted with Greek drama though the Greeks—Menander's bourgeois love comedies and the single musical-dramatic scenes of the trained singers. In the theatre of the second civilization the " Ionic curtain " played a part, perhaps in order to reveal and then conceal again persons or groups introduced as sitting or standing still. No Indian drama of importance resulted from Greek influence, which was not felt in full force until the first civilization had begun to decay. Doubtless both Brahmans and Buddhists had no choice but to reject what was felt to be alien, that is the world of semblance.

Then came the religious movement which gave birth to the second Indian civilization. It must have paved the way for the Hindu religion, and its great gods were Brahma, Vishnu-Krishna, and Siva. The processions in honour of Krishna and the dances and orgies in honour of Siva were revived with the heroes of early days, and then was the time for the rise of literary drama in India. There was a burgeoning of various seeds—native dialectic, and the stimulus of native processions and foreign works; new creative force emerged and produced the culminating form of courtly poetry, the great form which was capable of supplanting the now lifeless epic.

Indian drama consists of stirring action, but it is devoid of tragedy. Persons and their destiny are presented on the scene by means of speeches, gestures, and garments. In the outcome we have plays, but no tragedies or comedies. Moreover, the second Indian civilization remained on the same evolutionary plane as the first, only partially raised and supplemented by youthful vigour. The epic poetry and philosophy of the first civilization nearly amounted to drama, for they created types of character and enthralling, terrible, moving histories, dialogues, and monologues. Now actual theatrical plays were produced. They contained characters which were, perhaps, rather more elaborated than those of the epics and were certainly richer in the expression of emotion and embraced a wider variety of popular types; they enthralled, moved profoundly, and stirred, but they were totally devoid of tragedy. Sometimes there is a distant possibility of tragedy, but the poet does not perceive it; his work is still untragic, for he is an Indian and writes for the entertainment of court society; he fails also to achieve the ultimate concentration, logical and artistic, the "either-or" as the essence of the subject matter. And there is an absence of comedy, as of tragedy; there are, indeed, comic figures, and even the recurring "jolly councillor"[1] who, as the hero's confidante, provides merriment and wit, and whose materialistic outlook stresses the contrast with the idealistic conduct and sentiments of the leading character; occasionally, indeed, his friendship even brings him into touching and comical conflict with himself. The whole contrast between the divine and courtly world of the heroes and the characters who are of the people is pregnant with possibilities alike of comical and moving effect. But the whole world is not rent by tragedy and comedy from top to bottom; as in real life, it is a unit, and that, too, is characteristic of the early monist outlook. There were dramatized farces and buffoon-like scenes, but they belonged to a vulgar class, and no serious poet put his hand to them. Tragedy had no counterpart in literary comedy, as in Greece, nor did it end with satyric drama.

The great plays of the Indian stage are love dramas in various social circles. Kalidasa opens the round with *Sakuntala* and *Urvasi.* The plots of both are set in the heroic days of antiquity, and here drama appears as the offspring of the epic. But the only heroism displayed in them is that of love. The love of King Dushyanta for Sakuntala unfolds and is marvellously interwoven with Nature *motifs* in the hermit's grove; then the king is caused to forget his beloved by a curse, and he cannot remember her when, sent by her father, she appears at his court; a ring stirs his memory, but too late, she has been rapt away by the Deity. The burning sorrow of the innocently guilty husband at his loss moves the hearts of the gods; they intervene and re-unite the lovers. So, too, in the drama of King Pururavas' love for Urvasi, the plot is governed by curses, a magic stone, and divine intervention; the poetic charm of the piece lies in its presentation of the lovers' yearning, especially in the great lyrical scene in the fourth act, where the king seeks his vanished love in a grove; almost beside himself, he converses with clouds, mountains, and animals, until at last he embraces his beloved in the form of a climbing creeper and finds her once more transformed in his arms. Kalidasa infused new and more vital reality in action into the ancient epic subjects--the parting of Ishtar and Tammuz and of Nala and Damayanti, the search in the grove, and the re-union. For us these dramas have charm because of the purely lyrical effects of Nature and love, united blossoming and fading, yearning and discovery, and the ecstasy of sympathy at such sights; to the Indians they had additional attraction and novelty as being a more vivid form of poetry and being played in honour of Siva. Kalidasa's third play is one of intrigue, *Malavika and Agnimitra.* Here there are no gods and no miraculous stones or rings; by quite earthly means King Agnimitra attempts, with the help of his confidante and an old Buddhist nun, to speak to and win his wife's lovely serving maid who is kept concealed from him. There are two comic types of music teacher, and the Buddhist intriguer is a very peculiar character. The wives' jealousy causes trouble and menaces the king's beloved. Finally everything comes right, Malavika is acknowledged to be a princess and married to the king.

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[1] Dramatic technique led on from character types to such types as the confidante of lovers, the villain, and the perfect model of magnanimity; people's minds were ripe for such popular types as the thief, the monk, and the executioner, as for Rama's demons and monkeys, and these need not have been borrowed from Greece.

Most of the principal later dramas are also plays of romance and intrigue, and love continued to be the central theme; the lovers' nobility of soul and changing feelings are delicately and variously depicted, whilst there is diversity in the antagonists and intrigues: perhaps a magician appears and unites the king with his beloved by means of optical illusions; a courtly pair of lovers, Malati and Madhava, are parted by the king's command, but are re-united by a pious nun, then pursued by priests of Durga in search of a human being for sacrifice; the wind blows away a love-letter so that it reaches the wrong hands, and so on. A particularly popular method of producing an exciting plot is disguise as a member of the opposite sex. Only two plays stand out from the mass: *The Little Clay Cart* (*Vasantasena*) by Sudraka, and *Rakshasa and the Seal* by Visakhadatta. These both fall within the category of plays of love and intrigue, but the former introduces a whole world of popular characters on the stage, instead of one or another as previously, and the second ignores love and offers political intrigue as a substitute. The scene of *The Little Clay Cart* is laid in bourgeois circles; bourgeois society had adopted courtly manners and sentiments in Kalidasa's day, which seems to indicate that the play should not be dated earlier than Kalidasa, but decidedly later. The poet, who chooses a royal name by way of disguise, must likewise have belonged to the bourgeoisie; he is a great figure in the company of Indian poets. He describes the generous Charudatta's love for the lovely Vasantasena with a depth of feeling but altogether in the bourgeois manner, without romantic frenzy or love of Nature; it forms the centre round which revolves the life of a whole Indian city; all the types are sharply delineated—fine courtiers, some foolish and malicious like the king's brother-in-law, some well-meaning and servile like his parasite; citizens and officials, judges and the chief of police, Vasantasena's fat mother and her maid's lover who tries to make his fortune by theft, rogues and such rabble as gamblers and hangmen. No other Indian poet has succeeded in presenting so natural a world (it reminds us of Shakespeare), so variegated, so true, and so human, nor has any other so fully mastered a wealth of characters and a complex plot. It is only here that a comic character is also touching. And the whole is set in a great political framework; the king falls a victim to superstition and injustice, to the folly and infamy of his relatives. This play cannot be the work of a court poet; it must belong to the revolutionary period of the second civilization (after A.D. 600). But this crowded bourgeois world is no more tragically conceived than the courtly world of Kalidasa; Charudatta and Vasantasena are as noble as Rama and Sita and the Deity tries them and unites them in the end. There is no rent in the Universal, no events in which God and man stand opposed yet both in the right; God is always in the right, and in the end the noble man, whether prince or lover, enjoys good fortune. There is no need even for a compensating transmigration of souls, and only the fool is wicked.

Rakshasa and the Seal is India's only genuinely historical play. Like *The Persians* of Æschylus, it treats of a great event in Indian history, Chandragupta's elevation to the throne through the great Brahman statesman Chanakya. But that event had taken place more than a thousand years earlier, and the Brahman poet who treated it dramatically did not seek to represent a divine judgment or an event of national importance, for the concepts of fatherland and history had little significance to the Indians, to whom Deity and Brahmanism meant everything; the poet's work was to inculcate politics—realist politics combined with Brahman idealism. The king serves his teacher and master, who achieves all great things and serves the cause of vengeance and of the religious doctrine which requires that he shall not sow hatred and murder further than is absolutely necessary for the attainment of his object, which is also that of the Deity. Because the Nanda kings have offended a Brahman, the world is out of joint; once the Nanda are destroyed and order restored, Chanakya reconciles the antagonists and retires into solitude.

The Indian drama reached its technical zenith in the eighth century A.D., the period of Bhavabhuti, the author of *Malati and Madhava.* This love story of the two ministers' children who are to be parted by the king's command, but are united thanks to ardent love and kindly aid, a courageous spirit and a *deus ex machina,* is almost a bourgeois drama, besides being a magic play full of colour and charm; the pair are a Romeo and Juliet adapted to Indian court life and Indian art, devoid of tragedy but richly endowed with lyrical beauty and love of Nature. The gods are no longer called in, but their servants play a game of rivalry. True love is approved and friendship goes the length of group paralysis and suicide. The play is tensely exciting and sensational, but measure and unity are preserved. At this period the drama supplanted the epic as the dominant literary form. Bhavabhuti presented the substance of the *Ramayana* faithfully and fully in two plays. Subsequently a variety of dramatic forms emerged; there were lyrical scenes, more or less modelled on *Urvasi,* giving plentiful opportunities for a great singer, and farces, modelled more or less on the scenes in *The Little Clay Cart,* played by rogues and hangmen; these were the successors of the drama proper. Then scholars took possession of this new vehicle of instruction; indeed *Rakshasa and the Seal* almost amounted to a textbook of politics. Allegorical drama (moralities; the *autos sacramentales*) glorified the victory of King Reason, or Vishnu Brahmanism, over the great King Error. Reason is divorced from Lady Opinion in order to marry Lady Revelation. So as to be united with her he frees Religion, who has fallen into the hands of Hypocrisy, Egoism, and Love of the Sensual, fighting a great battle in which Well-founded Judgment overcomes Love of the Sensual, Moderation overcomes Greed, and Patience overcomes Wrath; and finally, Heresy is refuted by canon Literature. Moreover, the popular processions associated with the worship of Krishna were made the subject of poetry. In the twelfth century Jayadeva treated of the love of Krishna and Radha in Kalidasa's lyrical style; this was not a drama, but a lyrical monologue. In addition, the older popular processions and the puppet and shadow plays survived from the first civilization; they were the relics of the earliest solar plays.

If we look for a counterpart to Indian drama in modern Europe, a comparison with Spanish drama suggests itself. The Spaniards, too, had dramatic poetry without any true sense of tragedy ; they, too, nearly attained to mature monism though with them it was a case of pre-ripening, but they, too, remained caught in the trammels of pre-scientific religious thought which had satisfactory answers ready to hand for all questions. Spanish drama, too, was for the most part courtly love drama, rich in variegated marvels, in lyrical sentiment, in exciting intrigue, and in courtly morals. In Spain, too, we find the world of adventure and roguery of *The Little Clay Cart*, and the *autos sacramentales* have much in common with the allegorical drama of King Reason. But in Spain all this has its source in a vast mass of material handed down from the ancients and Italians and is more varied than the Indian drama springing from epic subjects ; for this reason the Spaniards incidentally achieved greater profundity in antithesis. *Life is a Dream* might well be an Indian piece, but Don Quixote and Sancho Pansa—who, it is true, are characters in a novel—are more profoundly conceived than Charudatta and his jester Maitreya.

In accordance with their evolutionary plane, music played a great part in the life of the Indians of the first civilization. The hymns were chanted musically, and we constantly hear of musical performances before gods and princes. In the second civilization lyric poems and dramas without music are inconceivable. The little song for the prima donna and the great dramatic solo scene for the actor (*Urvasi*) had developed to performances of the highest skill, and there were also scenes with duets and choruses. When, after the time of the Buddha, system and the separate sciences evolved in all fields, a theory of music arose ; the strings of the lute seem to have provided the basis for a uniform scale (grama), and the tones were sub-divided into semi-tones and quarter-tones.

Unfortunately we can attach no dates to any of this. We do not know what the Indians invented themselves, and what they owed to Greek influence, either directly or through the medium of the Persians and Arabs, and merely adapted to their own evolutionary plane. In the living music of latter-day India more recent influences have made themselves felt since India's contact with modern Europe (for instance the adoption of bars). That not only adds to the difficulty of discovering the process of historical development, till it becomes almost impossible, but also very nearly prevents our making use of Indian music, which belongs to an evolutionary plane nearest to that of the Greeks, for the purpose of gaining a clear idea of the effects of the lost Greek music.

Indian music must have been like Greek in the same way that Indian monism or the Indian epic are like the works of Xenophanes or Homer. In India, too, spoken and sung declamation must have been distinguished ; here, too, vocal and instrumental music must have followed an independent line of development and elaboration, probably in the course of the second civilization. It is very probable that Greek models exercised an influence by suggesting forms (solo scenes with arias and instrumental solos, programme music) and promoted technique. But whatever was borrowed was so completely assimilated that it appeared indigenous. Indian, like Greek, music was only concerned with the comprehension and elaboration of a simple succession of sounds and knew nothing of harmony in our sense of the word ; but in course of time the succession of sounds evolved intervals and rhythms finely differentiated and ornate, and also underwent a process of simplification and popularization, corresponding to the Christian chorale, in the monastic songs of the Buddhists.

When we compare the Indian theory of music with that of the Greeks we are particularly well able to discern both kinship and distinctions. Like Pythagoras, the ancient Indians sought to render the incorporeal world of sound uniform and simply comprehensible, and this tendency resulted in the production of a basic scale for which a simple designation of notes (the initial letters of the names of the strings) and, at a late date, a musical notation were invented. The Indians, with their trend towards unity and their great skill in nomenclature—both characteristic of the early monist plane—were actually more favourably placed than the more scientifically accurate Greeks, and Guido of Arezzo in the eleventh century could adopt the Indian uniform notation for the seven notes in the octave in the European theory of music as being an improvement on the Greek system. Indeed, the Indians themselves felt that they were superior to the Greeks in the possession of their scale, whether, as is probable, its construction was originally suggested by Greek models or not. They adopted the further subdivision into semitones and quarter-tones, but not the Greek modes nor the mathematical speculations which served as a basis for Greek theory. The consequence was a complete breakdown of theory ; there were soon hundreds of modes and scales ; in every melody the key-note was considered to be that which occurred most often, and thereupon a scale was built up with the notes that occurred in the melody. Mythology tells of 16,000 scales and science of 960 ; these are round numbers and nowise based upon mathematical calculation of the possibilities of constructing scales with or without particular notes. Deficient logic sought but did not find confirmation and support in imperfect observation of vocal and instrumental pieces. In contrast with the simple general concept, the uniform scale, we find an incalculable wealth of single melodies with their " scales ", unrelated and unrelatable, just as the Maya, the variegated world of the senses, which men endeavoured to sum up in lists, half logically, half visually, stood in contrast with the One, which they conceived metaphysically.

Learning

The learning of the Indians in its final form was still a canon, a sacred compendium of all knowledge, an orthodox religion as with the Jews and Persians, and already, likewise, it was a systematic and logically arranged survey of the universe, divided into philosophy and the separate sciences as with the Greeks. The Brahmans were the exponents of learning. They were philosopher-priests, interpreters of the Scriptures like the Rabbis, thinkers and scientific investigators like the Greek philosophers, and ultimately mystic penitents. But the representatives of other religious philosophies of life, the Buddhist monks, for instance, were scholars too, in their time. In India learning was religion, and religion of every kind was given a learned form. The heroic songs and the books of law, the *Mahabharata* and Manu's law, were incorporated in the canon side by side with the Vedic hymns and incantations, and speculations about sacrifices and the unity of all things. Linked with the canon were the orthodox philosophical systems, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology, medicine, and much more besides. The Buddhist, like the Vedic, canon also aimed at a certain completeness, at any rate as regards philosophy. (Discourses of the Buddha, theory of cognition, cosmology, psychology, the doctrine of the wheel of births, ethics, and the theory of non-ethical values.) As with the Jews, the sum of all knowledge possessing value was made dependent on the single knowledge of God, but, in a more scientific spirit, the separate parts retained more of their original form than with the Jews ; the epics were not pulverized to history (it is true that in consequence history was entirely neglected), and a multiplicity of systems of orthodox philosophy was tolerated. The Indians nearly rose to the Greek plane, but not quite. There was room in the Brahmans' canon for monism as well as for monotheism and polytheistic semblance, but not for atheism, sensualism, and materialism. There is place in the Buddhist canon for atheistic and sensualist teaching, agnostic and critical in spirit. Completely sceptical, materialistic doctrines, however, were rejected by both scriptural religions and so have been lost to us, for even the more scientific Indians, Brahmans as well as Buddhists, as true guardians of the canon, prevented the preservation and propagation of heresy, and its very existence is only known through their refutations.

Indian science began as religious speculation about the nature of the Deity, who was sought and conceived as being at once the essence of the universe and the One whose knowledge brought salvation. From the monotheism of Indra-Zeus, from the personifications of law governing the universe, and of conceptions of the elements (Varuna, Agni), there proceeded the early monism of the Atman, and the Samkhya theory of that which is determined by number and of fundamental dualism, all assuming a more impersonal and abstract form. Whilst the Brahmans were reconciling and assimilating the Atman doctrine with beliefs concerning the gods and sacrifices, and so evolving the Atman-Brahman doctrine, and whilst theory was giving rise to a dogmatic scepticism which found its satisfaction in the destruction of existing values, there arose the great critic, the Socrates of the first Indian civilization, the Buddha. He offered salvation through thoughtful humanity and the spirit of learning, and discovered the formula of suffering, the strictly logical inference, and the germ of future systems. Only at this point (after 480 B.C.) did the construction of systems begin in India (they were all systems of salvation) after which the separate sciences could be elaborated.

Indian civilization and Indian learning never threw off the fetters of religion. The latter centuries of the first civilization were occupied by the establishment of the religious canon and by religious conflicts and compromises. Great scholars in the separate sciences whose names have been preserved only appear as isolated units, grammarians such as Panini (perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C.) and his first great successors, and doctors like Charaka, who is said to have been physician in ordinary to King Kanishka in the first century A.D. To a much greater extent even than in Greece did all learning remain imprisoned within the confines of philosophy and religion, and grammar alone achieved independence as the primary instrument for the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, the introductory science, like Aristotle's logic in Greece.

These systems only assumed their final form during the second civilization ; only then did the classical representatives of the other separate sciences appear—the great mathematicians, astronomers, and astrologers (always the three together), and the physicians, jurists, and lexicographers, the counterparts of the Alexandrians. Here also, as in the lyric and the drama, the fresh vigour of the new race continued to give birth to new forms, without rising above the plane of the first civilization ; to some extent, indeed, they clearly assimilated and borrowed Greek works.

Strangely enough, Indian culture had no highly developed system of writing until the third century B.C. All the religious and philosophical speculations of the classical age, Yajnavalkhya's Atman doctrine and its theoretical development and disintegration, the doctrine of the Buddha and of his principal disciples, were all handed down for centuries by word of mouth, like the hymns and rites of the *Veda*, and the epics and laws. Even the State administration of the Videha princes and the kings of Magadha seems to have been conducted somehow without documents, at least no public pillars inscribed with laws and edicts have come down to us. The great King Asoka (259–222 B.C.) was the first to declare by writing in stone his determination to raise the human and moral standard of his subjects all over his realm, with a clear perception that he was undertaking something new in thus writing, exhorting, and commanding for all eternity.

This is startling, but it is not without parallel. The Greeks of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the contemporaries of Homer and Hesiod, of the first lyric poets, and of the religious movement associated with Dionysus and Apollo, had no highly developed system of writing. Even Xenophanes and Pythagoras still counted on their doctrines being spread only by word of mouth. Solon did something unheard of when he set up his law publicly and in writing, and not until the end of the fourth century B.C. did reading and writing become general. Writing existed in India before Asoka's time, and perhaps even before the Aryan invasion (there has recently [1] been some talk of the discovery of Elamite civilization with cuneiform in one place), in any case before Alexander's time. In the northwest of India an alphabet was in use in Asoka's time which had eight characters in common with the Aramaic, eight others which had unquestionably been borrowed from the Aramaic and altered, and, most important of all, which had retained the Aramaic way of writing from right to left. If the Greeks had introduced this writing, it would have been written in the Greek way from left to right. I should be inclined to assume that it reached India before Alexander's day as the writing of international commerce, coming from the Persian Empire, though scarcely through the Persians themselves; and that it was used by traders, and perhaps also by officials in commercial and official intercourse (for Persian official documents were written in Aramaic, although the writing on the monuments is Persian and Babylonian cuneiform), possibly also in the Kingdom of Magadha, and so had been adapted to meet the needs of Indian phonetics. Then Alexander appeared. The general superiority of the Greeks, which the Indians felt indignantly and resisted, involved also a superior system of writing. After the national victory the great kings, Chandragupta's son in the first instance, began to learn from their opponents. Middle-class Buddhist enlightenment, always in favour of doctrines of practical value and of salvation open to all, made use of writing as a weapon in the fight of the rising class of officials, citizens, and monks against the Brahman and military aristocracy with its doctrines of mystery and privilege. Then Aramaic and Greek systems of writing were transformed into a specifically Indian system, with all the energy of advanced scholarship, practised in definition, and itself equal to the invention of an elaborate system of writing. The characters were increased in number and altered, and new ones were added in the old style. The phonetic content of the language was determined exactly and designated. At first there were thirty-two characters, that is eight more than the Greeks had, and the number was later systematically increased to forty-three. Writing ran from left to right as with the Greeks. This specifically Indian alphabet must have been created in Asoka's time or shortly before; afterwards the Aramaic-Indian writing must have reached its final form and been augmented as it appears on the monuments in the north-west. Indian trade, which was trying to expand in the bourgeois empire, with or without Buddhist propaganda, must have helped to spread the new writing. The Brahmans, whom Asoka treated with perfect fairness as the representatives of a system of enlightenment as much entitled to recognition as Buddhism, must also have begun to write like the Buddhists. They evolved serious literature in competition with that of Buddhism, just as they borrowed its formula of salvation and sent abroad ascetic preachers.

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[1] The manuscript of this book was finished on 15th July, 1926.

The principal branch of Indian learning is philosophy, that is, primarily metaphysics, a theory of right action for the individual. Metaphysics remained religious, it was the doctrine of the One, the Brahman-Atman, the divine foundation of the Universe, into which man is absorbed through knowledge, and the doctrine of pain, its cause and conquest, or of the wheel of births, reincarnation according to merit and guilt, dissolution in the One, and so on. The doctrine of right action which was deduced from the facts of metaphysics, was always a doctrine of salvation ; the individual was shown how he might pass from semblance to reality, and from pain and re-birth to blissful or, at least, eternal rest. This composite unit known as philosophy was not broken up. Its metaphysics embraced fundamental concepts proper to physics and psychology, as also to ethics and the theory of non-ethical values (*Güterlehre*), but they remained confined within the bonds of metaphysics, and embryonic like the whole of Indian monism. Attempts must certainly have been made to develop further the speculations about the elements which were present in notions concerning the Atman (air, breath) and concerning Varuna and Agni (universal law and fire) and particularly in incipient atomism of various types, quantitative and qualitative. Greek philosophy doubtless exercised an influence here, if only to clarify and supplement, but it only resulted in a science of lists, in which numerically equal series of elements (e.g. ether, air, fire, water, earth, all borrowed from the Greeks !) were associated with the senses, organs of touch, etc., their qualities were defined, or pairs of opposites, such as unity and multiplicity, static Being and motion, Being and Semblance were contrasted without full elucidation. Psychology was no clearer than physics (actually metaphysical ontology and cosmology). Here, too, various souls and capacities were enumerated and distinguished from one another and from the body. In the same abstract manner in which " breath " was magnified into Universal Being, the " little male " (in the eye ; Purusha) was magnified into the principal soul, which was eternal and divine and rational and animated the body. Various functions of cognition and the organs of sense and will were distinguished. But all this only constitutes the elements of psychology ; it is not worked out. Even among the Greeks physics and psychology were not separated from philosophy ; that was only achieved in the modern era. With them, however, every element was once used as the basis of a uniform explanation of the universe, and the fundamental notions of Being and Semblance, Being and Becoming, and the Ego and the world stood out clearly as mutually exclusive opposites, whilst the world of Being, comprising the elements and the functions of the soul, was clearly defined and astir. With the Indians all notions were fluid and dissolved into a thousand vague equations, whilst the distinctions were no less vague. The problem of the relation between metaphysics on the one hand and physics and psychology on the other, which was posed by Plato and first solved by Aristotle, simply did not arise. With all this, the One, the many, and the particular were clearly visualized and well defined, but there was a failure of logical capacity. The " little image " in the eye (Purusha) was at the same time the soul in the religious sense of the divinely animating principle. The result of thus equating them was superficial and futile, yet directly afterwards a similar process was applied to the ultimate unity of the Ego with the Universal.

Ethics and the theory of non-ethical values (*Güterlehre*) were also undistinguished from one another and in general from metaphysics as the theory of right action. Indian philosophy really knew no divine commands which must be obeyed, like the Jewish commandments.[1] Even in the moral sphere something like natural law prevailed, altogether in harmony with the Universal, the Divine, Being. It was very variously conceived. Yajnavalkhya violated no moral law because no earthly possessions, in their unreal semblance, had seductive power over him when compared with peaceful mergence in the universal God. The Buddha refused to attach himself so that he might escape suffering. His disciples feared punishment in a new incarnation, which would bring good or evil strictly in accordance with natural law. Man acts humanely and virtuously in his own interest, spontaneously, without compulsion ; quite objectively he recognizes the worthlessness of semblance and desires the One, the Essence, his own divine nature ; when he is less emancipated he desires to escape suffering. No " jealous God " threatens him, nor is he admonished by the Father God of Jesus ; he depends upon his own reason and the fear of suffering. But mixed up with this attitude is much that is all too human, much religious dogmatism : the hope of union with God and fear of re-incarnation. Here, too, the Greeks had advanced further; Socrates eliminated hope and fear, and only "true happiness" remained as the aim of right conduct. The Buddha, indeed, adopted a very similar attitude; he only sought freedom from suffering; but his doctrine is too narrow, too much directed towards a painless condition as an ideal accepted under constraint, too selfishly cautious; he could never admit suffering for a man's country and for the law as virtue. And here lies the limitation of all things Indian; the Indian philosophy of life isolates more than any other,[1] each individual depends upon himself; whether or not he desires to lose himself in the Universal and escape pain and re-birth, is his own private affair and problem; the separate individuals are bound together by no common Deity, no duty or charity towards neighbours; moral relations are maintained in a very amoral spirit simply by the desire of each to do the best for himself, by his conviction that inhuman conduct, being contrary to Nature or a source of passion, will bring vengeance on itself. Subsequently this egotistical amiability developed a chivalrous and æsthetic character (at the art-loving courts), and a more Christian hue, when interpreted as a duty to love all creatures; but essentially it remained unchanged.

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[1] Not till philosophy was adapted to the masses and rendered superficial did the curses of Brahmans and the activity of demons appear in the service of divine law.

The ideal of Indian life is the liberated soul who can live blissfully in the Universal One or painlessly in the world of every day; this developed into the ideal of flight from the world as a penitent or begging monk. An educational system was established to inculcate these ideals of the Brahman and Buddhist religions, for it was essential to acquire the sacred knowledge embodied in the canon. The Brahmans evolved a theory of pedagogy, according to which the twice-born ascends from the position of pupil to a Vedic Master to that of the Master himself, who knows the *Vedas* and gathers vast powers through penitence. They produced works of specialist instruction for the knights and merchants (not only for themselves as priests); of these the *Mirror for Princes* is the most important whilst the *Mirror for Harlots* and the *Mirror for Thieves* are the most curious; they are an expression of eagerness and ability to classify logically and apply everything to practical life. Indian pedagogy also possessed compendiums and catechisms.

Indian philosophy strove to attain the scientific form of a system. And during the course of the second Indian civilization people did succeed in constructing a whole series of philosophical systems, obviously copying Greek models; some were orthodox and some heretical. It is characteristic of the Indian evolutionary phase that there were not a few systems in India associated with fundamentally contradictory principles (Stoicism and Epicureanism) or great names (Plato and Aristotle), but several hundred straight away, all alike anonymous, or in other words called after the founder of the school, of whom we know nothing but his name, and who was often only nominally the creator of the completed system. Indian logic, in spite of Greek influence and in spite of the fact that it demanded clear definitions and correct inferences, was always quite inadequate as an instrument for the scientific mastery of reality; it remained in the germ, like Indian monism, with which it was on a par. In spite of endless exercises in debate and systematization, it led to no complete and assured results, no established forms. We are offered the idea of oneness, the Atman, the variegated multiplicity of the world of sense, and a model inference, by the Buddha, half causal and half logical. Then people tried to unify their world survey in concepts: they analysed the multiplicity of things, classified and enumerated them in the concrete in lists, and explained them sometimes causally (though they accepted miracles as the natural intervention of gods and penitents who controlled the Universal through the power of their spirit and their penitence), sometimes logically (in equations and syllogisms). Nothing could be united, for they had put a gulf between the conceptual One, as divine and precious but ("No, no") beyond the grasp of the senses, and the concrete Many, worthless, but within our grasp. Nothing could be defined and classified with certainty, for they knew neither mutually exclusive opposites in antithesis nor definitions and comparisons with a determinate point of comparison. People were vivid and skilful in designation, and conscious of the arbitrary nature of signs and the necessity of using unvarying signs for purposes of designation. But again and again when the process was applied to the objective world of experience, the outcome was confined to a few fundamental relations (unity and multiplicity, thought and the senses), and a numerical survey of the visual world presented to experience; it was a science of lists confined to particular numbers (for instance, 5) on the one hand, and on the other to certain common qualities of all things enumerated—a relation for the most part visual, but also intellectual; it was a kind of scholasticism which was not improved by a constant succession of fresh hair-splitting discussions and subtleties of distinction effected with inadequate equipment. By these methods the Indians brought everything that came within their experience into a system—the world and mankind, the art of love and the art of theft, all was strung on a thread at last, embodied in " science " as being " controlled by number ", made easily accessible for the purposes of scholarship.

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[1] This it has in common with the English philosophy of life which also teaches every individual to pursue his own interest but, being more realistic, teaches that he will prosper best if he moderates his egotism.

Of the sciences which attained a certain independence beside philosophy the most important are mathematics and astronomy, grammar and rhetoric, as was also the case in Greece. Mathematics makes its appearance in the Vedic canon of the first civilization as the geometry of places of sacrifice, the so-called " rules of the cord " (*Sulva-sutras*). Their methods of measuring the place of sacrifice and constructing altars of various shapes bear witness to a considerable knowledge of geometry, with the theorem of Pythagoras accorded a dominant position and applied in practice. In the second civilization several distinguished mathematicians appeared, such as Aryabhata (born A.D. 476) and Brahmagupta (born A.D. 598), both astronomers as well, just as the Alexandrian mathematicians were also physicists. Although they knew and used the principal Greek words on astronomy, and may, therefore, be presumed to have been acquainted with Euclidian geometry, they had no interest in geometry. Nowhere are we conscious of Euclid's strictly logical method, and the practical results were inferior to those achieved by the Greeks. On the other hand, they were great arithmeticians, juggling freely with signs and numbers and brilliant in calculation. It was doubtless by no mere chance that in the Europe of antiquity Diophantus, the only great algebraist, appeared when strict logic and natural science had fallen into decay and been ousted and supplanted by religious metaphysics (Plotinus). Even in the first civilization the Indians evinced the capacity of their evolutionary phase for jugglery with numbers and signs (a characteristic of the yet imperfect logic which accompanies monism in the germ) by inventing very convenient and far-reaching designations of numbers, and great skill in calculation, so that they regarded involution and extracting roots as quite elementary operations. The essence of their method of designating numbers seems to have been the simple use of the initial letters of the names of the numbers 1–9, 10–90 (tens), 100, and 1,000, as numerical signs ; this was done by a decimal system, either by adding or multiplication. There were in addition words for 100,000, 1,000,000, for 10, 100, and 1,000 million, and so on. A brilliant scheme of simplification was successfully devised before A.D. 600, probably at the beginning of the second civilization, by the invention of 0, a sign for empty points, for zero; this, with the help of the figures 1–9, rendered possible a decimal system in which the position of the figures determined their value, whereby numbers of any required magnitude could be denoted simply and uniformly. Subsequently that system captured the world and has become ours. Similar to this were Indian labours on the theory of number, in which they far excelled the Greeks, and on determinate and indeterminate equations, possibly suggested by Diophantus but quite independently carried beyond the results reached by him. In the terminology of algebra the Indians were the teachers of the Arabians, and thereby of the whole world.

Indian astronomy cannot have attained much importance in the first civilization. The normal year was a solar year, but there was also a system of lunar calculation and the practice of intercalation. As the Indians knew the twenty-eight phases of the moon, they must have observed the planets. And of course they had a science of astrology. The age of metaphysics was not favourable to an exact astronomical science. Natural philosophy, dominated by physics, included speculations on the universal reign of law, the controlling power of numbers, the universe, fire, and so on; but all this did not take definite shape as a Pythagorean harmony of the spheres. Then came the Greek invasion and brought to India in its train Greek astronomy and astrology and the whole body of Greek systems of divination. And this bastard science exercised more influence than anything else from Greece, because it was in keeping with the Indians' somewhat lower evolutionary plane; they themselves were in process of evolving something similar from their doctrine of Fate. Aryabhata and his celebrated contemporary Varahamihira knew that the earth revolves round its axis and how eclipses of the moon and sun are caused, but primarily how the stars affect men's destiny, how horoscopes and other omens may be calculated and interpreted. The mathematico-astrological works of the Indians, like their whole canon of separate sciences, were written in epic metre, although in the sixth century A.D. writing had long been in use, so that this ancient device for handing down knowledge by memorizing it served principally decorative purposes.

The really exact, indigenous science of the Indians was grammar. Here no influence was exercised by Greek models. If it is true that Panini, India's classical philologist, was a contemporary of Nanda and Chandragupta, then grammar was a finished science and in process of its final rounding off when Alexander appeared in India. That is quite possible, for it sprang directly from the need of interpreting the *Vedas* and its task was the elucidation of words, the restoration of verbal forms from composite and inflected words, the explanation of archaic words and forms, and so on. Its subject was not the sentence and its parts, not the logic and force of language, but the word and its forms and the meaning of the sacred revelation. For that purpose the Indians' logical powers were adequate ; the archaism of the sacred language made analysis easier and in such holy labours men felt the duty of the utmost thoroughness. And so in their holy zeal these " parsers " (resolvers into parts) produced an instrument of exposition, the organon proper to their evolutionary plane,[1] a lasting model for all grammatical work of this nature. In order to meet the attacks of the heretics who said the *Vedas* were meaningless, obscure, and worthless, the Vedic texts were expounded (from the fifth century B.C. onwards) by taking and discussing each word apart from all others with which it was combined. In this process the scholars could not help noticing that the words were divided into fixed roots and changing inflected parts, and that the inflections and combinations of the words obeyed certain laws. Inevitably books of roots were compiled, lexicons of the roots of the language, whether living or dead, and books of rules enumerating the inflections, the manner of inflection and combination, and the laws which governed them. Panini, likewise a master of nomenclature—the first such master in India, coming long before the great algebraists—summed up in 4,000 rules the whole philology of Sanscrit in a series of formulas (the algebra of language) as briefly as possible and with extraordinary completeness. All that remained for his successors was the labour of writing commentaries upon him. Even the grammarians of the second civilization could only emulate him by producing a dictionary of Sanscrit synonyms (*Amarasimha*, sixth century A.D.) and Prakrit grammars (*Vararuchi*, sixth century A.D.).

Indian rhetoric was not, of course, concerned with the art of public speaking (for there were no republics), but only with that of courtly, elegant, and skilful expression. Thus it merged in poetics and treated the poetical form as natural and inevitable. The chief works belong to the second Indian civilization and are attributed to poets, such as Dandin. They describe the technique of the poetic art and construct long-winded and elaborate systems which dominated later literary versification. Dramatic art was likewise discussed and systematized.

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[1] Perhaps grammatical works were written in prose, being regarded, like logic, as a " tool ". They were not of the nature of a separate science, but part of philosophy.

Medicine and jurisprudence also formed part of the canon of learning, and accordingly the principal works were written in metrical form. The great physician, Charaka, is believed to have lived in the first century A.D. and to have been physician in ordinary to King Kanishka. We must place Susruta at the beginning of the second civilization, whilst Dhanvantari, the famous glossator of medical science, belongs to the sixth century A.D. Without doubt Indian medicine was influenced by Greek, but it did not by any means take over the exact anatomical knowledge upon which the Greek science was based. Its theoretical basis consisted of anatomical and physio-logico-pathological speculations concerning ducts and humours (air, gall, phlegm), and, further, metaphysical and religious ideas of guilt, pollution, and punishment. Number dominated anatomy. Physiology, however, taught a theory of the transformation of the humours which is correct on various points. Methods of diagnosis were careful and various, and probably included elements borrowed from the Greeks. What was most original was the great number of remedies, based upon experience, some of which the Greeks adopted, and a system of diet and hygiene proved in practice to suit the Indian climate and embracing temperance, cleanliness, and massage as its principal features. In spite of Greek influence the Indians did not quite rise to the Greek plane in this branch of applied science either. Indian medicine did not go beyond such elementary scientific knowledge as had been attained about the time of Pythagoras.

Indian jurisprudence established in the first instance a canon of Vedic law which, like the Jewish law, made no distinction between questions of purity and of justice. From the fifth century B.C. onwards the " rules of law " (*Dharmasutras*) were in process of growth, the outcome of the interpretation of the *Vedas*, accepted custom, and the pronouncements of the Brahmans ; they were brief verses, mixed with prose when they were committed to writing. It was not till the beginning of the second civilization that the " Text-books of law " (*Dharmasastras*) were finished ; these were complete works in metrical form ascribed to the sages of antiquity such as Manu, Yajnavalkhya, and others. There were many dozens of them, but the *Law of Manu* was most widely read and enjoyed the greatest authority because it defended the claims of the Brahmans and princes and so was in favour with the most influential classes at the time of the second civilization, and because it is the most complete in form. It is no mere chance that this canon law, which corresponded on a higher plane to the Jewish law, was completed in an era when men were nearer to monotheism (*Bhagavadgita* ?) than to monism. But the higher scientific powers of the Indians are evinced by the fact that, in addition to the canon law, there are laws in which the religious element is entirely absent, like the *Narada-smrti* which is a purely practical statement of civil law. Associated with the books of law was a mass of commentary, the counterpart of Roman commentaries on jurisprudence, but on a somewhat lower plane on account of the Indians' less adequate logic.

The vast wisdom literature of the Indians is not collected in definite canon books. The Indian canon contains no *Proverbs of Solomon* ; but proverb wisdom was not separated altogether from the canon ; it did not descend to the level of mere adages, partly the antiquated property of the populace, or remodelled in the somewhat higher form of fables. There were fables, as we have seen, in quite early times ; they gave concrete form to proverbs and culminated in them. But these fables are found in the canonical *Mahabharata* and that epic is strewn with maxims of wisdom. Thus the wisdom of the proverbs was preserved in the canon after all. In the second civilization, too, proverbs continued to form an accepted and esteemed branch of literature. At this point collections of fables and miraculous tales appeared, and proverbs not only gave occasion for the narration of the appropriate tale but thrust themselves in at all points independently. They had their place in the drama as well as in epic poetry. But most important was the growth of a personal wisdom literature, proverbs in the form of literary poems ; the leading poet in this field was Bhartrihari (about A.D. 650). The wisdom that finds expression in his *Hundred Songs of Practical Wisdom on Love and Freedom from Passion* is nowise distinct from literary lyric poetry. He wrote in short poems arising from the events of the moment, from passion, the observation of a mood, a common interest, a little scene. But their content is philosophical, though it is artistically and sometimes artificially presented with great charm ; he writes of the joy of life and escape from the world, of fate and transitoriness, the worthlessness of all earthly treasure, and yearning for the tranquil life of the penitent, but also in praise of knowledge and culture, steadfastness and nobility of soul. Here again, therefore, the Indians stand between the Jews and the Greeks. They had a philosophical theory of ethics and of non-ethical values, but they had also a canon of wisdom in proverbs. The two are linked by fables and reflective epigrammatic verse which express the individual experience of an individual poet, who nevertheless was still fettered.

Under the heading of wisdom literature of a non-philosophical character we must mention the enumeration and description of all manner of knaves and fools, such as that given by the rogue Muladeva in Kshemendra's *Kalavilesa* (eighth century) to Chandragupta, the merchant's son, in order to prepare him for life. We see a procession of bigots and skinflints, avaricious folk and liars, insolent fellows and lovesick fools ; we are shown the spiteful tricks of officials and goldsmiths, doctors, astrologers, alchemists, singers, and first and foremost women who bring their beauty to market. It is something between a study of the several types of rogue and fool and a class satire. In seventh century Greece Simonides in his *Pedigree of Women* entered upon a similar path, and Roman satire pursued it to the end with far greater artistic and satirical power. Brandt's *Ship of Fools* and Quevedo's *Dreams* are closely akin, but pre-ripened.

History is entirely lacking in the field of Indian learning. That does not imply, of course, that no historical records were made. The princes always kept genealogical tables and family memoirs, and the courts annals and chronicles, for practical ends ; it must have been a matter of course to keep such records once writing was introduced. But these notes did not find a place in serious literature ; they were equally despised by the representatives of both the leading schools, the Brahmans and Buddhists. The monist attitude of mind knows nothing of the passage of time, nothing of the State ; man has one sole aim, to lose himself in the Universal, blissfully in the Deity, painlessly in nothingness ; all that is requisite is to grasp that aim truly and to pursue it through righteous, humanely virtuous conduct ; that is equally true of princes in the great world and of private persons in their narrower circle. History can tell of nothing but war and violence, of endless shifting of frontiers, of the building of temples, hospitals, and roads, and the planting of fruit trees, or of beneficence, justice, and the propagation of faith ; the warlike deeds and acts of violence are either bad and senseless or punishments inflicted by divine command, of which a man does not boast ; the rest is sacred duty of which a noble man does not speak, but performs it in God's name ; the community may perhaps bear it in mind. World history can no more be based upon the Universal than upon the individual. There are great cycles in Nature, decreed by God, like great floods. There is a law of just retribution, but it runs its course without a history, unremembered in re-incarnations. The Deity is Fate, unfathomable except in the case of a few acts of retribution (as when Brahmans receive injury). There is an ancient lore of the days of long ago, but it is always in the form of divine and heroic epics, nowise connected with world history. There are world eras in which Krishna or Buddha are incarnated again and again, but they remain a blank ; at any moment a great penitent may intervene in the course of Nature and history with godlike power. The evolutionary plane of the Indians was between that of the Jews and Persians and that of the Chinese and Greeks ; for them God's plan for the universe was a law of Nature and morality, a timeless cycle, and man was wholly isolated, bent upon his own salvation, assuming impersonally now this form and now that in everlasting re-incarnations according to his deserts. He had not developed enough individuality, enough independent rationality, to attach importance to the historical destiny of himself or his State ; every great penitent was of greater importance than statesmen and generals. The hero and the State were Maya, the sport of shadows, snatching at shadows. It is true that at a later period there was an impulse in Buddhist circles to preserve memories of great and sinful kings, servants and enemies of God bringing lasting blessings or curses, but the outcome was only legend, not " history ". True, in Brahman circles the memory of Chandragupta's minister Chanakya was cherished, but only as a model of a timeless, Brahman politician. In the second civilization, at the courts of princes who filled the role of Mæcenas, there were poets who extolled their living patrons. Thus in the seventh century A.D. Bana wrote a literary prose epic describing the life of Sriharsha Siladitya, but the personal touch is lost in conventionality. Not till the twelfth century, after the period covered by this book, was a history written in Kashmir under Persian, Islamic influence. But the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the author's own day, is more a poetical than an historical work.

Plastic and Pictorial Art

The Indians reached the monistic plane in their philosophic outlook, and that gave place to a philosophic monotheism with polytheistic symbolism. In Judah monotheism almost destroyed plastic and pictorial art, the somewhat loftier religion of Persia failed at any rate to encourage it, and even in Greece it was a long time before a plastic and pictorial art sprang from the soil of Homeric ideas of Fate and Zeus. In spite of the vivid divine figures in the *Iliad* it was not till a century and a half after the probable date of Homer's birth that a national art of temple construction and sculpture developed from the pious cult of Apollo and Dionysus. So it seems to have happened in India. Though there was plenty of stone and princely builders, and though people had the necessary geometrical and technical knowledge for building great edifices, no stone buildings were erected before Asoka. It is true that religion did not stimulate the building of great edifices. All that the Brahmans needed was a place of sacrifice in the open equipped with altars and the rest. They needed neither temples nor great tombs. The people must have adhered to the outward forms of the solar religion ; menhirs, stone circles, and burial mounds marked their places of worship. But we might expect stone palaces, at least in the Magadha kingdom. Yet there were none ; the ancient wooden hall of the north developed into a royal palace ; it extended in width, length, and height, its ante-chambers were enlarged and varied, but it was still built of wood. It came to be more richly ornamented and foreign luxury exercised an influence. The Persian column with animals bearing the weight above the capital, the Babylonian hybrids and winged creatures, palmettes and lotus ornamentation must have been borrowed in wood architecture before the time of Alexander and have undergone a certain process of adaptation to Indian surroundings (the elephant). As in Persia, palaces and cities were embellished with pools and parks.

Alexander's invasion is not likely to have revolutionized architecture and plastic and pictorial art, although Chandragupta and his son would have heard through their ambassadors of the stone palaces, temples, and cities of the Seleucid rulers. These ambassadors' reports may have stimulated Asoka's ambition to create eternal monuments of his faith in salvation that was to bring happiness to mankind, sanctuaries equal to those of any other religion ; they may have fired him to build as well as write in stone. Hitherto Buddhism had been a religion without temples like Brahmanism ; indeed the Buddhists despised the Brahman sacrifices and places of sacrifice with their display, rejected all worship of images and fetishes, and eschewed all gaudy decoration of tombs. The meeting places of the faithful and the monks' settlements must have been quite unpretentious ; they may have been in the citizens' houses and gardens or in caves and groves out of doors. But some steps must have been taken towards a new development. There were holy places where the Buddha or his favourite disciples had been born or converted or had died, and relics of saints who were regarded with peculiar reverence. It may be that in certain places a grove or tomb held sacred by the popular religion was merged with one of these holy places. Buddhism was just about to become the religion of the broad mass of citizens. Alike its monks and the bourgeois Buddhist apostles of enlightenment welcomed anything which might distinguish the religion of salvation from Brahmanism, mark it as more progressive, and make it the religion of the masses. That great object could be promoted by building stone sanctuaries and monasteries just as much as by popular preaching and penitential psalms, the break-up of the castes and the spread of writing. The Brahmans did not want temples, so the Buddhists had to want them ; the Brahmans rejected the popular menhirs, stone circles, and burial mounds as places of worship, so Buddhism had to recognize them by dedicating them to the Buddha. Asoka (259–222 B.C.) placed himself altogether in the service of this religious propaganda. The burial mound of the solar religion now developed into the stupa, the domed stone mound, a mass of stone with a domed top, either solid or with a little stone chamber inside ; it served as a monument to remind people of the earthly life of the Illuminated One and sometimes as a receptacle for relics. These stupas varied greatly in size ; out of doors they attained a considerable height and breadth. A new meaning was read into the mound shape, just as it was dedicated anew. The stupa, regarded as a bubble of water, symbolized the transitory character of all earthly things ; on its summit is an umbrella-like finish, the symbol of sovereignty or of the holy Bohdi tree under which the Buddha received illumination. Out in the open, this stone structure was raised on a small stone terrace ; it was surrounded by a stone fence, evolved from the stone circle of solar religion, with lofty, aspiring gates. So, too, the stone pillar or solar phallus (menhir) was pressed into the service of Buddhism in the form of a monumental column bearing a sacred symbol and a votive inscription ; the symbol was usually a solar animal, the lion or elephant, sometimes the solar wheel, all, of course, re-interpreted to apply to the Buddha, or as the wheel of birth. These columns are found singly, but also in large numbers in the neighbourhood of stupas. Stone fences and columns were embellished with all the resources of art. The stonemason's work, in the entablature and reliefs, especially on the gates, was an imitation of the wooden frame and carving ; the slender columns still displayed the alien bell-shaped capital and ornamentation of palmettes and lotus on the edge of the abacus ; but everything is simple, well-balanced, and pleasing in these monuments of Asoka's time.

In Asoka's period and that of the succeeding Buddhist kings, civilized India was strewn with monasteries. Of these only a few cave sanctuaries have been preserved. Hermits doubtless liked to make their dwelling in small caves, and monastic communities might find shelter in larger ones ; there, too, the earliest councils were doubtless held. We find proof of the rising power of Buddhism and the great king's resolve to glorify his religion in the fact that these sanctuaries, originally provided by Nature and sanctified by faith, now developed into skilfully designed and magnificent structures. Caverns were hewn out of the intact rocks, galleries were excavated, the caves were enlarged to the size of halls, and were surrounded with a circle of cells. The proportions of these halls and the number of cells increased. The entrance, by which the hall was lighted, was embellished skilfully with arches and columns. The hall itself inevitably developed into a pillared hall so that the heavy roof of rock might not fall in. In this way the earliest cave temples evolved ; they were meeting-houses for worship attached to monasteries. The stupa took the place of the divine image, being a symbol of transitoriness and of the might of the Illuminated One, and at the same time a reliquary (in later centuries an image of the Buddha). It stood at the end of the nave in the semi-circular space at the end of the hall. It was the chief symbol of this religion devoid of image or altar, and the rows of columns directed the eye towards it ; illumined by the light from the main entrance, it stood out alone, against the darkness of its background. The most successful of these cave temples, for instance, the temple of Karli (78 B.C.) with its thirty bell columns, attain to a well-balanced and tranquil harmony instinct with beauty and dignity ; the interior effect is equal to that of the best Christian basilicas. Each separate part helps to produce the noble balance of the whole—the stupa, the ribbed dome of the roof, and the heavy octagonal columns with their high plinths on a terraced base and the headpieces often higher still, made up of the bell, abacus, and elephant riders. All the different elements—the primitive character of the burial mound, the influence of wood architecture on the stone roof, and the foreign parts of the columns—all are subdued by a vigorous national artistic taste and impulse, and brought into perfect unity.

Unluckily there are no temples standing free and dating from the pre-Christian era, for the towered temple of Bodh Gaya, supposed to have been built by Asoka beside the Bo tree, is much later. Perhaps their exterior would equal the interior of the temple of Karli in simplicity.

Compared with Greek architecture there is a certain inadequacy in the harmony and simplicity of even the best work. Here, too, we see how the Indians fell short of complete logic, as they fell short of complete monism ; they never attained to pure and severe perfection in any style of temple or column. The pillars at Karli, which actually bear the weight of the rock roof, seem to bear the elephant riders of the capitals, and the ribs of the roof hang out beyond down into free space. Such inorganic fragments must have persisted even in the best open-air edifices in this golden age of Indian architecture.

The new art of stone architecture could accomplish no more in the latter centuries of India's first civilization than to perfect and elaborate the stupa and cave sanctuary. It began late (at a period corresponding to the Alexandrian age in Greece) and the vigour of the ageing race failed ; aggression from without and domestic turmoil destroyed the resources necessary for great building schemes.

The representatives of the second Indian civilization resumed the great architectural tasks of their cultural predecessors and sought to solve their problems in a new and grander style. Theirs are the great temples of the Hindu religion, or at least the earlier ones of a series that continued until the most recent centuries. They adapted the cave temples to their own cult ; a rectangular *cella* took the place of the stupa, and the underground, flat-roofed halls with their fantastic ornamentation on walls and pillars were designed in the spirit of Vishnu and Siva worship. But daylight edifices now prevailed, gigantic temples under the open sky. They are characterized by mighty towers above the Holy of Holies ; these towers have many storeys (as in the Buddhist temple of Bodh Gaya) and rise like terraced pyramids, or else they end in a rounded peak in consequence of their internal structure as corbelled pseudo-vaults. They are further characterized by vast blocks in which horizontal lines predominate, and the effect is massive ; it is not, however, an effect of massive stone, but of decorative columns, pillars, cornices, niches, and other ornamental parts. Mighty gates lead to the interior where the columned halls, immense as they are, are a disappointment after the mountain-like exterior, and where the domed towers (built as corbelled pseudo-vaults with horizontal projecting layers of stone) produce a cramped effect. The tendency towards a massive and variegated style not only affects the external and internal surfaces, it extends to the actual structure; towers increase in number and little towerlets spring up everywhere; columned halls, galleries, and courts are multiplied; a second wall is built around the first, and then a third, each one embellished with gates and gateway towers. The final and characteristic product of this striving for immensity, this effort to imitate the massiveness of Nature as seen in mountains through the medium of an ornate art, was the monolith temple of Elura, the Kailasa, which is hewn into its rocky background so that it stands like a giant's plaything in a natural case of rock, flanked on the left and right by Siva menhirs. Nothing further can be achieved in pure matter to express the will to approach and serve the Deity divinely by the conquest of Nature and to create in his honour something vast and worthy of him. It is a repetition on a higher plane of the pyramids, the rock temples, and the obelisks of Egypt, showing greater intellectural power and more consciousness of contrasts. Here is the One embodied in the gigantic form and all the many-coloured multiplicity of the world in the fabric of external ornament with its eternal play of light and shade. And in the interior of this little world hewn out of the natural rock, in the cave temple now endowed with external form, dwelt the Deity, the Indian Trinity. The simplicity of the Egyptian counterparts may be more pleasing to us, but to the Indians belongs the greater aspiration and the profounder thought.

The greatest architectural works of India's second civilization, the most homogeneous in their infinite variety, were produced in the colonies of Java and Indo-China. In India proper this architecture was excelled by the art of the Islamic Indians who, pre-ripened by the influence of Hellenistic and Byzantine antiquity and assisted by alien forces, produced grandly simple temples and minarets in the service of pure monotheism. So ended the fierce ardour and the wrestling with Divine Nature of temple architecture.

There seems to have been no monumental secular architecture among the Indians. Their great architecture, like their philosophy of life, was always religious. It was only in Greece and Rome that ultimately royal palaces, markets, and harbours attained the same grandeur and recognition as temples.

Plastic art and painting among the Indians were distinct neither from architecture nor from one another. That would have involved reflection on their distinct character or at least on the different technical media, and even Greece hardly achieved so much. The walls of interiors and galleries were covered with reliefs like a variegated carpet in which light and shadow played, just as the outer walls were embellished with columns, pillars, cornices, and niches richly ornmented, representing Maya's veil which enveloped the central nucleus alike of the building and the world, where in the last resort the Deity dwelt, sovereign and incarnate. On the gates and other important places high relief develops almost, if not quite, into sculpture in the round, but all as part of the unity of the edifice picturesquely conceived, that is also mere ornament, semblance, Maya, in spite of its great prominence.

Even in Asoka's reign, when stone architecture, and sculpture too, was in its infancy, plastic art was highly developed. Probably it, like architecture, passed through a period when wood was its medium, allowing of an apprenticeship in technique. That apprenticeship need not have been long ; a few decades of vigorous advance about 300 B.C. would be enough. The plastic artists of Asoka's reign (we have only reliefs of this period) were complete masters of the human figure and of animal forms. Where they were piously copying antiquity they carved front-face only, otherwise they worked freely. They could depict typical racial characteristics and complexions, the proportions of the human body, and all movements (especially sitting and crouching postures, and half or quarter profiles), besides typical facial expression. They combined figures—people and animals—in multiple groups, which they designed well, sometimes with deliberate symmetry, sometimes with freedom and variety. These groups, moreover, are placed against an indoor or landscape background, in a domestic interior with the front wall removed, or amongst plants, houses, or hills ; these are sketched with loving care, they are types and yet endowed with character. Yet the artists are chiefly interested not in the variety and natural delineation of types, but in the oneness of the Buddhist faith and its emotional atmosphere. The Buddha's story is told anew and the adoration of the Illuminated One is depicted ; he himself is not shown, only the secondary figures, the other actors in the scene, or the adorers. And these figures came to be ideal types and the scenes ideal scenes, in spite of their great variety. They were dominated by static Being, by common humanity, even in the form of a common expression of less pious sentiments. If we had any non-Buddhist reliefs, the central figure of the scenes would be present, the mode of expression would be more worldly, but the inmost quality would be the same ; for in the Buddha reliefs with no Buddha, fettered in the bonds of religion, the Indians' best ability found an outlet, and their very insufficiency became a source of strength.

The powers of the Indians were nearly equal to those of the Greeks round about 550 or 500 B.C., or a little later, the period in which their plastic art was approaching the phase of mature archaism. From amongst the many types that they saw around them, natural in form and movement, one ideal type emerged—the expression of early monism—confident and free, only occasionally reverting to conscious archaism, mobile, still a little monotonous in expression; this type could be austere, but it could also, even then, be gentle and lovely. It is here that Indian plastic art has a point of contact with Greek; here their ways part and Indian art develops on its own lines (though they follow similar paths). Even here Indian art is not Greek, the different evolutionary plane produces a noticeable effect, here and everywhere. There is none of the Greeks' vigour in attacking problems which led them to study the naked body anatomically and work at each posture till it was perfectly correct and artistically finished. Indian plastic artists had no special love of the nude, but only studied it in a general way; the proportions and movements were, therefore, generally correct, but they were always boneless, rather indefinite, *almost* correct. The robes, too, were always somewhat indefinite and conventional. A canon did develop in India, too, not, however, as a result of measurements from life, but by stressing what a lover might feel to be beautiful in the female body or a devotee fitting and moving in divine worship. And such feats of skill as the delineation of transparent materials were specially in favour.

Even in the earliest Indian reliefs the surfaces were packed with figures. Although the artists were perfectly capable of arrangement and design in the scenes, and able, therefore, to separate several scenes from one another and to present each singly, yet they let picture follow picture without a gap, so that the general impression is one of overcrowding. We must not confuse this with the primitive overcrowding of surfaces, which could be prevented by arranging the figures clearly along a line or in symmetrical order. In this early Indian art each individual scene is really not overcrowded, nor is there a mass of anecdotal detail; it is rich and homogeneous in design. It is the whole, the sum total of scenes, that produces an impression of overcrowding. Here, again, we are reminded of Greek art, in particular of the vases of the sixth century, where likewise each part of the vessel is decoratively filled but where, with the superior art of the Greeks, scenes and ornamentation alternate, so that in spite of abundance the space is not overcrowded with scenes. But in Indian art this weakness becomes a source of strength according to Indian ways of thinking. These series of scenes, this multiplicity of figures, are meant to produce the impression of thronging abundance, representing the variegated world of semblance ; in contrast with them is essential One, the Invisible, the Divine, the Buddha, the undepicted centre of each separate picture of legend and adoration, the centre of the faith served by these sacred edifices. Nothing emphasises more strongly the distinction between this deliberate overcrowding and primitive overcrowding than a comparison with the Egyptian pictures of war chariots, where likewise the space is too closely packed. In Egypt we see the inadequate ability which surrounds a gigantic warrior king, a man though he is accorded divine honours, with countless smaller figures of supplicants and fugitives, falling men and dead bodies : in India the division of the space in each single scene is carried out with perfect mastery, but each single scene and the whole are related to an invisible Something, the divine Master, the universal God. In both the one and the many are placed in contrast, but in the first case it is the one king and the multitude of his subjects—a material relation, in spite of religion—in the second it is the contrast of semblance and essence, mankind and Saviour God. When at last the Buddha himself was portrayed he did not appear excessive in stature amongst his disciples. He was to appear as a man, made equal to the others so that he might bring them salvation. People liked to see human feelings incarnate in him, such as the fear of death and disease, the love of pleasure, and escape from the world. All that distinguished the Illuminated One was his halo and his demeanour expressive of dignity, beauty, and holy power.

In the early centuries the Buddhist religion must have been altogether hostile to imagery (so, too, must Vedic Brahmanism clearly have been, otherwise opposition to idolatry would have been more strongly stressed in Buddhism). When in Asoka's reign Buddhism used temples and imagery as a means of propaganda, actual worship was still without imagery ; the stupa was the principal symbol and there were no images of the Saviour. On into the barbarian era this renunciation persisted, a proof of the spiritual force of the movement, unequalled elsewhere, even after Asoka's time. People began to make images of Vedic gods ; indeed, after Asoka the two religions were to be merged and plastic art gave them outward shape, inspired by the visions of the poets. Yet it was not till about A.D. 200 that the Buddha was depicted, at first as an earthly teacher and master amongst disciples, adorers, enemies, gods, and tempters, but with the halo and the signs of election ; soon, no doubt, he appeared as a sacred image for adoration, sculptured in the round, in places of worship instead of the stupa. Buddha the thinker passed through a period when no image was made of him ; his disciples were depicted, besides other gods, but, in token of reverence, not himself ; finally plastic art represented him as God. He was the invisible God of bourgeois enlightenment before he became the God of the masses and a visible image in the temples.

The figure of the Buddha seated (from the third century A.D. onwards) was the principal figure in Indian sculpture in the round. At that phase of evolution it presented an ideal in the concrete. The problem was to produce an ideal portrait, *the* ideal man, natural, the soul of noble humanity, of spiritual power and beauty, who stood at the same time for God, the soul of the Universe, an object of adoration, the Divine Man and Saviour ; not a naked or mobile figure in which anatomical weaknesses might have been noticeable, but a tranquil, robed, seated figure ; nevertheless a figure rich in possibilities of stressing the different aspects of the man and the god, and portraying the manifold expressions of the spirit. The Buddha figures are the supreme achievement of Indian sculpture in the round ; they are still boneless and soft, but are most closely akin to the Greek divine figures of the archaic period (they became identified with the work of the later Greek period in Gandhara art) ; they are instinct with nobility and profound meditative power. Unhappily the extermination of Buddhism in India has resulted in the disappearance of the best images of this school, the product of the second Indian civilization.

The finest remains of Indian mural and ceiling painting in the cave sanctuary of Ajanta belong, likewise, to the transition period from the second century A.D. onwards, and to the mature second civilization. Here as in the Buddhist reliefs of the first civilization there is, of course, complete mastery of the human figure and animal shapes in their proportions and movements ; they are harmoniously idealized, skilfully arranged in scenes, and cover the surfaces of wall and ceiling in thronging abundance. The easier technique of occasional likeness here and there aids in delineation of the nude, which seems to be more strongly outlined, but in general the earlier boneless style persists. Sometimes facial expression is more successful than in the reliefs ; not only the rapt and solemn meditation of the Buddha images, but also the Master's human sympathy as a teacher or the emotion of the man at his secret parting from his family, is vividly portrayed. In pictures of temptation the despair of the Tempter and the onset of his male and female demons upon the Exalted One are admirably depicted. We discern the limitations of the painter's art in the rarity of success in foreshortening and the absence of perspective. Between the scenes there are only great surfaces filled with decorative ornamentation, sometimes with standing and seated Buddha images, sometimes with plant patterns partly native and partly, no doubt, borrowed from Greece. Thus the artists were beginning to break up the overcrowding surfaces, as in the Greek sixth century vases.

In the reliefs of Hindu art the thronging crush of figures was exaggerated beyond all limit in accordance with the spirit of Vishnu and Siva mythology which the reliefs illustrated. Art became madly fantastic and gave birth to endless monstrosities and symbolic hybrids, half divine, half demoniacal in character, many-handed and many-headed figures with no organic structure, animal shapes and hobgoblins of all kinds : let us remember, moreover, that the snake-demons of the temple of Hercules on the Acropolis previous to the rule of Pisistratus belong to that period of Greek evolution which corresponds to the Indian phase, namely the sixth century. In this confused medley of fantastic shapes the human element recedes, although heroic songs are among the subjects depicted. But the stirring and impassioned character of the pictures carries us away, even where all capacity for clearly concrete and ordered design seems lost in intellectuality or in the tumultuous superabundance of figures.

Hindu sculpture in the round produced no counterpart to the Buddha. Its divine figures, though so close to our senses, are in fact super-sensual, incarnate natural forces of creation and destruction, formless, for ever tumultuous and changeful. Amongst figurines there are, indeed, a few types inherited from an earlier period, in particular Sri Lakshmi, the goddess of beauty ; but these soon petrified into artificiality.

Unhappily we have no specimens of the courtly art of the second civilization, though it is familiar to us through literary lyrics, epics, and dramas. It was altogether secular and courtly ; as in Greece, the fetters of religious art were burst asunder and only the religious framework remained, as in the epic and drama. We hear of portraits drawn by lovers of one another which they considered to be remarkable likenesses ; we must picture them to ourselves as very much idealized, like the literary portraits, following the canon of beauty exactly, but delicate and graceful and of commanding stature. Corresponding to the scenes in *Sakuntala* and *Urvasi* of lovers united in exquisite natural surroundings and of Nature's life (the grove of remorse) there must have been pictures of lovers in the world of Nature. The descriptions of Indian landscape from a bird's-eye view which we meet in the *Meghaduta* (*The Cloud Messenger*) and occasionally elsewhere should have inspired a similar landscape painting. If there was any such art of coloured landscape painting in India, it never reached the Chinese level. Such echoes of pre-Islamic courtly art as have been preserved in the miniature paintings of the succeeding Islamic centuries represent ladies and gentlemen at court in delicate colours and with great charm; sometimes the scene is skilfully placed in a landscape executed with a loving hand; but the human figures are always the main theme. There is no such thing as landscape expressive of moods in which man is merely a part of Nature. The carefully executed animals and plants of Indian art (including plastic and pictorial art) which share in some human action or mood (*Urvasi; Nala and Damayanti*) are on the road to the finely sensed animal and plant pictures of Chinese and Japanese art; so also the tender idylls of love in natural surroundings (*Sakuntala*) and the landscape scenes from the flying clouds (*Meghaduta*) are on the road to the purely emotional landscapes of the Sung period in China. But the details are not merged in the one prevailing mood (these details are seen in part with the artist's and part with the scholar's eye, as, for instance, with the geographer's in *Meghaduta*); Atman and Maya remain distinct, both artistically and logically. The Indians sought to become one with the Universal so that they might control it by a divine magic or lose themselves in it, they lived in loving dalliance with and in Nature, and they were, therefore, still further from attaining the Greek power of reading personality into the figures and passions of their art, and into the forms and laws of their science.

SUMMARY

Indian civilization rose above the Jewish and Persian level, for it just attained to the monistic plane and developed accordingly a greater power of detailed observation. Nevertheless, it remained altogether religious in character and ended in a scholarly monotheism and tritheism with a rich variety of divine figures. On this plane we find political life organized in a monarchy (a religious monarchy aiming at the people's welfare) governing countless individuals concerned only with their own separate salvation ; we find also a class organization of eternal castes, with fundamental equality of the original souls (spiritual democracy), and an economic system dominated by the princes and the middle class, who, however, were closely allied with the learned priesthood and the warrior aristocracy. In poetry we have great heroic epics, and latterly romances and dramas without the element of tragedy. The fable flourished, whilst the elegy and epigram made their appearance. In the sphere of learning a philosophical system of metaphysics and a theory of non-ethical values in conduct, finally embodied in a number of systems, subsisted besides the canon epics, books of laws, and proverbs ; to some extent, indeed, they were embodied in the canon. Of the separate sciences arithmetic and grammar flourished, besides all manner of lists descriptive of the arts of theft and poetry, of divination and love. History was lacking. Logic was incapable of controlling the masses, but it exercised at once a unifying and disrupting influence, introducing both order and confusion into the lists. Plastic and pictorial art continued to be almost exclusively religious ; it produced the stupa and the Buddhist hall for worship (especially in caves, in association with monasteries) ; in the image of the Buddha the prototype of divine humanity was perfected; whilst countless reliefs moulded the world of the senses as the veil and inadequate, sensuous image of the One. Of all the civilizations that we have treated hitherto, Indian civilization approaches nearest to the Greek evolutionary phase (with the exception of that of Rome). The reason is not to be found in the fact that it was Aryan, or partly Aryan, but solely in the fact that both belonged to nearly corresponding stages of development. For the wholly non-Aryan civilization of China approached even more nearly to that of Greece.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE

RACIAL FORMATION AND POLITICAL HISTORY

The Chinese are the historical people *par excellence* on the monist plane, as the Jews are on the monotheistic plane. A very considerable part of their serious literature, highly esteemed and fostered with care, treats of their national history from the earliest times, and claims to be infallibly correct tradition. But alike the monistic and the monotheistic outlook is timeless and concerned with eternal Being, or in any case with an eternally recurring flux. In consequence, Jewish history evolved into the theory of the miraculous election and guidance of the Children of Israel by a universal God in accordance with his righteous nature and will; and Chinese history evolved into the theory of rational and moral universal law, whereby the reason, piety, humanity, and righteousness of great men (rulers and their servants) were the authors of all that was good and always proved their worth by calling down blessings on the heads of rulers and subjects, whilst irrationality and cruel, wicked tyranny had caused endless misery to rulers and people and brought the vengeance of the oppressed upon the evil-doers. The ideal nucleus of the Jewish theory of history was the work of Amos, that of the Chinese owed its origin to Lao Tzu and Confucius. Just as Judaic and Israelitish myths, heroic songs, genealogies, and annals were welded after Amos to a history of Israel, so the Chinese transformed their divine and heroic epics, together with very fragmentary memories of the period before 1,100 B.C., and the genealogies and annals of the Chou dynasty, and possibly of one or two other royal houses, into Chinese primitive history and national history since Confucius (550–480 B.C.). About 300 B.C. (*The Bamboo Books*) this process of re-casting was still incomplete with respect to primitive times; with respect to the period before 870 B.C. it was never reduced to perfect uniformity. The editors must have had some reliable material, probably annals, but only from 870 B.C. onwards. Chinese history before 870 B.C. is no more than the imaginings of logographers. The Greek logographers (" writers of tales "), in their passionate endeavour to serve the cause of reason, concocted " history " in the spirit of rationalism out of epic poems, genealogies, and local legends, by eliminating and re-interpreting the impossible and arranging the facts so obtained in due genealogical sequence, and the Chinese followed the same course. In doing so they took for granted that great redeemers and creators of culture really did live in primeval times, and that the models of all correct and incorrect conduct in politics, social life, and morals were necessarily to be found in the days of their forefathers (Lao Tzu, Confucius). Their history, begins with a long series of primitive kings, inventors, and founders of all beneficial technical processes and institutions (built up upon a primitive theory of the growth of civilization). More recent times they divided up according to a plan of changing dynasties, in which tyrants are admonished by pious heroes in accordance with the will of Heaven, and finally deposed. Through the medium of politico-moral standards and skilful orations they infused life into mere names culled from divine and heroic myths, and transformed them into kings, types to be copied or eschewed. The Deluge hero Yü was turned into a great constructor of canals and roads. The ancient New Year myth of the tyrant who ascends the throne through the murder of the legitimate ruler, but is himself murdered by the secretly born (sun-) child, gave a semblance of historical fact to the founding of the Shang dynasty. The ancient theory of periods of evil and of prosperity, according to which the degenerate tyrant must make way for the gentle favourite of the gods, gave additional vitality to the ideal figures of the founders of the Chou dynasty, Kings Wen and Wu. " Historical documents " were collected in the *Shu Ching* by the elaboration of ideal characters and events, and perhaps actually from speeches in epic poems. There may, indeed, be some genuine historical remains fortuitously mixed up with these inventions, for instance, the fact that great families traced their origin to a hero (Yao, Shun, or Yü) and from him derived their property or their claim to property, or that a god, afterwards degraded to the status of a demi-god, had assumed particular protective duties either locally or generally ; thus Yü appears to have taken the military roads under his protection at an early date. But any deductions that we can make from this as to the state of the country can hardly hold good for any period earlier than that of the Chou kings, whose earliest imperial constitution has been handed down in a wholly imaginary and ideal form.

The Chinese themselves knew no more of their first two dynasties than a series of royal names. It is doubtful whether there ever was a Hsia dynasty. It is unquestionably an historical fact that there was a Shang dynasty (it is said to have reigned from 1766 to 1122 B.C.), though we may doubt whether the oracle bones bearing the names of Shang kings really do date back to them. The Chinese declare that there was a high civilization in the Shang period ; it seems that writing, in the form of a phonetic picture script, was already developed, though it is possible to question the genuineness of the bronzes with inscriptions dating from the Shang period. As a basis for attainment to the monistic plane in the Chou period, which gave birth to Chinese civilization proper, we must assume the existence of a civilization at least as high as the Babylonian, and the mythology of primitive kings and of periods of evil and prosperity would be in harmony with such an assumption, as also the statements in *The Bamboo Books* about the period, referring principally to accessions to the throne, omens, and the pious deeds of the king. Wherever a people are about to attain to the monistic plane, and perhaps even the full monotheistic plane, it appears that the development of a relatively high civilization upon the same soil is a pre-requisite. The Shang civilization had its first centre in the Hwang-ho valley, below the river's great bend from north to south, in still mountainous country. Later it seems that the emperors shifted their residence a good deal; they are said to have resided at different times in Shansi, west of the north-south course of the Hwang-ho, in Chihli, and in Shantung, in the east and the north-east, but always in northern China. Their opponents were barbarians who menaced them from the west (the Chou) and from the south (the Miao and Man). But, as the event proved, it was only the western barbarians who were a real danger to the Shang kings ; the southerners seem hardly to have attacked at all.

And so it continued throughout the whole course of Chinese history. The menacing and tempestuous invasions always came from the west and north-west, from the steppes where wandering tribes can gather and find places to wait in the mountains. No dangerous migrations of peoples seem to have arisen and menaced the Hwang-ho basin in the south and east, in the extensive and often wild mountains and in the Yang Tze and Chu-kiang basins. Perhaps the tribes were swallowed up in the wide mountain tracts, or perhaps other and richer territories had been cultivated in the nearer river valleys which attracted them more. Central and southern China has always been to the northern empire solely a field for colonization and conquest when the empire was strong, never the aggressor or a source of population to the north.

I am inclined to think it possible that the Hsia kings[1] (from about 2500 B.C. onwards) established the first civilization in the Shansi and Honan region, like the Sumerians in Mesopotamia They must have come from the realm of solar civilizations, as is proved by remnants of an ancient solar religion, and have been pre-Indo-Germans, who unquestionably found earlier predecessors in the land. In that case they would have paved the way for the earliest civilization of a higher type by cultivating the Loess lands of the middle Hwang-ho valley, founding cities, establishing the first kingdom and closing its frontiers to the kindred tribes who were pushing after them, and inter-marrying with the older races. About 1760 B.C. this might have reached maturity; it would have been endowed with writing, and have attained the Babylonian rather than the Egyptian level. It would have been the work of the Shang kings (comparable with the earliest Babylonian rulers), who might have extended the kingdom eastwards and north-eastwards. The centre of a higher civilization so established was bound to go on attracting barbarians from the west and north-west; not only must more and more peoples and tribes have crossed the steppes from the home of solar civilization, but, as in Arabia, nomad tribes who had been driven from countries where solar civilization prevailed and repulsed by the civilized or waiting peoples on the frontiers, and who were accustomed to a nomad, shepherd life, must have populated the steppes, where alone such a life was possible for them. As in Arabia, these peoples must have overflowed the steppes in one or all directions.

In the latter centuries of Shang rule the Chou tribes were such a waiting people in the mountains west of the north-south course of the Hwang-ho. It is impossible to determine their racial constitution, for during the long years of waiting they had undergone cultural pre-ripening. It may be true that during the last century and a half before their invasion of the civilized country they kept the barbarians at bay and protected the Hwang-ho valley, bearing Chinese ducal titles, and intervening in the affairs of the empire. Whilst so doing they slowly pushed onwards towards the Hwang-ho valley. Their duke, who who was later known as Wen Wang, established his capital in Shansi, on the most important tributary of the Hwang-ho, and adopted the title of king. His son, Wu Wang, felt himself strong enough to attack the last Shang emperor in 1122 B.C. in the east of the empire and to depose him; the chiefs of the west and kings of Chou became the rulers of China. The Chou must have infused new blood throughout China; they must have had a settlement as far east as Shantung where, five hundred years later, about 600 B.C., the new Chinese civilization arose as the fruit of a long process of inter-marriage. Confucius and Mencius were natives of Shantung. The empire must have been organized as that of a conquering people, although the imaginary Chou constitution hardly shows any traces of such a state of affairs. The empire must have extended considerably towards central China; the San Miao were repelled. Colonies were established on the Yang Tze, in particular the fertile plain of Ch'u (Hank'ow) was annexed to the empire. Barbarians were still pressing on from the north-west, but the early Chou kings held them at bay; indeed they had been in league with nine barbarians tribes in the final assault upon the Shang empire. Again and again, however, it was necessary to "subdue" frontier peoples, and whenever the rulers displayed weakness or incapacity the barbarians were at hand. In the eighth century the mother-country of the Chou, with Singan Fu, was captured by the Kuangtung barbarians and it was necessary to move the emperor's residence to Lo-yang. Moreover, the Ti or northern barbarians gained ground at this period and the succeeding years.

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[1] Hia or Hsia is not a dynastic name, but a tribal name which belonged to certain barbarians of the north-west at a subsequent period.

Taken as a whole, Chinese records of the early centuries of the Chou dynasty are meagre. In seems that little was done by way of keeping annals before the ninth century; not till the seventh century, before the beginning of the first cultural prime, do records become more frequent, and not till the sixth is the position really clear. At that time the Chou empire was in process of dissolution. The royal authority was still respected in politics and religion, thanks to its dynastic power and ancient prerogatives; but side by side with it great territorial lords were raising their heads, and the kings could only assert their primacy by taking advantage of dissensions among the nobles and the fears of the numerous smaller States. In the days of Confucius (550–480 B.C.) it was already possible for minor princes, like the prince of Lu, to play with the idea of making themselves first in the empire through their political and moral virtues. In the fifth and fourth centuries the process of dissolution was complete. The territorial lords waged war upon one another with all the resources of military power and diplomacy, entering into shifting alliances. A few of the larger territories rose to importance, if their geographical position was favourable for extension (especially in the south) or for the development of military power (frontier defence), or if they were under the rule and control of energetic, able, and ruthless condottiere natures. Among their number Ch'in attained sufficient prominence in the fourth century, possibly thanks to the administration of Shang Yang (died 338 B.C.), to lay claim to the royal title. The new kingdom held its own amidst other feudal kingdoms and dukedoms by its military power. In the middle of the third century the rulers of Ch'in secured a legal claim to the inheritance of the Chou kings and made an end of the phantom dynasty in 249 B.C. At last, after careful political and military preparations, in which his minister, Li Ssu, is said to have rendered aid of decisive importance, Shih Huang Ti (246–210 B.C.) succeeded, in the years 230–221 B.C., in conquering the States of Han, Chao, Wei, and Ch'u, and a few more, and unifying the empire.

Shih Huang Ti, the first " emperor " (*ti*) was the greatest ruler that China ever produced. Thanks to his superior skill in diplomacy and his strong army, he realized for the first time the long wished for imperial unity amidst territorial wars. It was his native State, Ch'in, which gave to the great, modern empire that now arose the name by which it is known abroad. After his great victory over the Huns, he secured it for centuries against barbarian invasion from the north and north-west by building the unbroken line of the Great Wall. He sought to consolidate it within by ordering the " burning of the books " in 213 B.C. His aim was to destroy all memories of the period of disunion (the annals and panegyrics of small States), all the fabulous tales of the glory of the old times and the great Chou kings, and all the political and moral squabbles and adulation of the scholars and Sophists. Nothing was to remain but practical knowledge, the teaching of Mencius concerning the State based upon justice and benevolence and man's inborn goodness and writings on medicine and divination, agriculture and aboriculture. Restrictions were placed upon the learned class ; what the State needed was capable, energetic citizens and peasants ; it now included the whole of northern and central China, and was to be organized on a uniform basis.

After the death of Shih Huang Ti, his State broke up once more, although his minister Li Ssu survived him ; Chinese scholars, jealously concerned for their own power, like priests or Brahmans, readily attributed the whole merit for the achievements of great rulers to men of their own class. Among the candidates for the throne, who had doubtless been viceroys under the former central government, the two most powerful agreed to tolerate a shadow emperor ; these were

Liu Pang, Duke of P'ei, who had obtained possession of the crown insignia, and Hsiang Chi of Honan, who held the royal residence. But in 202 B.C. Liu Pang, who had become king of Honan, felt himself strong enough to overthrow the " king-maker " and seize the crown himself. He founded the first, western, Han dynasty (202 B.C. to A.D. 8).

In spite of domestic strife, the period of revolution and of the subsequent struggles amongst the territorial powers that had sprung up in the revolutionary century (480–380 B.C.) was a time of vigorous intellectual activity and cultural growth. Besides Lao Tzu and Confucius, all the great philosophers of the first civilization belong to this period. The classical lyrical composition of the *Shih Ching* dates back to that period in a large measure, and additions were made in the style of Alexandrian Greek poetry about 300 B.C. The separate sciences of annal-writing, medicine, and divination, but more particularly of politics, strategy, and economics, reached their prime. In the Emperor Shih Huang Ti the true spirit of Confucius ascended the throne, the spirit of unbending rationalism and practical morality. Confucius would have been the first to approve the emperor's opposition to his own disciples among the Sophists, with their fanatical worship of antiquity and their narrow outlook. Mencius, his disciple in the spirit, was excepted from the persecutions, and, moreover, the forbidden books were preserved for the use of a selected few who were held capable of sound judgment.

But the needs of the masses were stronger than the greatest men, Confucius and Shih Huang Ti. The Han dynasty was obliged to take the learned men, just as they were, into the service of the new unitary State, for it still showed a tendency to break up into territorial units. The first two emperors and the energetic wife of the first ruler (the first maker of emperors was succeeded by the first woman upon the throne) subdued the rebellious provinces with difficulty and secured the crown for their own house, and the succeeding emperor consolidated what had been gained by a resolute acceptance of the Confucian tradition. He received the name of Wen Ti (179–157 B.C.), or Peace Emperor, recalling Wen Wang, the Peace King, the first ideal prince of the Chou period whom Confucian orthodoxy had glorified. The prohibition of the books was annulled, and people began zealously to " restore " the " lost " writings ; in other words, the canon was created at this period. The peasants' military obligations were repealed, and the penal code was rendered less severe. After an interlude of fifteen years' revolt, Wen Ti was succeeded by Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.), the War Emperor, recalling Wu Wang, the War King, who had founded the Chou dynasty. He overthrew the last of the rebels, and established the new educational system, basing upon it the new administration. Classical literature, including both Confucians and Taoists, now reached its consummation. The scholars became the most influential class in the empire, and could rise to all offices through State examinations. The rites—that is, all the formalities of public and private life—were stereotyped according to the canon and the calendar was reformed. The empire was divided into thirteen provinces administered by officials who might be dismissed, and whom the court sent out for purposes of supervision. A land tax was uniformly imposed. At the same time the empire reached its widest extent; the southern provinces had long been colonized by the independent kingdoms on the Yang Tze River, and they were now firmly welded with the unitary empire and its homogeneous culture. In the north Wu Ti conquered Korea; he held the Huns in check and established trade relations with thirty-six States in the west, reaching perhaps as far as Persia and Syria. If we may compare Shih Huang Ti with Cæsar, then Wu Ti is the Augustus of the Chinese. Since his day they call themselves the "sons of Han", and the pair of Han emperors, Wen Ti and Wu Ti, have taken their places beside the deified Chou kings.

Under the emperors of the first Han dynasty the first Chinese civilization withered. The system of Confucianism and Taoism penetrated men's lives in their canon form. Poetry, too, resumed its links with the past. A great historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (about 100 B.C.) concludes the epoch.

An end was made of the first Han dynasty by a king-maker, General Wang Mang, who assumed power, first as the protector of royal children and then as usurper (A.D. 8). He sought to maintain his position by redistributing the land and liberating the slaves; he counted, that is to say, upon the support of the proletarian masses in town and country. But the middle classes regained power under a Han prince who founded the second (eastern) Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220). During this period Confucian orthodoxy dominated the land. But from the time of the Emperor Ming onwards (A.D. 58–75) Buddhism gradually penetrated into the land, being akin to Taoism. During the second century the external power of the empire dwindled. Whilst the generals who were repelling the Huns in the north and the Man peoples in the south, came to blows among themselves and with the court parties, northern barbarians invaded the country, both as auxiliaries and by force. They united in a great rebellion with the proletarian masses (the Yellow Turban Rebels). At first three kingdoms of wide extent emerged from the confusion, one in northern China, with a considerable infusion of barbarian blood, and two in central and southern China ; then there was a further break-up, particularly of the northern kingdom, into small States, some ruled by barbarian princes.

The most important event of this period was the fresh barbarian invasion in the north, which began in the second century, partly in the form of peaceful infiltration ; by the middle of the third century it had already given rise to alien rule in certain localities, and in the fourth had swelled to a regular inundation of the country and the rule of a Tatar dynasty, which succeeded at last (about A.D. 400) in closing the northern frontier. These events resulted in a new racial mixture which produced the second Chinese civilization, that of the T'ang and Sung periods. The process of intermixture began before A.D. 200, and in A.D. 699 Li T'ai Po, the first classic of the new civilization, was born, whilst two great philosophers, Chou Tun-i and Chu Hsi, conclude the line of classics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

During the domestic turmoil of the period between A.D. 220 and 618 (the accession of the T'ang dynasty) Buddhism played a leading part as the philosophy of life of the masses. About 400 it captured the whole of northern China, pilgrimages to India were in full swing, and the canon was translated afresh and in its entirety. As the barbarian rulers adapted themselves to Chinese customs and as all rulers came to feel the need of maintaining a stable administration and system of taxation of property, conflicts arose with the State, and here the Confucians were the principal opponents of the Buddhists. Strong rulers (such as the first Tatar emperors about 425 and Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty—502–549—and others) endeavoured to check the movement or else to bring it under their own control as a State religion. But they had little success. At last tolerance was admitted as a principle and Wen Ti of the Sui dynasty (581–604) forbade all religious strife. He united the empire—since 420 the north and south had been separate—organized it anew, had it surveyed, and tried to introduce a caste system. His work was completed by the T'ang dynasty (618–907).

The first great T'ang emperor, Tai Tsung (627–649), who began by allowing his father to reign, extended the empire even beyond its bounds during the Han period, after he had first disposed of all local princes. His vice-regencies stretched as far as the Caspian Sea, and the nomad tribes recognized his authority. Soon Korea was subdued afresh. At home he perfected the system of examination for scholars and enacted a law regulating the civil service. He tolerated the Buddhists, as well as Nestorian Christians from Syria who came to the country in 639. The first prime of the new civilization lasted from 700 to 800, and under the emperors of the period between 650 and 850 the Buddhists were repeatedly persecuted (in 714 and 845) ; that is to say, the rulers dissolved the monasteries in thousands and forced the inmates to revert to labour and marriage so as to prevent the depopulation and impoverishment of the State. But even during the persecutions non-monastic Buddhists were left unmolested and enjoyed high office in the State. About 800 the revolutionary century of the second civilization began with the attempts of the Emperor Te Tsung (780–805) to reform the administration and system of taxation. The empire fell to pieces and Tatar tribes, the K'itans and Hsia, broke in in the north.

A general, T'ai Tsu (960–976) restored the unity of the empire and the northern frontier, and founded the Sung dynasty (960–1295), under whose rule the second prime of the second civilization ran to its final conclusion. During the first century the rulers managed to hold their own by means of a strong army against the K'itan Tatars, who controlled a great realm in the steppes. At home Confucian officialdom was revived and Buddhism tolerated but placed under restrictions. Popular endeavours to initiate agrarian reform according to the ideals of the Chou constitution (Wang An-shih, 1080), with the aim of simultaneously increasing the military power and taxable capacity of the State, indicate a consciousness of weakness at home and abroad ; they failed because of the venality of the officials and the resistance of the wealthy. Meanwhile the power of the K'itans had become so intolerable, and their expeditions of plunder and demands for tribute so frequent, that the Emperor Hui Tsung gladly seized the opportunity of inciting another barbarian prince, Akuta, the Emperor of Kin, against them. The Kin Tatars destroyed the K'itan empire (1125), but thereupon invaded China and carried off the Emperor from his capital, Lo-yang. A Sung prince established himself first in Nanking, then south of the Yang Tze-kiang. His able general, Yo Fei, who advised an aggressive strategy, fell a victim to palace intrigues. But the southern Sung dynasty remained in power, and under it the second civilization withered. In the thirteenth century the Emperor Li Tsung attempted to throw off his obligation of paying tribute to the Tatars by means of an alliance with the Mongols, and perhaps to recover the north. In league with Ogotai, the son of Genghis Khan, the Sung armies vanquished the Kin, but were then themselves defeated by their allies who took the emperor prisoner in 1276, and in 1279 sought out the last prince of the Sung dynasty in Foochow and hounded him to death. Thereby the whole of China came under the sway of the Mongols.

As in India, so in China, two racial mixtures gave birth to civilization in two relays. The Chou mixture of western barbarians and Chinese of the Shang period began between 1200 and 1100 B.C. and produced the first Chinese civilization, lasting from 600 to 100 B.C., almost exactly coinciding with the first Indian civilization. A mixture of Tatars and Han Chinese which began in the second century A.D. reached its prime in A.D. 700 (about two centuries later than the second Indian racial mixture) and gave rise to the second civilization by A.D. 1200. The second Chinese civilization ended amidst the assaults of the Mongols, as did the second Indian civilization amidst the assaults of the Mohammedans.

CONSTITUTION AND GROWTH OF SOCIAL CLASSES

The Chinese rationalists that followed Lao Tzu, who thought in terms of timeless monism, and those that followed Confucius, who sought to annihilate all that was useless and immoral, because of the force of example, and would tolerate only ideals rooted in the past, destroyed or utterly distorted all genuine information concerning the constitution and classes of primitive times, together with historical tradition. According to their " documents " and historical works, conditions were simpler in the Shang and early Chou periods than in the Han period, but they were ideal, just as they ought to be in the Han period, and, in fact, always. It is very difficult to discover the true conditions from the medley of some few memories, many surviving relics and claims, and the dominant idealism of the *Shu Ching*, the *Shih Ching*, and Ssu-ma Ch'ien. One thing only is certain: the ancient times were not as they are represented in the canon. It is necessary to eliminate all that Lao Tzu and Confucius contributed in the way of ideals and suggested in the way of idealist theories, and even what then remains is open to the suspicion of being invention (based, for instance, upon a theory of the natural growth of civilization) or of having undergone transformation ; and so there is hardly anything that can be used with confidence.

Clearly the Chinese knew hardly anything of the Shang period even about 600 B.C. The character of their writing (pictographs to indicate words, with an increasing phonetic element, but still designating words and not letters) corresponds more or less to the Egyptian or Babylonian evolutionary plane. Comparison, it is true, is rendered very difficult by the nature of the language, which prevented the development of letters even at a later stage ; nor is it by any means certain that the monuments (bronzes and oracle bones) are genuine. At any rate the Shang period evolved a relatively high civilization, probably with a priesthood, and with cities and a monarchical form of government. It seems that the cult of omens and divination flourished. Certainly the people had not at this period reached the monistic plane nor the form of the later Chinese ideal monarchy, government by the Son of Heaven.

After two hundred years of contact with the Shang civilization, the Chou tribes invaded the country as conquerors, in league with other barbarians ; they divided the land not only, as Chinese tradition has it, into larger and smaller fiefs, but also into holdings among the free warriors throughout the country (infusion of new blood). The stories of Wen Wang's admonitions to the sinful rulers and Wu Wang's rebellion to restore the moral world order are Confucian transformations of a dynastic legend of the periods of evil and prosperity. In actual fact these barbarian princes must have pushed forwards into the country like the later western and northern barbarians, by force, though on occasion with the help of treaties, taking advantage of the troubled condition of the empire ; and their rule must at first have been a barbarian rule, though partially disguised, perhaps, in the outward forms of the Shang monarchy. It is still discernible that for a long time they carried on the government from their own western home, just as the Kassites at first ruled Babylonia from Elam after their invasion.

According to Chinese tradition Ch'eng Wang (1115–1079 B.C.), the son of Wu Wang, was the author of the new imperial constitution, the Chou Li or Law of Chou, or rather his guardian and Prime Minister, the wise Duke of Chou. This constitution has been preserved. The Chinese regard it as the ideal constitution and always revert to it in theory and practice ; to this day it is the core of their imperial administration and the model for neighbouring States, Korea and Japan. In it an ideal State is framed constitutionally, as in Plato's *Laws* or Ezekiel's ideas of the New Jerusalem. This constitution was drawn up by Confucius who determined and weighed exactly how the paternal and righteous will of the Deity could be realized with human material in a national State. God's son and vicar is the Emperor, the Son of Heaven ; over against him are the labouring popular masses, very philosophically divided up according to their work into agriculturalists, aboriculturalists, foresters, and cattle-breeders ; as mediators between the two there are the ministers and chiefs, princes and territorial lords, partly according to birth and partly office. The Emperor serves Heaven as a priest and plays the part of Heaven in the State, managing and supervising everything ; he is the source of all justice and remedies all injustice. The people serve the Emperor by sacrificing piously to their ancestors, adhering to good old family customs, and performing their useful labours industriously under the guidance of experts. The chiefs carry on the government, administer justice, perform sacrifices and consult the omens, instruct, and supervise. There are six clearly defined ministries, besides itinerant inspector generals, and, further, a number of feudal princes and lords who mediate between the central government and the people, also employing court officials and supervisors. The whole administration is based upon precise records of all territorial and personal data, a land-register and census by families. The people enjoy all human rights ; they have a claim to family life and a comfortable living, to consideration in case of levies and misfortune ; they have, moreover, such civic rights as personal access to the Emperor with personal grievances, equality before the courts, consultation in case of enemy invasion, and the right to condemn or reprieve (as a third court of appeal) in case of a death sentence.

The Chou Li is a philosophical system in which every effort is made to respect the just claims of God, the Emperor, the official class, and the people. All the relations between the classes within the State are governed by piety, regarded as an affair of the people, the classes, and the family, and by morality and Nature, but first and foremost by a conciliatory spirit of reason. Everybody has rights which are accurately defined and justified, balanced by similar duties. Everybody is responsible, everybody keeps watch, everybody needs instruction and is to receive it. Everybody is free within the limitations of his position, and is called upon to perform pious and useful work and to enjoy natural and virtuous happiness. This well thought out and well balanced system was the outcome of the requirements of Confucius, but was then relegated back to the earliest times, to the emperors whom the Confucian theory idealized. A rationally organized centralism, with ministries, a standing army, and a civil service, were transported back to an ideal national constitution of patriarchal antiquity. The princes and nobles are the natural chiefs, and the honest countryfolk the natural subjects. Human rights, civic rights, a certain democratic equality based upon philosophical speculation, the demand of reason for universal education, responsibility, and supervision were clothed in the guise of antiquity ; and so we get a counterpart to the Children of Israel in the desert or the Germans of Tacitus, supposed to be the Chou. Moreover, in order that a mathematical element may not be lacking in this structure of the imagination, people indulged in speculations with 2 (Heaven and Earth), and 4 (the seasons) = 6 in the case of the highest offices, and with nine in the cases of the provinces, and a geometrical plan of the capital was sketched in which five quadrilaterals round the quadrilateral palace comprised the carefully distributed land designed for the support of the manual workers, the army, and the lower and higher officials, all indispensable servants of the State and attached to the palace.

The counterpart of the Chou Li is Plato's *Laws*. In his old age Plato sketched the practicable State, which was but a second best from the point of view of the ideal, but which could be realized in every detail, in the form of an ideal code of law, and it is this aged Plato who is most closely akin to the Chinese theorists of the ideal State, even where they seem most characteristically Chinese in their demand for a ritual organization which shall be strictly binding upon all classes and hold them in its grip almost daily and hourly. The Greek was freer than the Chinese. He had a full grasp of theory, and the State sketched in the *Laws* was one of several possible ideal States ; where he adapted his theory to popular standards and the world of practice, he did so as an act of conscious concession and condescension. The Chinese were better theorists than the Indians, but they did not attain full freedom. For them there was only one ideal State satisfying to the divine will and that, since it did satisfy the divine will, was a reality. Monism did not go so far as to analyse the world scientifically ; theory and fact remained unsevered, and that which reason and morality and Nature demanded was reality ; the Chinese mind refused to recognize that which was inferior ; it was " sin ", " unnatural ", and to be extirpated. But the Chinese approached nearer to the Greeks than any other people except the Romans. The Greeks sketched a number of ideal constitutions (Protagoras and Plato) and tested many more actual ones from the point of view of the ideal and the practical (Solon, Pittacus, and others); the Chinese erected one single model, at once real and ideal; but in both cases the basis was that of rational morality, humanity, religion, and democracy.

The Chou Li was certainly not the constitution of the Chou State of the pre-classical period. We can name the political theorists upon the basis of whose pronouncements and investigations great, though nameless, scholars developed this ideal. They are Lao Tzu and Confucius, in whom the whole Chinese philosophy of life has its source, and who were specially and vitally interested in questions of State. They were followed by Yang Chu, the egoist, and Mo Ti. the altruist, and finally Mencius who sought the rational mean between the two opposites. There were also politicians pure and simple besides these philosophers. It is recorded that about 600 B.C., that is, before the birth of Confucius, Kuan Chung put forward a political theory according to which the aim of all rational politicians must be to improve the lot of the people by encouraging agriculture, restricting public expenditure, and maintaining peace; "his" book, it is true, is of much later date. And Shang Yang (died 338 B.C.) appears to have been the first to put into practice the theory of the rationally organized military and bureaucratic State with a centralized government (ministries) and a policy aiming at power. The Chou Li cannot possibly have been framed before the third century, and probably it was not till the Han period that it received its final form, when the canon was "restored", that is, completed.

Plato in his *Laws* made use of Spartan and Cretan institutions, Dorian elements. Since the learned framers of the Chou Li wanted to "create" a constitution for the early Chou period, we may assume that in adapting their ideals to antiquity they based their work as far as possibile upon survivals from that early period. There would, therefore, be some genuine relics of antiquity in their ideal constitution, but they would be difficult to extract, for there is an almost total lack of monuments and records of the early Chou period, and later theorizings regarding the beginnings of civilization, partly the fruit of observations of savages, have been assimilated to the genuine relics. The State under the Chou dynasty seems to have been a feudal State; divided inheritance, the grant of fiefs to princes and to nobles in return for services or as a favour (for instance at the frontiers) inevitably results in its alienation and dissolution in the course of time. There are some indications that a class of princes and nobles, a warrior class somewhat like those in

Sparta or Persia, reduced the kings to dependence and insignificance, regarding themselves as "the people". There was, moreover, a development of individualism in the classical period, a process of atomism which is characteristic of the monotheistic-monist plane. The individual parts of the State—large, medium, and small principalities—evolved a centrifugal tendency, as did individual persons. It was Confucius, like Pythagoras in Greece, who endeavoured to check the process of degeneration through the reason and virtue of "ideal men". But after his death the spirit of prudence and selfishness based upon no hypothesis became more prevalent than ever and completed the process of disintegration. The Chou kings were soon mere fossils, still recognized by force of religion and tradition. The theory of patriarchal absolutism, which sought to keep the people pious and virtuous, prosperous and energetic from a sense of the practical and rational and of responsibility towards Heaven, soon issued in the practice of universal war of all States against all. Men applied all the resources of diplomacy and strategy (Sun Wu, the first to develop a theory of the art of war, was a contemporary of Confucius) in the struggle for actual supremacy ; kingdoms sprang up within the kingdom, and the centralized government of the military and bureaucratic State, working through ministries, made its appearance. It seems that Shang Yang (died 338 B.C.) first developed it fully in Ch'in. The monarchy of the Ch'in princes emerged as an enlightened absolutism based wholly upon reason and practical experience, upon superior organization, diplomacy, and military force ; the greatest of them, Shih Huang Ti (246–210 B.C.), created the unified empire.

The great Han emperors, Wen Ti (179–157 B.C.) and Wu Ti (140–87 B.C.) completed his work. They based the empire upon the power of the middle class and opened the way for all men of ability to rise to office by bringing Confucian ideology into the service of the State. A democracy sprang up, in that everyone was admitted to the schools and enabled to partake of the new culture, and everyone might present himself for the public examinations. At the same time a new aristocracy sprang up because the demands made by the system were considerable, not only in industry and memory (Chinese writing and the enlargement of the canon), but also in intelligence and sense of form ; for in this golden age everything was in process of growth and the great ideas of earlier generations were being realized as learning, art, and political and social organization. The Han emperors of the first dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8) could tolerate what Shih Huang

Ti caused to be burned, because the decisive blows had already fallen. The glorification of the Chou " unified empire " was no menace to them, for they had established the new unified empire based upon reason and had secured reliable support for it. The early feudal State and the territorial States which succeeded it had crumbled away altogether, and the remnants of the old nobility and scholar class sought to attach themselves to the new court with its educated and well-to-do bourgeois following.[1] The Utopia of the Chou Li could be consummated; in contrast with it stood the Han State, equally perfect in its central administrative organization (it may be that the division of labour among its ministries was actually the model for the Chou Li) and superior to the feudal system in its development of an educated class of officers and administrators; it had thirteen provinces instead of nine, and was at least equal in matters of humanity. Moreover, men were imbued with a full consciousness of the modern power and maturity of their State; it was no longer a peasant State but a cultured State, not one State among many, but " the World State ".

Wu Ti endowed the unified State with its settled sub-division into provinces, its system of land taxation (clearly based upon a first (?) general survey and census), its first public examinations, and its universal ceremonial. Under him the cultivation of the soil and trade relations reached their widest extent.

Before him Wen Ti had relieved the peasants of the burden of their military obligations. This alleviation was rendered possible by the organization of a standing army and the establishment of military colonies on the frontiers. The criminal code was modernized, too, and mutilations were replaced by the penalties of cutting off the hair and flogging; the death penalty was restricted and the system by which the family was made answerable with life and limb for the crimes of its members was abolished; that was in 160 B.C.

In the main the bureaucratic State of the Han dynasty has survived to the present day through all the social changes and national tempests of the succeeding centuries. Of course, there were periods of utter decadence, the dominant classes changed, and barbarians invaded the land. Even in periods of peace the great mass of the bureaucracy was always corrupt, untrustworthy, selfish, and arrogant; but the honourable concept of the ideal man and the cultured man never quite died out, though no attempt was ever made to discipline the whole bureaucracy by the material power of the army as well as the ideal power of morality.

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[1] The Greeks attained full republican democracy, the Indians only an equality of souls with various incarnations according to merit; the Chinese were between the two, and were most nearly akin to the ideal of Pythagoras and the Alexandrian State.

At the beginning of our era a general, Wang Mang (A.D. 9–24) attempted to base his usurpation upon the fourth estate, the peasant proletariat in the urban-bourgeois empire, and the slaves. He made play with the primitive freedom and land distribution of the Chou Li against the bourgeois bureaucratic State. The existing State remained victoriously in power, but within it the masses continued to develop into a proletariat. From A.D. 60 onwards Buddhism, which was destined to become the religious philosophy of the masses, began to penetrate as a fancy of the educated classes and a fashion at the imperial court. The revolution of the Yellow Turban Rebels was still a Taoist social movement, closely linked with the peaceful penetration of the Tatars.

During the four centuries of domestic disturbances which followed until the unified empire was restored by the T'ang emperors in A.D. 618 there was a tangled confusion of struggles between princes, viceroys who had made themselves independent, generals, Tatars, and social leaders, of classes, of philosophies, and of Chinese tribes with one another and with the Tatars. In the midst of this universal disintegration Buddhism, with its personal doctrine of salvation, secured the greatest following among the educated classes, but still more among the masses. It now supplanted Taoism, which had been first to evolve a religion for the masses in opposition to the Confucian bourgeoisie, and came to stand supreme with the people. But even at the courts it succeeded in winning an ever increasing following.

As early as A.D. 400 Buddhism had won the allegiance of both ruler and people in northern China (Ch'in), and for the emperors of that period, who were strong enough to intervene themselves, the question arose how they should make this unpolitical philosophy of life, and the romanticists and masses who adhered to it unpolitically, serviceable to the State. The Emperor Wu Ti, of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–549), first played the Confucians off against the Buddhists and then sought to win the support of a Buddhist Patriarch from India for his schemes of bringing the church into line through the medium of its head. But the Patriarch held back from his advances and from politics. In the end the emperor himself became a monk, but his son tried to force at least Taoists and Buddhists to unite in one church.

As the youthful vigour of the second Chinese racial mixture augmented, the force of Confucianism increased once more. Local persecutions of the Buddhists and Taoists soon arose as the result of religious debates. Wen Ti, the unifier of the empire of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581–604), restored the imperial administration and enjoined toleration of the Buddhists. Upon the basis of his achievement Tai Tsung, the founder of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618 or 627–649) restored the constitution of the Han period. A newly risen bourgeois and scholar class formed the backbone of the new State. The schools and public examinations were reorganized, and a special law governing the bureaucracy was intended to prevent future abuses. A purely practical attitude was assumed towards Buddhism. It was not possible to make of it a State religion ; on the other hand it was wholly free from the lust of worldly power and was a menace to the State only because it withdrew the handicraft workers and peasants everywhere from labour and the liability to pay taxes and received them into its monasteries ; the authorities, therefore, were content with burning the monasteries from time to time (in 714 and 845) and forcing the inmates to work and marry. That satisfied the requirements of the State for the time being, but Buddhism soon began to spread again.

During the reign of the T'ang Emperor Te Tsung (780–805) Yang Yen attempted to develop the Han constitution in the direction of money economy by transmuting taxes in kind and statute labour into money payments. He was executed. During the revolutionary century (A.D. 800–900) the T'ang empire broke up. The Sung dynasty restored (A.D. 960) its domestic and foreign organization, and revived the bureaucracy. The Sung emperors were always menaced by the neighbouring States of the K'itan and Hsia barbarians, and were therefore obliged to rely upon their army. But the tendency of the ageing second race to leave the country and take refuge in the cities and monasteries threatened to undermine the defensive power of the State. Wang An-shih, therefore, in the reign of the Emperor Shen Tsung (A.D. 1068–1085) endeavoured to remedy the evil by means of agrarian reform, appealing to the authority of the Chou Li (like Diocletian in Rome); every year the peasants received money from the State for the spring sowing, and had to repay it with interest after the harvest ; in return they were made responsible in tens for the performance of labour and the payment of taxes, and undertook military obligations for the repulse of enemy invasion. This work of patriarchal and monetary reform also came to grief after decades of struggle. A few years later the Mongols were once more masters in the north and the authority of the Sung dynasty was confined to the south. There Chu Hsi (before A.D. 1200) summed up Confucian philosophy and political theory in its final, dogmatic form. The Mongols inherited the system and the bureaucracy, just as they were.

The Han constitution and the Chou constitution (the Chou Li) have remained to this day the supreme achievements of Chinese statecraft and political theory. They were the offspring of a single period and a single mind, the theory and practice of statecraft in the first Chinese civilization. Practical development and innovation always take the Han constitution as their base, whilst social and agrarian reformers have appealed again and again to the Chou constitution. At rock bottom both are one and the same, and no later development has advanced beyond them. They are the culminating achievements of the Chinese spirit.

Religion and Philosophy

The Chinese evolutionary plane is between that of the Indians and Greeks. Chinese monism is more highly evolved than Indian, but it is not so fully scientific as the Greek. Consequently the Chinese outlook on life was no longer a philosophical religion, like that of the Indians, nor was it pure philosophy like that of the Greeks, but philosophy side by side with a philosophical religion. Both Confucianism and Taoism are philosophies ; before, alongside, and out of them a Nature religion sprang up. Later Buddhism likewise made its appearance.

Chinese literature is dominated by a rationalism which, in its core, is almost fully monistic, i.e. ruthlessly devoid of hypothesis, and timelessly reasonable, moral, and natural. Such a type of rationalism is exceedingly brutal, quite without piety in its attitude towards the past even when disguising its own inventions as the work of the past and attributing them to primitive, earliest kings and the generations of antiquity, who are supposed to have lived in a golden age of natural simplicity. Lao Tzu corresponds more or less to Xenophanes in Greece, and Confucius to Pythagoras. Xenophanes would have destroyed the myths, epics, and historical memories of fratricidal strife altogether, and Pythagoras would not only have followed his example but would have exercised censorship over all constitutions and customs and reformed them with severity ; but both thinkers were overtaken by others of the second civilization, and their wish to reform the whole philosophy of life, including tradition, was never fulfilled. In China Lao Tzu and Confucius, as the supreme figures, surveyed and dominated the whole field. For centuries their schools carried on in their spirit, most palpably the Confucians, but in fact also the Taoists, who were intellectually akin to them. Whatever existed of mythology and of divine and heroic epics they destroyed as fabulous and immoral, or else effaced and served up as " history ", or swept away altogether.

Like all civilizations of a relatively high type, Chinese civilization traces its origin through one, and probably through all, the principal races that gave it birth to the realm of solar civilizations. The immigrants who founded the Hsia and Shang civilizations by the infusion of new blood probably came from the west ; the Chou tribes and their barbarian allies, who helped to form the racial stock of the civilized Chinese proper, were certainly of western origin. Together with the material acquisitions of the solar peoples (agriculture and cattle-breeding), they must also have brought with the solar religion of the Neolithic Age (Hsia) and the Bronze Age (Chou). In China the solar religion must have undergone a process of differentiation during the Hsia and Shang periods, rising to a higher (Babylonian ?) cultural plane and adapting itself to the conditions of the country, and must thus have changed into a polytheistic (or nearly monotheistic ?) civilized religion with divine and heroic figures. When the Chou peoples invaded the country their gods must have made their way into the civilized religion, and must then have passed through at least something like the Jewish and Persian planes on the way to the monism of Lao Tzu. Do we find any traces of all this in Chinese literature ?

I think I may assert that we do. In the " historical " records of primitive times, of the beginning and end of the Shang and Chou dynasties, there are unmistakable relics of a mythology which must have its origin in the sacred legend of the solar religion and in a loftier version of its characters and events. In the story of the three mythical emperors, Yao, Shun, and Yü there lie concealed the myths of the changing year and of the Creation and Flood. Yao, the first sovereign, is deposed at the end of his life by Shun. Shun himself is the persecuted sun-child ; his brother throws him into the well and tries to stone him to death there ; but the sun-child survives, emerges, and wins the throne. Finally, Yü is the New Year hero who overcomes the nine-headed dragon, builds a " terrace " out into the Flood (the earth ?) and controls the chaotic waters. Here ancient gods have been transformed into primitive kings. The solar legend of the wicked brother and king who persecutes the little child, but dies at his hand, has been assimilated with local traditions. The story of the fight with the dragon and the building of the earth-terrace into the waters is of approximately the Babylonian level; as an historical hero the god has been turned into a hero who dammed the Hwang-ho and built roads. Like the ancient Her, Yü has become the ancestor of the Hsia dynasty. But there is a second story of the origin of that dynasty: in 2119 B.C. the usurper Han Cho exterminated the whole imperial family; only the pregnant empress escaped him; her child, born in concealment, grew up and overthrew the usurper. We might suppose that in the Shang period the story of Yü was still the divine myth of the New Year festival, whilst the story of Han Cho, the oldest example of the myth of periods of evil and prosperity, would have been a heroic myth also on something like the Babylonian level (Sargon). The mythology of dynastic change continued to adhere to this model; alike in the Shang period and the Chou period the first emperors of the new dynasty overthrow degenerate tyrants. Indeed in Wen Wang the royal legend of the Chou period has a kind of Atrakhasis-Noah who utters admonitions and warnings before the divine judgment; it ends with the conquered tyrant burning himself to death (the solar death). We could point to other such relics of a solar myth, some in a revised version of approximately Babylonian level, in Chinese " history "; for instance, one of the primitive emperors who are said to have established civilization, Shen Nung, the inventor of agriculture, has a bull's head—horns—and a grave like that of the sun-god of the Stone Age. But what I have already cited may suffice; it is best supplemented by the " reasonable and natural " State religion recognized and created by the rationalists contemporary with and succeeding Confucius. Chinese State religion is precisely what would inevitably emerge from a solar religion (more or less transformed), if everything were eliminated from its mythology that appeared superstitious or too human to a people inspired with an almost monistic enthusiasm for Nature and morality and utility.

Heaven, T'ien, was its supreme God, designated in writing by the solar man; the emperor was his vicar on earth, his son and priest; just as the ancient solar princes worshipped their own ancestor in Her, so did the emperor in Heaven. The principal festival of the heavenly God was on 21st December, the ancient birthday of the sun-child, rationally made a beginning because it was the winter solstice; tradition still retained the memory of the New Year falling in the spring. This principal festival, like the principal festivals of the solar religion, was celebrated upon a mountain with a burnt offering of cattle; in the period recorded by history the mountain was a mound on which stood a temple near the royal residence, but throughout the Chou period every province had its own natural sacred mountain which had doubtless originally been the centre of sun-worship. Like the solar kings, the emperor had to plough the first furrow of the new agricultural year; and one of his chief cares was the calendar. Besides Heaven, the Earth was the second principal divinity, and her chief festival was on 21st June, the summer solstice, for she was the Harvest Mother.

Besides Heaven and Earth the heavenly bodies were worshipped: the sun, moon, planets, and the constellations of the lunar zodiac, and further the heavenly spirits, clouds, rain, wind, and thunder, the earth gods, ten mountains, four oceans, and four rivers. There is unmistakable polytheism (possibly introduced as a substitute for a more primitive type), but it is stripped of all too human elements and belongs wholly to the world of Nature.

All these gods were " spirits ", and as spirits they were worshipped through the medium of spirit-tablets, like ancestors (the immaterial nature of the written character).

There was no longer any place for human qualities in Nature gods; they were part of Nature and their worship was rationally astronomical and agricultural, consisting of virtuous and pious intercessions, thanks, and adoration. Through the medium of history, all that was human in their persons and lives was attributed to the heroes of antiquity who, as ancestors, might be portrayed and worshipped. Here, too, a process of spiritualization and compromise went on, and there were no orgies. But if the magnates retained their mountain and rock tombs with offerings and wall-paintings on into the Han period—these dated from early times—we may be sure that the people long preserved more of the ancient solar cult in their customs and pageantry than the plays dramatizing the overthrow of the Shang dynasty by the Chou, that is, the historical version of the New Year play.

We must attribute the doctrine of Heaven and the other Nature divinities to the seventh century. It is at once a Nature monotheism and polytheism. Something very like it was created in Greece in Homer's time and became, in the Alexandrian period, the Nature religion of the educated classes. So, too, the Chinese Nature religion did not reach its culmination till the Ch'in and Han periods, when it was taken over by the educated classes and given systematic form as a State religion. Zeus, like T'ien, was a god of the sky and the day, a sovereign and paternal god, essentially a monotheistic god; and he, too, was surrounded by Nature gods—the Earth Mother and the ruler of the seas, the sun and moon and winds, and the gods of mountains and rivers. The philosophy of Xenophanes and Parmenides would have made them parts of a natural system altogether in the Chinese manner; Apollo and Dionysus would doubtless have also become natural forces, without any relics of their æsthetic and sex character, if Greek development had come to a standstill in the sixth century. True, there was something in Homer that belonged to a higher plane than the Chinese, the idea of Fate and the plastic quality of the divine figures, the logical power which led on to fully fledged natural science and the artistic power which urged men's minds on to perfect imagery of ideal humanity embodied in divine figures, to allegory and æsthetic ideals. The Chinese evolutionary plane, on the other hand, is in so far superior that it produced the most soberly scientific of Nature and State religions.

Together with natural monotheism and polytheism, there arose a form of bitheism which was equally inspired by natural science. Just as "Heaven" corresponded to Yahu on a higher logical plane, so the two primal principles, the Yang and the Yin, were loftier counterparts of Ahura-Mazda and Angromainya, translated into the realm of Nature. The Yang was the creative, male, radiant, and warm, and the Yin the receptive, female, dark, and cold principle. As in the religion of Heaven, so here, we discern a trace of the ancient solar religion in the duality of the halves of the universe (halves of the year), and in the contrast of light and darkness and their inseparable association; but it had been developed scientifically to a theory of two forces which were at the same time two forms of matter—almost love and hate—and likewise elements. There were palpable associations with Heaven and Earth, spirit and body. From this primal antithesis there emerged two, three, and eight elements, two kinds of soul, Shen, the spirit, and Kuei, the shade. So, too, the developing thought of the seventh century approached the concept of universal law: Nature, like man in society, had fixed laws, an ordered way (Tao) over which Heaven kept watch; her phenomena were mathematically determined, as was demonstrated in the possibility of surveying them in numerical categories and of working out a system of sixty-four combinations of signs (composed of the eight signs designating the parts of the universe: Heaven, Earth, the waters, the mountains, the wind, thunder, moisture, and heat) by the help of which future events could be foreseen and foretold. The *I Ching* contains not exactly a doctrine of harmony, but at least one of the cosmos, which was closely akin to the teaching of Pythagoras; it was a concept of law governing Nature which rendered prophecy and divination possible.

These speculations must have been inspired and produced by a religious movement. Their supreme outcome, the culmination and sum total of the whole, was the teaching of the first classic of the first Chinese civilization, Lao Tzu, born about 600 B.C. Lao Tzu means "the ancient Master" and the philosopher's actual name was Li Pe Yang (Li his family name and Pe Yang his honorific name). Lao Tzu was born in Ch'ü-jen, not far from Lu, where Confucius was born. His family doubtless belonged to the knightly class. At any rate, he was appointed to a position as keeper of the archives at the court of the Chou emperors who, in the first half of the sixth century, held aloof from the struggles of their vassals round about. He probably died during the disturbances in which the Chou were involved in 544. We hear of a son who was a general in Wei, and his progeny continued to hold high official positions right down into the Han period.

Lao Tzu was a religious thinker and poet. The first Chinese classic, like the first Jewish, Persian, and Indian, was a prophet. His name was handed down because he was the mouthpiece of divine revelation. The lyric poets of the same period remained anonymous. Myths have gathered around the prophet's person, as they did around Jesus and the Buddha, but rationalist criticism dissolved them, and only a fragmentary remnant is left; it is said that at the end of his life, "when he beheld the decline of Chou" he departed westwards like the sun; and that he wrote his book and left it behind him at the entreaty of the officer who guarded the Honan frontier. "Nobody knows where he met his end," says Ssu-ma Ch'ien. But the Taoists know that he was the Saviour, a primeval Being, older than the parting of Heaven and Earth; and that he won immortality and has returned several times.

The book written by this first great Chinese theorist is called *Tao Te-Ching* (*The Sacred Scripture of the Way and of Virtue*). It is a vast work containing 5,000 words and later divided into nine times nine (eighty-one) chapters and consisting of very obscure epigrams arranged to form a whole. Following an introduction which touches upon all aspects of the doctrine, there comes first a mainly theoretical and then a mainly practical part; the arrangement is not strictly adhered to. The book tells us nothing of Lao Tzu's life; it is concerned with timeless Being and eternal values. It contains in consequence all the more of the soul of its author, including his individual moods, his bliss in the One, and his sense of being misunderstood and deserted.

Lao Tzu treated of "Tao" which, when pronounced "*tào*" means "way, reason, law" and when pronounced "*taó*" means "speech, word". The kinship of the concept with the Logos of Heraclitus is unmistakable, and the doctrine is also akin to the Greeks in form; but the personalities of the thinkers are very different, as also the logical plane of their thinking, for with Lao Tzu static Being and flux are not differentiated, whilst Heraclitus distinguished Being in flux from the static Being of Parmenides, and argued in favour of its reality.

Lao Tzu sought to point out "the way of reason" and of Nature, to inculcate her divine quality and the law which she obeys, and to teach men their own way as children of Nature and reason, as servants of God and beings striving for their own happiness and immortality and for the happiness and salvation of all. The way, he said, was one and the same, the essence and law of Nature was likewise that of the moral and amoral universe; there was only one reason, one order and law, one goal for all thought and volition—the Taó.

The concept had its origin in the social bearing of the aristocrat: taó meant the manners and decorum taught amongst the elegant and virtuous, in courtly and knightly society. Lao Tzu enlarged and gave new depth to this concept just as Pythagoras did to the principal aristocratic notions of his own age; tao came to mean the guide to such right conduct as confers blessedness and it applied to all mankind, not only to one class; it came to be the revelation of the divine will, of the moral law and the supreme good, of the divine character from which issued the divine will, of the essence of universal reason in the order of Nature.

Yajnavalkhya, starting from speculations concerning breath, from his theory of the oneness of the breath of life in man and the atmospheric force which moves itself and all things in Nature, came to realize that the universe must be one, divided into the illusion of the senses and the invisible divine Being. Lao Tzu, starting from the commandment to observe social decorum and good manners, reached the commandment governing right conduct, the divine law in Nature and life, the essence of the God behind it, and so the realization that the universe is one, that it is reason, order, and morality embodied in many creatures and many spheres. Both were the authors of a system of religious, monistic metaphysics, but the one, starting from speculations on the elements and the immaterial world, found a world of reality within Semblance and bliss for the individual in the Universal, whilst the other, starting from reflections upon morals and law, found a world of order and blessedness for all in the divine order of the universe and the State.

Tao was the One, conceived as the incomprehensibly perfect, eternal, immaterial, simple, static, and nameless essence of all things, in which there is neither above nor below, neither right nor left, which is " without head and tail ", empty and yet inexhaustible depth and the source of all forms. Contrasted with this " eternal Tao " bearing the " eternal name " there is the " named " Tao which pours forth an inexhaustible wealth of forms and images, is eternally in motion, unfolds and returns within itself, without ever ceasing or attaining rest or completion. And this multiplicity and variety, this change and motion, is also the One, the Tao. The nameless Tao and the named Tao are " the same in the issue, only differently named ". The distinction is not between Being and Semblance, but between reality and name ; reality is one and many, at rest and in motion, the same and for ever changing. The philosopher sought out the pairs of opposites within the ambit of reality, but only in order that he might accept both and declare them one, each being the pre-requisite of the other, each generating and merging into the other. Both Being and non-Being are real and each gives birth to the other ; both, moreover, are only " as if they were " words, transformations ; without Being no non-Being is possible, without becoming no passing away ; " that means : what is obscure is made clear."

Thus the essence of the universe, the Tao, can be conceived with the help of the most various images. Lao Tzu speaks of it as the one Deity who is eternal, omnipotent, omnipresent, and all-wise, the Creator and Preserver of all things, the Revealer of his own being, further, as a sympathizing soul who loves all creatures and rejoices to win all who become one with him through following him in knowledge and deed. But likewise Lao Tzu stresses the utter aloofness of the Tao, its immaculate form, its quiescence within itself, and especially its aloofness from human love. It is " the primeval foundation and father of all things and the mother of all creatures "; sometimes it is called " Heaven ", or " Heaven and Earth ", but at others it is above and behind Nature, and again it is Nature's self. It begets one (the named Tao) and that in turn begets two (Yang and Yin) which in turn bring forth three (the elements), and thence spring all things and beings.

Thus metaphysics issued in a Nature philosophy in outline, an explanation of material substances and changes, and, equally, a philosophy of history, in which the " great Tao " had produced the spontaneous simplicity and virtue of the Golden Age of the " great emperors ". Then men turned away from it and attained the knowledge of good and evil; by observing the contrasted opposites, which are inseparable, they learned to recognize charity and justice, they loved and praised the good rulers; because they had lost their innocence they became serviceable, rational, and concerned with the practical and useful. There followed violence and fear, rationalism, and exploitation, and man's task was now to overcome these by conscious effort, and by conscious effort to return to the right conduct of the Tao and to plain simplicity.

Theology, natural philosophy, and a philosophy of history tended to issue from metaphysics as distinct fields of thought; but none actually broke away. In the practical field, also, two separate sciences issued from the central core, but remained bound to it: a science of ethics (and of non-ethical values) and of politics. In these applied sciences, the Tao supplied the model of right conduct; man became a " saint " through attaining oneness by means of right knowledge and through following the example and treading in the footsteps of the divine.

The doctrine of sainthood is so completely an exposition of the essence of the Tao that everything said of the saint is borrowed from the Tao. The saint has become one with the Tao, with unity, tranquil reason, and right conduct. He has reached the climax of self-abnegation and has thereby attained imperturbable calm. He stands above the world and its activities, and he alone, therefore, is able to act rightly and to be useful in it. He stands above all virtues, and can, therefore, be truly virtuous. The Tao, the Universal Deity, does not live for itself alone, and can therefore be eternal. It is eternal without desire, compounded of meritorious deeds yet without attaching value to them, of understanding and creative mastery and force yet without seeking to be masterful and exercise compulsion; it does not love like men nor love men, but loves only reality, the eternal One; it is all achievement. The Tao sees all beings emerge and does not withdraw itself; it breathes life into them and yet does not seek to possess them; it gives them form, and yet does not boast of it; it nourishes, cares for, and protects them yet does not seek to dominate them. It is calm, it does not talk, does not act—yet it is all spirit and achievement. So, too, is the saint who has grasped the One and is conscious of the harmony. He has attained rest, has returned to his source and become as a child, blissful, at one with himself (the bodily soul being subject to the reason), all tranquillity and peace and breadth; he is without desire and fear, he seeks nothing for himself and knows that in God nothing can happen to him; he has no vulnerable spot, and neither the rhinoceros nor weapons nor the tiger can injure him; he can forfeit his body without danger. But his own bliss and immortality is not, as in India, the final goal; that is the great achievement which is the practical result of his oneness with the Tao—divine efficacy through doing nothing.

Doing nothing (*wu wei*) is the chief injunction given by Lao Tzu as a guide to right conduct; in that term his practical teaching is approximately summed up. It has, therefore, various meanings: to do nothing uselessly and in vain officiousness, but to do the one thing needful; to do nothing from vanity, self-justification, greed, pride, and selfishness, but to live for duty and the supreme task; to do nothing through compulsion and violence, but to reach the goal peacefully through patience and yielding, through care and humility; not to contend, but to inspire willing attachment and obedience through quiet ability and benevolence; not to drive and hurry Nature, not to arouse demands and passions; not to breed sciolism and a show of virtue in the spirit of rationalism; to live quietly in the fulfilment of duty, at one with self and with the One, an example, tranquil, capable, and energetic, without excessive effort in life or fear of death.

So, too, "to practice doing nothing" is the best injunction for the ruler; that is the essence of Lao Tzu's political teaching. For the saint is also the ideal ruler, ruling with a knowledge of the Tao, fulfilling the Tao and educating others to do so. In words he makes himself his people's subject in order to rise above them, he stands back in order to lead. So he remains above and yet the people are not oppressed, he remains in the vanguard and the people suffer no injury. All rejoice to obey him and do not weary of it. He brings three treasures as a contribution to government: mercy, and therefore he may be bold and conquer; economy, and therefore he may spend; humility, and therefore he may be supreme. He is not warlike, for the courage to let live is higher than the courage to kill; he does not aim at conquest by force; if he rules over a large country, he will endeavour to win lesser countries by goodwill and to unite all men peacefully within the bonds of the empire; if he rules a small country, he will take care that it shall live in harmony with the whole and serve mankind. "Who bears the country's want and teen, He is the country's king, I ween", is a proverb that applies to the ruler. To empty the people's minds and fill their bellies, to weaken their passions and strengthen their bones, such is the supreme rule for the treatment of the masses. Let a small country have elders and make no use of them, let it have ships, chariots, and arms, and make no use of them; let it be so administered that the people do not wish to travel, to emigrate, or to die, and that it has no use for writing; then the inhabitants are content, "sweet is their food to them, beautiful their clothing, comfortable their dwellings, pleasant their customs"; they feel happy and free as in the Golden Age of long ago.

Such is the wisdom of Lao Tzu; it is a form of monism, far more fully evolved than the contemporary Indian monism of Yajnavalkhya, and is the richest and most significant that mankind has ever produced. There is no great human teaching, from Jesus' gospel of love and Amos' doctrine of God to the scientific metaphysics of Parmenides and Heraclitus, of Plato and Arostotle, nay, even to Leibniz's doctrine of perfection and Fichte's philosophy of history, in which we do not discern some distinct echo of the *Tao Te Ching*. All the principal branches of science, cosmology and psychology, the philosophy of history, ethics and politics, are touched upon and dealt with in this metaphysical survey of the universe. All principles according to which the universe may be contemplated—God and salvation, Being and flux, matter and force, Nature and society, unity and antithesis, reality and name, what is and what ought to be—appear in these maxims. In words and images countless essential relations, similarities and differences, harmonies and discords are brought to light and enjoyed. But unity is always dominant, and we delight in the wealth and obscurity of substance and expression, in the divinity of the moral and rational Universal Being who is eternally the same, and in his manifold emanations and embodiments, in the theory of the universe, and in practical doctrine, in the ideal of the saint and in hopes of deification. Unity can go no further ; one step beyond, and the unsundered sundered must dissolve. That step the Greeks took and it led to fully developed science, to the cleavage of religion and philosophy, and to the separation of particular fields of research ; it led to the clear and distinct statement of governing principles and to their elaboraton in opposing systems ; it banished imagery from science and made logic master there. Lao Tzu's work was still a combination of religion and science, poetry and wisdom, prophecy and the survey of knowledge ; its unity is full of variety and rich abundance. To-day, when the work of science is almost accomplished, it has the attraction of youth, with all its undeveloped seeds and its vagueness. In its own day it was the supreme achievement, yet at the same time inadequate. It was necessary to analyse unity and multiplicity, and there was no abiding at the point of creative compromise discovered by Lao Tzu, whether in theory or practice. The saints who were rulers were as rare as the popular masses who consented to be led back to primeval virtue. The *Tao Te Ching* did not check the progress of rationalism, but actually furthered it. And those who elaborated the germs and antitheses contained in it evinced the same capacity to see all and the same incapacity to distinguish clearly, to define and systematize, that we find in the work itself.

These qualities are less palpable to us in the field of scholarship than in that of practical life. Lao Tzu desired to influence ethics, politics, and social life. When his theory collapsed so, too, did his practice ; the decaying forms of State and society could not be restored, but collapsed all the more rapidly amidst the insufficiently logical debates started by Lao Tzu. From the capacity to see two sides in everything Lao Tzu had derived a survey of the essential in the spirit of unity, an ideal of unpretentious tranquillity rich in usefulness and peace. But it was equally possible to stress multiplicity, to extol rationalism and progress, and to find the ideal in the rivalry for power, honour, and wealth and in vigorous activity and aggression. The one was as easy to champion as the other, particularly with the help of a logic that was weak and permitted metaphorical inference. And the spirit of the times was on the side of the rationalists and materialists. What seemed like degeneration to Lao Tzu and Confucius in the light of their new ideals, which they read into the past, was a time of glory to everyone else ; for the seventh and sixth centuries in China were dominated by such intellectual life as had never been before and perhaps has never been since ; all the forces alike of reason and morality and of prosperity and egotism were stirring, freed from the antiquated trammels of the past ; all were in harmony for the time being and benefited alike the individual and the community. If as a result the Chou empire collapsed and ancient customs and forms were destroyed, that was no loss, for they had not been ideal but, as people knew quite well so long as they existed, reactionary relics of a people's minority, and now that the people had come of age they were destined to be supplanted by free individual activity, by beauty and youthful vigour. Besides the poets who sang epic and lyric songs before æsthetic gatherings of princes and knights, telling of great deeds and love, there were the itinerant teachers who extolled progress. When minor princes rose to be dukes and the lords of wide lands, when nameless knights and officials rose to be generals and ministers, or penniless city dwellers to be wealthy landowners, people regarded it as the outcome of individual wisdom and ability ; living in the rising court society and amidst the universal improvement of all economic conditions, people seized upon and enjoyed all the resulting æsthetic and social benefits.

But such periods of the unchecked exercise of the youthful forces of progress never last long. What Lao Tzu had discerned in the earliest stage of the dissolution of past customs, and had recognized as a danger thanks to his individual genius, had become perceptible to all eyes a generation later, about 520 B.C. It was an era dominated by ruthless selfishness, and the revolution was already under way. The territorial princes fought without a care for the welfare of their subjects and by all available means for the heritage of the Chou dynasty, and the Chou rulers themselves were engaged in a fratricidal war. Amidst the general confusion a new class arose, composed of mixed bourgeoisie and petty nobility, whether as officials, as condottieri, or as merchants. The loathsome struggle for power and illusory values was absolutely universal, and yet it was still extolled as the liberator and promoter of all that was good.

At this point Confucius [1] appeared, " K'ung, the Great Master " (551–479 B.C.), the second great classic of the first Chinese civilization. He was born in Lu in Shantung as the son of an officer, so that he belonged to the rising class of bourgeoisie and petty nobles which constituted the bureaucracy. In his youth—according to the legend in the three years of mourning following the death of his mother, 527 to 524—he must have become acquainted with Lao Tzu and the Sophist teaching, including those practical teachers who championed the ancient forms and customs ; according to the legend he began by studying the " ancients " of the Chou period, Wen and Wu. Then he became an itinerant teacher, who, like other itinerant teachers, recommended himself as a saviour of the State and restorer of the ancient unity of the empire through reason. When he was fifty the young prince of Lu appointed him minister, clearly in the hope that so he might become emperor. But he could not tolerate so wise an adviser permanently, especially as no imperial crown eventuated. Confucius was banished and wandered for thirteen years more, now accompanied by a growing band of disciples. At last he was allowed to return to his home where, according to the legend, he collected the canon Scriptures of historical documents and odes, divination and rites. He died in his seventy-third year.

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[1] Compare the account in my book, *Religion und Philosophie* (Kröner, Leipzig, 1924).

We may regard him as a spiritual disciple of Lao Tzu, for the great critical thinker of a civilization always bases his thought upon the great theorist whom he criticises. Confucius, like Lao Tzu, sought for an ideal of humanity, and in place of the " saint ", he held up the " ideal man ", in place of the model virtuous ruler the able and energetic man whose aim in life is virtue and the service of his sovereign. Right conduct was to be the fruit of right knowledge, and the wisdom and customs of the ancients were still to be held in honour. The great distinction was the outcome of a fundamentally different attitude ; Lao Tzu's was dogmatic, Confucius' critical. Lao Tzu was filled with the conviction of the omnipotence and divinity of reason, Confucius of its limitations.

Lao Tzu believed that he knew the inmost essence of the universe —oneness in self-contradiction ; Confucius held that such knowledge was unreliable and at bottom unnecessary ; people could dispute eternally about the basis of the universe without reaching agreement, and therefore he taught nothing about it, and founded his directions for right conduct upon other facts. Man, he said, is not called upon to fathom the Universal Deity, still less to become like him as a righteous ruler, or one with him by contemplation, achievement, and casting aside the body. Confucius believed in a benevolent Father God and hoped for immortality. But he taught nothing of that and developed neither a system of metaphysics nor a philosophy of Nature.

Man can know what destroys the State and morals, and what may restore them. That was the modest wisdom, that Confucius aspired to teach ; that was what man needed, that and no other ; upon it depended all order in the State and all the happiness of the individual. Man had broken up the State and the moral order through the mistaken use of his reason and his volition, and man must restore them by the right use of his reason and volition. Confucius gathered around him men who would help to accomplish that task.

He did not write, like Lao Tzu, for the written word is rigid and open to all manner of misinterpretations. He taught only in conversation all who questioned him, but by preference princes and ministers, who questioned him so seldom and bore such a weight of responsibility, and men of all classes endowed with good will and good abilities who came to serve the great cause. In the *Lun Yü* these didactic conversations have been collected by disciples who have dragged the Master down to their own level and generally distorted his meaning, besides often supplementing his words ; the *Analects* are, in fact, always one or two questions and answers, sayings of the Master without any real dialectic. Yet in spite of the distortion of the gospel presented by disciples, the original teaching of the great man shines forth.

Humanity (*jen*) is man's lot and goal ; his nature is humane, and Confucius did not define it theoretically, either in a religious and metaphysical or a psychological sense. He taught nothing about the soul nor about the way in which knowledge comes about. He only knew that knowledge and moral perfection are limited, that there is no final attainment of the goal of knowledge, but only a search for wisdom, no final attainment of virtue (i.e. no sainthood) but only the will to pursue righteousness and goodness ; these, however, are innate in every man and in them is the proof that he is a reasonable and moral being. But humanity is not only man's lot, it is his duty ; he is not called upon to become a god, but a true man who, happy in the endeavour to be reasonable and virtuous, seeks to realize reason and virtue around him as the political and moral order, and so to make all mankind happy.

The true man as he ought to be, who, knowing his limitations and that perfect knowledge and conduct are unattainable, yet labours without wearying at his own perfection, is the " ideal man ", the nobleman. He knows his gifts, his weaknesses and faults as well as his strength ; he seeks to know his own characteristics with the utmost accuracy in order to correct his faults and place his strength in the service of the great cause. Knowing himself and his goal, he acts freely and deliberately, proud that he is no mere tool. He knows what is at stake and adheres to his purpose, but he respects the outward form ; his mind is set upon great things, but he is careful in the smallest details ; he observes moderation and keeps to the mean ; he loves the law and not material objects, men and not their faults ; he finds his happiness in the consciousness of right endeavour, in calm self-conquest and the fulfilment of his duty, and his unending life work in useful service. His desire is not to keep his life pure, to know in solitude and be saintly in solitude ; he accepts office in the fulfilment of duty, he acts and labours wherever he can, knowing his inadequacy and the obstacles that he cannot overcome. He knows well enough that truth will not prevail, but he serves her to the end.

Confucius, like Pythagoras, tried to gather round him a new nobility from all classes, a nobility of right knowledge and virtuous conduct in place of the nobility by birth which had lost its capacity to rule. Perhaps there was a time when he hoped to lay the foundations for a whole human race of " ideal men ", or perhaps he realized from the first, critical in this matter too, that it is not possible to say everything to everybody, that there are people who understand the highest things and " the populace who can be taught to do what is right, but not to understand it ". At any rate he, like Pythagoras, kept his doctrine for his close associates distinct from his teaching to the masses ; the two are identical in aim and substance, but distinct in form and argument.

Everywhere the ideal man acts on the basis of clear understanding, free and conscious of his goal and his responsibility. The populace (the unteachable masses, not the low-born, amongst whom there may well be ideal men) act as custom teaches them without inquiring into it. That is the duty of the populace, their humanity which confers happiness upon them and makes them promoters of the aim of humanity. For the customs of the past embody a simple canon of right conduct, familiar to all, a canon which for the most part is in harmony with what the rational thought of the ideal man shows him to be right ; and even where that is not the case, it is less harmful than thought by those who are incapable of thought. But Confucius, unlike Lao Tzu, did not regard ancestral customs as the emanation of the Tao and therefore sacred—he no more put forward a philosophy of history than a natural philosophy—but as tried tradition, an established order, something ancient that has, indeed, its weaknesses but is yet preferable to an innovation that is hard to create and of doubtful merit. Confucius also based his teaching on established custom and institutions where he charged the ideal man to observe the special duties of man as a member of a State and a family : the prince should lead his people in reason and virtue, in a moral and ordered way of life, and should rule as a just father; his subjects should practice the obedience and good behaviour of children ; the officials, standing between the two, should serve the princes conscientiously, and should first bring prosperity to the people and then educate them. The family is based upon parental authority and filial love.

By his disciples more and more importance was attached to custom. To his later orthodox disciples Confucius became a stern inculcator of the Rites, one who prescribed what was knowledge of value and edited it ; to them his chief work consisted in a handful of ancient songs and moral disquisitions, a system of divination, a bare chronicle, and the " prescribed rites ". In the same spirit they presented a conventionalized account of his life, sober and pedantic and formal ; this prophet never assumed any traits borrowed from the solar myth, although he was worshipped under the auspices of the State as early as the Han period.

In truth Confucius was a creative thinker of the first rank, like Lao Tzu. Whilst Lao Tzu was the practical author of the most complete theory of monism, the purest idealism of absorption in the Universal Deity and of aloof and objective likeness to God through calm and peaceful, virtuous and beneficent activity, Confucius preached the noblest humanity, the wise service of mankind in the full consciousness of man's limitations and duties. Both teachers approached very close to the Greeks, though they did not quite attain to their level. Lao Tzu's monism was scientifically on a lower plane than Parmenides and Heraclitus, and the criticism of Confucius did not culminate in a Socratic method of bringing valuable knowledge to birth. Lao Tzu was always obscure, and a prophet, whilst Confucius with his formula was confined to a part of the field of knowledge, like the Buddha ; it was not in his case the one truth of suffering, but the theory of statecraft and morals.

Following the two great classics of Chinese civilization came those who assimilated and elaborated the treasure of their thought. Lao Tzu's doctrine of unity was analysed and the critical formula of Confucius was made the basis of fresh investigations. Both the analysis and the investigation were the work of theorists, creative minds, philosophers who set forth logical antithesis and assimilated ideas to the world of experience. It is a curious fact that, in spite of a decided tendency of the two principal doctrines to meet and blend, the creative forces continued until they reached exhaustion in two main channels, a Taoist and a Confucian, and that no actual system was built up upon the critical formula of Confucius, as was the case in India and Greece. The forces of scientific thought were vigorous enough to maintain permanently distinct and separate two ideals, one individualist of blissful absorption in the Universal One, and one social of ethical and political activity aimed at conferring happiness, but they were not vigorous enough to reconcile these two ideals in a loftier unity, not even to build up with each a system embracing the whole universe. No disciple attained to the universalism of Lao Tzu, and the critical agnosticism of Confucius permanently excluded the possibility of natural metaphysics.

Lao Tzu's first great disciple—if we exclude Confucius—was Lieh Tzu, who probably lived about 450–400 B.C. He appears to have developed the doctrine more in the direction of natural science, although it was still metaphysical in character. He meditated on the beginning of the universe, and it seemed to him that the " great beginning " was Chaos, like a turbid whirlpool in which furious motion is dominant and everything is surging in an undifferentiated mass. The elements of order and form (matter, force, and form, translated into Greek notions) proceeded from this " storm of becoming ". This cosmogony led on to cycles of elements governed by number (through 1, 7, and 9 back to 1) and of beings (from mosses and lichens to frogs and fishes, panthers and horses, and finally to man who returns to the Universal), proceeding from Divine Nature and returning to Divine Nature. Lieh Tzu tried also to conceive of the relation of the One to his self-revelation to man, and of the infinite and indeterminate. Side by side with clearly perceived intellectual distinctions, always expressed in the visual speech of word-signs which were still essentially pictorial, we find fantastic formulas, abstract and obscure, consisting, moreover, of parts which cannot all belong to one thinker. But it is unmistakably the work of a natural philosopher akin to Anaximander and doubtless also to Empedocles, though he did not reach their level. From monism emerged the germs of physics and psychology, but they did not grow to fully fledged science; Lieh Tzu's monism only provided a basis for the alchemists.

Probably contemporary with Lieh Tzu was K'ung Chi, the grandson of Confucius, to whom perhaps we may attribute the Great Learning (*Ta Hsüeh*). In it he sought for the " ordered basis " of all moral and political life and found it in the endeavour of everyone to perfect himself. From Confucius' instructions on the right conduct of the ideal man he deduced theoretically a fundamental concept of all morality and statecraft. Likewise the doctrine of preserving the mean is said to be the work of K'ung Chi ; essentially it means that all order is based upon an inner equilibrium which prevents the rise of any passions, a condition closely akin to that of the " saint " and resting upon the Tao, the order established by Heaven and ruling in Nature. It seems to me that here a Taoist formula has been dressed up in Confucian garb at a late date, in the Han period, when men were seeking a compromise.

The most distinguished disciple of Confucius in the fifth century was not his grandson but Mo Ti (about 400 B.C.), the preacher of universal charity. Like Confucius he rejected all metaphysics, but also all theoretical discussions of virtue and all attempts to improve the world by means of a spiritual aristocracy ; everything, he said, depends upon right choice and right action, and they are within the reach of all ; if everyone loves all others as well as and better than himself, then all will be well ; no one will steal and rob if the property of others is as his own ; none will murder if he prefers to injure and sacrifice himself rather than others. All that is necessary is to provide an external State organization which ensures that all have enough to live upon and that there is no extravagance and luxury ; man's spiritual life will regulate itself. Mo Ti expected that the new order would spring from the realization of its advantages by everybody ; let a prince lead the way and all the rest would follow. His teaching subsequently had a great following among the people. For all its sobriety, its influence was intoxicating, thanks to the purely practical stress it laid upon action and the co-operation of all men, its simplicity, its alluring humanity—a simple, unconditioned commandment to love instead of " charity " that seeks to educate, or duty and family affection—its self-evident clarity and the confidence of its promise.

In the second half of the fourth century, between 350 and 300 B.C. appeared the thinkers in whom classical Chinese philosophy found its consummation. The time was ripe for the intellectual and formal re-statement of ancient doctrines to meet the needs of a new world ; people had acquired the art of thinking and exposition and realized whither they were going. Chuang Tzu re-stated Taoism and Mencius Confucianism.

Chuang Tzu lived as a minor official and later as a private individual in Liang about 350–300 B.C. He led a natural life and enjoyed his own talents, devoted to Nature and rejoicing in the high level of contemporary culture ; he was acquainted with all the schools of his age and enjoyed the exercise of his skill in friendly debate with the witty Hui and in writing with a perfect mastery of literary form. High office was only a burden to him, and if he had been a minister he would have regarded himself as a bull decked for sacrifice and obliged to envy the little pig amusing itself in the ditch, poor but safe. He had no taste for social labours : he took a particular delight in representing the great Master, Confucius, as receiving a dressing down from a robber chief whom he wished to convert but who declared that he was himself the more dangerous robber, especially since it gave him an opportunity of subtle mockery and misrepresentation of a colleague, the philosopher Yang Chu. He was a clear and subtle thinker, a master of skilful devices and forms, witty and humorous, a quiet and somewhat weary man who found rest in the teaching of Lao Tzu. To become one with the Universal Life, to return to Nature and be carried along by her vast rhythm, semi-conscious and yet sentient and enjoying—such is the aim of the wise man. To Chuang the dissolution of antitheses in the One culminated in the question whether "this and that" which we distinguish sometimes as the Ego and the Universe are both real or both unreal. Dreams and waking, death and life, are intertwined ; who may separate them and assign to them their value ? The dead man as an empty skull may mock at the weariness and restlessness of the living ; perhaps he fears life as we fear death. And then the pomp of death ? Chuang wished to be laid to rest out in the open, to rot and be consumed by birds and ants ; he wished Nature to be his coffin. Thus in his spirit Lao Tzu's impassioned vision of the universe was transformed to tranquil acceptance of oneness with breathing and changing Nature; he was willing to breathe with her and afterwards to grow as old as Heaven and Earth as a fragment of bone. In place of the saint who redeems the world he gives us the wise thinker, enjoying his intellectual and æsthetic superiority with wisdom and good taste, alone or in intellectual society, a little of a sceptic and a little of a pessimist at bottom. He knew that passions are the fruit of false judgments which reason can correct, and that officiousness and sophistry are follies, but he overcame them by quite sober criticism, not in the fervour of oneness with the Universal. Whilst Lieh Tzu built a bridge from pure metaphysics to natural philosophy, Chuang built one from the world of the saint to the world of the genially superior man who loves Nature and masters the art of living, quite aloof and unconcerned with State and family. The practical outcome of his teaching was somewhat akin to that of the Buddha. And just as the Buddha's teaching produced new saints, so the mountain hermits living in close touch with Nature and fleeing the world, followed Chuang. Taoism and Buddhism grew more akin.

Mencius, who sought to consummate the teaching of Confucius in accordance with the spirit of his age, as Chuang had done Lao Tzu's, lived from 372 to 289 B.C. Like Confucius he wandered from court to court as a professional itinerant teacher, but he never assumed ministerial office. He knew that he was a master of language, of clear and convincing analysis of useful basic truths ; a teacher fit for princes and ministers. He left to others the task of carrying out his advice. From the critical and practical work of Confucius he constructed a theory of human nature and of the best road to the unified State. Naturally all men are equal and good ; all feel sympathy and pity, and thereon is based the virtue of humanity ; all feel shame and horror which are the foundation of justice ; respect and reverence, the feelings upon which the virtue of decorum rests, are as universal as those of approval and disapproval which lie at the root of wisdom. All that is necessary, therefore, is to strive after the four chief virtues, to give free rein to the feelings, and not to confuse them or mislead them, and thereupon everybody will act rightly, virtuously, and therefore to the true advantage of themselves and all others. Upon this fundamental conviction of the goodness of human nature Mencius erected an equally optimistic political doctrine ; the future unifier of the empire, the emperor, would be the prince who possessed the four cardinal virtues, but first and foremost humanity and justice, who fostered them and had the power to rouse them in others. He must not consider vulgar advantages, must not kill or use violence ; if he were humane and benevolent and saw to it that his benevolence should reach the people, then all good officials would wish to serve him, all peasants would work industriously, all merchants would seek his markets, and all disputants would desire him for their judge. He would be strong, for all would promote and support his rule, the educated because they understood and the masses because under him they could earn a stable living, which is the basis of stable opinions among the uneducated. All that was necessary was to will and act rationally, morally, and naturally, and the mightiest results would follow automatically ; for that was inherent in human nature.

Mencius nowhere mentions Chuang Tzu, for the placidly æsthetic individualist did not appear to him to be a menace. On the other hand he combated Mo Ti vehemently because that philosopher sought to dissolve the natural bonds of kinship, and therewith the family, in universal brotherly love—he was an unnatural revolutionary. Similarly he regarded Yang Chu as a seducer of the people and attacked his teachings violently.

Yang Chu also lived in the second half of the fourth century B.C. His attitude was altogether unmetaphysical, but likewise altogether unsocial, and he followed neither Lao Tzu nor Confucius. His teaching was most closely akin to the Gaudeamus philosophy which sprang up in China as it did amongst the Egyptians, Babylonians, Jews, and Greeks. Yang Chu developed it philosophically, not with all the subtlety and fullness of the Greeks, but still consistently and effectively. Half of man's life is spent in sleep, and when he is awake he is for the most part in his minority or undergoing some unpleasant experience; of a hundred years, there are hardly ten that are tolerable; then death supervenes and all is over. Man must not lose the short span of enjoyable life; for by so doing he can gain nothing but empty posthumous fame; for Fate is sovereign. The wise man does not resist Fate, nor does he resist his desires. He follows the desires of his heart, throws off the fetters of moral and religious prejudice, the trammels of honour, fame, and fear or hope of retribution after death—he is still fettered enough by penalties and other legal coercion; he bears life so long as it lasts, rejoices in the possessions that his heart desires, and does not sacrifice so much as a hair for the benefit of others, not so much as one hour of delight for fame. A doctrine of cognition which drew a sharp distinction between name and reality, surveyed the world as an immutable flux and a variegated sense phenomenon made up of pomp and sound and colour, and saw death at the end, resulted in a doctrine of values which advocated equanimity and the satisfaction of the instincts as the least of evils, a rational egotism based upon pessimism.

Amongst the schoolmen of the period Hui, the friend of Chuang, was one of the most distinguished. He extracted from monistic teachings the most startling profundities and contradictions (concerning the infinitely great and small and the infinite divisibility of a line), very similar to those of Zeno of Elea; but they were not made to serve the science of Being, but remained insoluble miracles. Indeed, the whole philosophy of this period is permeated with the antithesis between Nature and dogma which dominated Greek Sophism, but nowhere is it brought to a clear issue.

During the course of the third century B.C. this second classical period of Chinese philosophy ended with several distinguished thinkers. Hsün K'uang (about 280–260 B.C.) followed up Mencius' theory of the inherent goodness of human nature with a contrary doctrine according to which human nature is bad. For this purpose he defined "nature" as the untaught, instinctive content of the mind and contrasted it with "art" which subdues the instincts and produces virtue; war of all against all is natural, whilst its supersession through the power of the State is the work of art, through justice and propriety. Beyond question Hsün K'uang was more of a realist than Mencius, more didactic too, for now the teachers and emperors of antiquity, as the earliest founders of the State and morality, and the scholars of the day became indispensible for the establishment of virtue and the preservation of the State. That is why Confucians of a later period represented Hsün K'uang as the teacher of Li Ssu to whom, as the minister of Shih Huang Ti, was attributed all the honour of that emperor's achievement in unifying the empire. So, too, Han Fei (about 240 B.C.), a descendant of the Han princes, was brought into relation with Li Ssu; it is said that he was dismissed by Shih Huang Ti on his advice, because he was dangerously wise. Philosophically Han Fei was a Taoist; he defined the princely Tao very realistically as the art of getting the clever and capable to work for one and annexing the credit, of rewarding liberally and punishing mercilessly; here Tao comes to mean among other things "practical wisdom", just as before Lao Tzu it meant "practical decorum at table and in manners". Han Fei's modernization of Lao Tzu's political theory may perhaps have made Taoism, which in its theory of Nature in any case suited contemporary taste, one of the dominant philosophies of the Ch'in and Han court in the third and second centuries. Another great Sophist belongs to this period, Kung-sun Lung (about 250 B.C.), whose subjective and nominalist outlook led him to adopt very sceptical doctrines and to hold that it was impossible to know things, opinions which he defended with great logical skill.

Shih Huang Ti (246–210 B.C.) unified the empire by force of arms, an achievement which Mencius had looked forward to with longing and expected to come about as the result of humanity and justice, without violence. In spite of the fact that his great achievement refuted the political theories of Mencius, the great emperor spared that philosopher's teachings when he ordained the burning of the books in 218, regarding him as a kindred spirit. Hsün K'uang's works were burnt, for they extolled the ancients and the learned men with their idle chatter. If Li Ssu protested, his master did not give ear. The great realist certainly had no need of Han Fei's practical maxims; the concept of the royal philosopher likewise recalled the small States of the past. The rest of Taoist philosophical speculation appears to have been treated with consideration, for it contained all the natural science of the classical period, and its alchemy gave promise of the elixir of life and gold; it was therefore left accessible to all, together with divination and medicine, and the theory of agriculture and aboriculture.

In Shih Huang Ti the creative force of the rationalist period reached its climax and turning-point. The burning of the books and the struggle against the institution of small principalities and scholarly influence were rationalist measures designed to consolidate the new unified State by eradicating disruptive elements and basing the organization of the empire upon the working citizens and practical men. The great Han emperors, Wen Ti, and still more Wu Ti, continued in the same road, but in a spirit of reconciliation with antiquity. The scholars became their officials and were trained by means of public examinations; their teachings were to help educate the people as citizens. The attitude of the new court and bourgeois society was one of large-mindedness towards antiquity, like that of the Augustan age, but it aimed at consolidating the State through voluntary adherence to the forces of conservation. For this purpose the Confucian school, revived by a descendant of the Master, K'ung-An-kuo, could not but seem of special value; for its aim was to train ideal men who would place themselves in the service of the community. Since the time of Hsün K'uang Confucianism had developed a trend towards the conquest of Nature, towards State authority, and the supreme power of the teacher. But Taoism, also, appeared capable of use; it offered the educated classes a theory of Nature which had produced scientific alchemy, to which Wu Ti, like Shih Huang Ti, was addicted, whilst it offered the people marvellous religious speculations which the cultured could take as allegory and the masses as polytheist religion. The two schools, therefore, were united at this point; the Confucians allowed the validity of Taoist terms—the saint and Tao—and of Taoist theories of Nature and history—the primitive Golden Age—whilst the Taoists regarded Confucius as a disciple of their master. The State religion reached its culmination.

The principal advocate of Taoist doctrines in the Han period was the " king " of Huai-nan, Liu An, a Han prince who aspired to the throne and fell as a rebel against Wu Ti in the year 112 B.C. He is an important figure, because he made a religion of Taoism which attracted the educated classes by its learned speculation packed with miracle and allegory, and the broad masses by its many-sided character and its links with all the relics of polytheistic beliefs clothed in modern garb. In the first century A.D. religious aspirations were stirring throughout China. Taoism must have played a part among the popular masses at that period similar to that of Christianity in the first and second centuries. Miracle-workers in the rôle of social reformers must have made themselves disagreeably noticeable. From the time of Wang Mang onwards (A.D. 9–24) there was also a demand for the liberation of the slaves and the redistribution of the land in accordance with the Chou Li.

The horrified bourgeois classes combined more strongly under the second Han dynasty (A.D. 55–220). At this time the Confucian canon was completely purged of Taoist fantasies. Perhaps it was in order to combat the Taoist religion of salvation, which was compromised by Socialist tendencies, that the Emperor Ming Ti introduced Buddhism into the country. At first the people regarded the new religion as the affair of the court and bourgeoisie and rejected it. The great rising of the Yellow Turban Rebels, which ultimately destroyed the Han State, was led by Taoists.

During the transition period, round about the birth of Christ, lived two philosophers who are not of importance on account of great original achievements, but whose works are characteristic of the time. Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) was a Confucian, a polished writer who gave somewhat empty but skilful expression to the bourgeois culture of the official class. Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27–97) was a man of clear intellect who wrote much and cleverly; he rejected miraculous religion, and was a materialist who denied absolutely the immortality of the soul, but also criticized Confucius and Mencius within limits; he was a kind of Lucian with a sure instinct of avoiding anything risky, a socially popular free-thinker. We have, of course, lost all trace of the really vital pamphlets of the Taoist and Chouist revolutionaries.

In the first century B.C. the first Chinese civilization had reached the point of exhaustion. The first two centuries of our era were occupied with religio-social mass movements without much originality, and rigid repudiation, especially on the part of Confucian orthodoxy. Then came the collapse amidst domestic convulsions and an infiltration of barbarians which finally developed into an inundation. During the intervening centuries before the rising second Chinese race and civilization reached maturity (A.D. 700) Buddhism attained its widest extension. It came from India, and China almost became an Indian province in matters of culture right on to the T'ang period. In a period of universal disintegration this religion of salvation and renunciation of the world offered a refuge both to the educated and the masses. It was as a religion of utter absorption in the inner self, after the pattern of the Buddha, that the Indian Bodhidharma, the first Patriarch, the " Wall Gazer ", brought it in 526 to the Liang Emperor Wu Ti. It was as a religion of love and other-worldly bliss in the pure Land of the West that the Buddha Saviour, Amitabha, won the adherence of the masses to it after the extinction of their socialistic hopes. Taoism, which was in many ways akin to Buddhism since it had become a doctrine sainthood in mountain seclusion, adopted Buddhist features. The son of Wu Ti of Liang endeavoured about 550 to unite the external organization of the Buddhist and Taoist churches.[1] Religious discussion was the most palpable sign of the new growth of a second civilized race in China in the sixth and seventh centuries. The nearer the Chinese came to their new prime the more were they able to master foreign elements. Confucianism revived, the State was restored, and the dangers of religious excesses and conflicts were held in check by the practical device of a law of universal toleration enacted by the Sui dynasty (581–618), and no less practically eradicated from time to time by the T'ang dynasty when they cleared out and destroyed the monasteries (especially in 714 and 845).

The second Chinese civilization produced no great philosophers like Lao Tzu or Confucius. It was pre-eminently poets who gave original expression to the philosophy of life of the dominant classes. Li T'ai Po, the greatest poet of the T'ang period, and Ou-yang Hsiu, the most distinguished essayist of the Sung period, stood for like ideals of tranquil, tasteful, and very individual enjoyment of life and Nature and a highly cultured society. People were tolerant of the opinions of others, pious in the practice of all shades of religion—whether they inculcated absorption in the Universal, adoration of

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[1] On the other hand, the Buddhist doctrine of the reincarnation of souls according to moral merit and demerit became in China a doctrine of the wanderings of souls hither and thither in the Universal One, drive by love and yearning ; this doctrine found marvellous and delicate expression in a late period in stories of love and spirits and flowers. So, too, Amitabha's doctrine appears to me to be moulded by the Chinese spirit of universalism and love (Mo Ti).

Nature, devotion to duty, or hopes of the Hereafter—and happy to live in a golden age of culture.

There were philosophers, it is true. Han Yü passionately defended Confucian doctrine against Buddhist worship of relics ; but to him Confucianism was primarily a doctrine of practical charity, compared with which that of Lao Tzu seemed egotistical and narrow and that of the Buddhists stupid. He was first and foremost an orator and poet whose ear caught the self-utterance of all creatures in the music of their own eager souls ; he read a new and individual meaning even into such ancient forms as the sacrificial documents for the dead, and imparted wise teachings in subtle parables. Confucius was the great Master to whom he paid unbounded honour as the sage of antiquity ; but when he was banished on account of his refusal to worship Buddhist relics he lived in close friendship with a Buddhist monk.

In the Sung period Confucian orthodoxy was cast in its final form. The kernel of the rounded off system which now at last emerged was the teaching of Chou Tun-i (1017–1073), who wrote a commentary on the *I Ching*, the sacred Book of the Sixty-four Auguries which Confucius was said to have incorporated in the canon, and elaborated it into a body of principles. His theory was supplemented by Chu Hsi (1130–1200) with a critical restoration of the other canon Scriptures and an apologia and elucidation of their substance, which was now presented uniformly, without self-contradiction, complete. Since the Han period Confucius had been the object of a cult, and he was now *the* philosopher of China, the Great Master. Chu Hsi made his system accessible to all by means of convenient summaries, especially of the *Book of Rites*, but also of the historical tradition, and by so doing established for centuries to come the foundation of Chinese culture, of scholarship and the examinations, and of the State structure. Not till our own times has that foundation begun to totter.

The Chinese outlook on life is closely akin to the Greek in that its supreme product is embodied in philosophical works. The principal thinkers were fully evolved characters and personalities, and the problems with which they wrestled were those of the Greeks even in form. We may compare Lao Tzu with Xenophanes and Heraclitus, Confucius with Pythagoras and Socrates, and Mencius with Plato, and in so doing we shall immediately demonstrate the superiority of the Greeks. Likewise the poets in the second civilization went far in the liberation of personality ; we may equate Li T'ai Po with Anacreon, and justly. But Anacreon, like Xenophanes and

Pythagororas, only belonged to the first Greek civilization. There was no lyric poet in China on the level of Sophocles or Euripides, any more than there was a full fledged Heraclitus, Socrates, or Plato.

LITERATURE

According to Chinese tradition, literature has been preserved dating from the earliest times. In the *Shu Ching*, the *Book of Historical Documents*, exemplary political speeches and acts of the three primeval emperors have been " preserved ", and in the *Shih Ching*, the *Book of Odes*, sacrificial songs from the Shang period. It is said that Confucius collected the ancient poems and historical documents (all in metrical form) and songs after 500 B.C. Then came the burning of the books in 213 B.C., and afterwards the ancient works had to be " restored ". Of the *Book of Historical Documents* a member of the learned college at the time of Shih Huang Ti is said to have saved twenty-nine chapters. A little later a further fragment, consisting of sixteen chapters, was " found " in the house of Confucius, just as canon scriptures of the earliest times (e.g. the Law of Moses in the Temple at Jerusalem) are usually found.

In actual fact there is no historical document and hardly a song in China older than 700 B.C. at furthest. All that has been preserved is a product of the classical period between 700–600 and 400 B.C. Practically all the " historical documents " are ceremonious speeches and acts in the spirit of Confucius, clothed in the supposed garb of antiquity; and the songs were the work of individual (though anonymous) poets of the first Chinese civilization, the authors of love songs and epigrams. Some of what is contained in both canon books may have originated in epics which have been lost.

For epic poetry must have sprung up and flourished in China as early as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; indeed I think it very probable that there was epic poetry in the Shang period; the subject matter must have been the deeds of gods and heroes, battles and love. But the disciples of Lao Tzu and Confucius, fanatics in the religio-moral and politico-moral sphere, swept down upon these poems and " purified " them, harmonizing them with their loftier religious, moral, and political ideals and their rational experience. In the same way Xenophanes and Pythagoras wanted to purify Homer; if they had had it in their power, nothing would have been left of the Homeric epics but " history of the earliest times ", of founders of civilization and saviours, of great empire-builders who served the cause of divine justice and reason and peace and introduced eras of prosperity, and of great law-givers who were believed to have consolidated their work. The principal poetic form of the monotheistic-monist plane, from the Babylonians to the Greeks and Romans, is the epic. Where it is absent it has subsequently been destroyed by a rationalist movement (in Judah, in China, and perhaps in Persia also); in that case we can demonstrate that its subject matter has been preserved as history and parts of its form elsewhere as fragments. In China we have echoes of the primeval myths in the stories of Yao, Shun, and Yü, and in the accounts of the changes of dynasty at the beginning of history. There may have been a heroic epic of the accession of the Chou emperors, and most likely the nucleus of epics lies concealed in the stories of later Chou emperors and their lives and heroes—for instance, in the tale of the loyalty of Shao, who abandoned his child to the raging mob in order to save the heir to the throne, or of the blind passion of the king of Yu for the lovely Pao Ssu, his repudiation of his lawful wife and her son, and the evil end of the king and concubine. These central themes must have been elaborated and transformed upon a plane higher than the Indian, for in the *Shu Ching* and *Shih Ching* a wealth of humanly moving scenes, affecting speeches, and finished images have been preserved. All that has been eliminated is the undignified and impossible elements, the seductive descriptions of evil examples, and the brutalities and athletic delights of knightly battles, and with them the epic form was inevitably destroyed. That form was too closely linked with the fabulous and immoral to survive it on a plane which was too near to what it had superseded to be able to enjoy it æsthetically without fear.

Side by side with Homer we have Hesiod, the poet of the *Works and Days*, the extoller of vigorous labour on the land, of a natural country life in the midst of the family, the author of savage denunciatory poems on his degenerate brother and his boon companions at court, and the earliest lyric poets who sang of love and patriotism. These would have been preserved, with a few cuts, in the process of purification by the Greek rationalists; and what corresponds to them in China found grace for the most part with the disciples of Lao Tzu and Confucius. They collected it, supplemented, and interpreted it in the spirit of their schools. In this way the *Shih Ching*, the *Sacred Book of Odes*, was compiled and offered, together with history, as a substitute for the epics. This destruction of epics in accordance with the canon, and the preservation of lyric poetry, produces a false impression of a civilization on the monistic plane, in which lyric poetry appears to have flourished alone, without epics or drama. It was nowise the case that it flourished alone, but it alone had value in the eyes of those who produced the canon and only preserved what they intended to embody in it.

Almost all of the odes in the *Shih Ching* have come down to us anonymously, although some of the poets were known to the collectors. The few names that have been preserved mean nothing to us, either chronologically or otherwise. It was intended that the poets should be lost in the masses of the people of antiquity ; such was the demand of the legend constructed in the spirit of Confucius, and such the demand of the intended canonization. Nevertheless, Confucius was not made the author of this *Song of Songs*, like Solomon among the Jews, but only the collector. The outcome was a canon book of Odes, a single unit, corresponding to the Jewish *Song of Songs* and the *Psalms* on a higher cultural plane ; it constituted at once the epitome of Chinese wisdom and natural humanity and a work of art in the form that had the widest appeal. The early part, " Customs of the Particular States," is nearest akin to the *Song of Songs*. It begins as a book of marriage songs, in which King Wen and his consort, T'ai Ssu play exactly the same part as King Solomon and Sulamith, living again in every newly married couple. In the *Shih Ching*, too, the bride is greeted on her entrance and her yearning for her beloved is given expression. Her friends lament that they are to be left forlorn ; they prepare the marriage chamber and tenderly wish her a large family. They make game of their own waiting and the danger of being left without a husband in mocking songs about the gathering of plaintains and the last plums on the tree. The men answer with complaints of the coyness of girls. The bridegroom enters as a prince with his guards who are mighty warriors—hunting hares. There is a duet of the blissfully united couple, a morning song, and a description of the housewife's preparations for the morning sacrifice. Joined with these songs for special occasions there are also other love songs, as in the *Song of Songs*, including many by women. The book of marriage songs is extended so as to include all kinds of love songs. There is a far greater variety of amorous feeling than with the Jews ; indeed, it must have been greater than appears on the surface, for all the purely sensual experiences, which doubtless found abundant expression in Chinese lyric poetry, have been carefully eliminated. The yearning of lovers, vain expectations, caprices, defiance, jealousy, and faithful remembrance, all find expression.

The cycle of expression of love before marriage is enlarged to include married love and love that outlives marriage. The women long for their husbands who are far away in the wars, they welcome the home-coming warriors, and rejoice in re-union. The man in the wars longs for his parents and relatives at home. There are warning songs about illicit love ; the woman repudiated and the widow speak of mourning and faithfulness, and the man of his loneliness when his parents or his brother die.

And the scope of the book of songs is still wider ; there are war songs and drinking songs, songs of patriotism and friendship, which have been included in the canon as human and morally justifiable. Of course they have undergone a severe process of selection, and there must have been much more than has been preserved. In connection with war only the most humane emotions are allowed expression—what is felt as the men march forth, during their long and weary absence, and on their return, and likewise their renewed courage when the general arrives, and their joy in victory over barbarians and rebels. The brutalities of the battle-field and warlike enthusiasm are severely barred. Then there are hunting songs and songs of greeting to the successful hunter. Banqueting songs are kept within the strict limits of decorum ; where drunkenness is depicted it is not glorified but reprimanded. But the Chinese, like the Greeks, set a value upon patriotism, and loyal comradeship is extolled. To the Chinese, however, the father-land meant the world of Chinese culture, and not the city or small State ; only women married far from their native place long to be back at home. Here, again, Confucian ideology was dominant : we hear only of an empire that is co-extensive with the world and a menace to barbarians and rebels. And where the subject is comrade-ship all indications of homosexual impulses, which were assuredly not lacking, have been eradicated. There are no dirges whatever ; they, too, were eradicated when the book was compiled ; there was to be no mention of death and burial. But in this case we are able to prove that such songs did exist ; they survive in the songs of the funeral bearers of the Han period, and had apparently undergone little change.

Just as the marriage songs may be considered to form the nucleus of the early part, the " Customs of the Country ", in which the universal human feelings of love, friendship, and the love of family and home, find expression, so we may take a court song book as the nucleus of the second part, containing festival and sacrificial songs.

Here, of course, everything revolves round the emperor; there are hymns to the sovereign, and penitentiary psalms by the sovereign in times of national distress; both were common in Egyptian and Babylonian civilization but disappeared among the Jews and Indians, who were monotheists and monists. What we have here is not a relapse into the superseded past, not a case of idolatry, but merely a consequence of the exaltation of the emperor to the position of Heaven's representative. The hymns to the emperor were not addressed to the living emperor but to his ancestors, and primarily to the idealized founders of the Chou dynasty, Hou Chi, who first established agriculture, Wen, Wu, and Ch'eng, the creators of the Chou empire, The penitential psalms, on the other hand, were prayers of the living sovereign, who was required to humble himself on principle (e.g. King Ch'eng) before the Deity in times of drought or other national disaster, but also in periods of prosperity, and to attribute the whole guilt to his own errors. Inevitably the reverse side of divine right based upon mature reason and virtue was the responsibility of the emperor upon whom God's curse had fallen, before God and the people. Since the emperor represented the empire before the Lord of Heaven, the universal book of songs contained sacrificial hymns for the great festivals in which the emperor played the part of priest. There were ancestral sacrifices for his own dynasty and doubtless for the Shang dynasty—the fact that the earlier dynasties were omitted is almost proof that in the period from the sixth to the fourth centuries they were not regarded as historical. The other chief festivals were those of the seasons, the spring sacrifice, the harvest festival, and others. Then there were the festal songs which announced and accompanied the arrival of the emperor, the bestowal of the Red Bow, a hunt in honour of a vassal, a victory over barbarians and rebels, or the completion of a palace, besides such daily occurrences as a royal banquet or sacrificial feast. Songs in honour of the living emperor did not extol him but, in accordance with Confucian ideology, Wen Ti, the pattern of a gracious and virtuous ruler, the great builder, Wu Ti, and the divinely appointed avenger of crimes committed against the house of Shang, the pious and humble law-giver Ch'eng. The songs addressed to these three may be regarded as the true national hymns of the collection; they are impersonal admonitions, recalling the duties of a ruler. There are songs, too, celebrating victories over the barbarians under the names of heroes of antiquity.

Other political poems follow those in praise of the ancient emperors, princes, and generals. There is a long series of monitory and denunciatory songs sharply censuring frivolous, vain, and extravagant princes—once again under the names of infamous rulers of antiquity or by a general portrayal of degeneration—or pillorying unworthy high officials and court servants. There are descriptions both of the rise of the Chou dynasty and of the decline of the empire: the dissolution of the empire, it is urged, goes hand in hand with the degeneration of morals, servants and children forget their duties, the aristocracy is sinking to the level of peasants, the old State officials are neglected, the people are fleeced by the greed of the high officials, and nobody any longer pays any attention to established customs. The descriptions of national calamity breathe a fervent moral pathos but, though they are illustrated by instances cited from antiquity (the king of Yu and Pao Ssu), they deal for the most part with broad types; amidst these general descriptions, particular scenes and situations stand out: the guards complain that they are put to wrong and unworthy uses, the elegant knights at the imperial court mock at the rustic habits of the nobility of Wei, and the people as they abandon their homes deride the "Great Mouse", the Governor who has ill-used them. It does not seem that any personal denunciatory songs directed against the living and naming them have been preserved; this is in keeping with the impersonal disguise which the poets maintain (or upon which the collector insists ?).

Amongst the political songs are those in praise of agriculture as the foundation of the political order. That praise is sung in accents which remind us of Hesiod, but also of Tibullus; there are songs of the seasons and proverbs about the right time for agricultural undertakings, and pleasant descriptions of the year's round of work and the plenitude of natural happiness and wealth which it has always produced.

The classical lyrics are mostly written in stanzas. It may be that the short rhymed verses, generally consisting of sets of four words arranged in pairs, are a survival of the long epic line, a universal metre. But the ancient unity had been broken up and had yielded to a great variety in the number of words (two to eight) and the arrangement of the lines in stanzas. A favourite device is the repetition of a word which indicates the mood and constitutes a metaphor at the beginning of each stanza; sometimes, also, each stanza ends with a refrain. There is vigorous and striking natural imagery, vivid and instinct with emotion, which recalls our folk-songs, interspersed with placid descriptive passages with sharply visualized detail, treating of labour in the fields and sacrifices to ancestors, but also of the banquet which ends in drunken confusion. A vigorous, moral sense stresses the curse of moral degeneration, but also the blessing of order and virtue in the empire.

The odes of the *Shih Ching* stand between the *Song of Songs* and *Psalms* on the one hand and the odes and elegies of the first Greek civilization on the other, but they are more closely akin to the Greeks than the Jews. The love songs have the universal power to move us that we regard as characteristic of the folk-song, although they are much more varied than the Jewish lyrics and approach near to Alcæus and Sappho; of course they are not folk-songs, but the products of art, like those in the *Song of Songs*. The sacrificial hymns have lost the warmth and passion of Jewish monotheism, but the aspiration to an impersonal Father God which they express is the source of great, simple, and prayerful power and moral volition. We cannot fail to recall Hesiod here, as in the agricultural and monitory songs, nor to detect the note of Solon's piety and resolve to establish order, his love of his country and of mankind.

The *Book of Historical Documents* (*Shu Ching*) is also a literary work, likewise said to have been collected by Confucius and so included in the canon. It corresponds more or less to the historical books of the Old Testament, but is again on a higher scientific plane. It professes to record history from the time of Yao, Shun, and Yü up to about 700 B.C. (ostensibly some 1700 years) in documentary form, consisting of the speeches, decrees, and admonitions of the great model emperors and their advisers, interspersed with a few objective records. More or less following upon them come the *Annals of Lu*, also said to have been purged by Confucius and made the skeleton of a history of the empire from 722 to 481 B.C. The " documents " in the *Shu Ching* are one and all inventions. Plainly there were very meagre recollections of the time before 700 B.C. in China, and that is why it was possible for the *Shih Ching* and the *Shu Ching* to date " folk-songs " and " documents " back into this legendary period, treating of princely figures who were either models to be copied or warnings to be shunned. With the beginning of the classical period and its literature, philosophy, and regular annals, there is a cessation of legend and the creation of types from events whose authenticity cannot be checked. That is why there was an end of the examples which appeared in songs and documents, and not because the " ancient songs " and " documents " ceased to be produced. People shrank from direct forgery. It came to be the business of historians to re-model the actual present in which people were living and writing in exemplary form (for instance, in the *Commentary on the Annals* of Lu). The documents in the *Shu Ching* may consist partly of speeches and duologues taken from "historical" epics (telling of Yao, Shun, and Yü, and the beginnings of the Shang and Chou periods), but they must then have been permeated with the sober and moral reforming spirit of Confucius and re-moulded to harmonize with his formulas. Probably they are almost without exception the work of the fifth century, for they express perfectly the demands made by Confucius on the "ideal man" and his humanity and on the ideal ruler in his relation with God, his advisers, and his subjects. Through the mask of antiquity we discern everywhere the ideal of the classical period, just as in the *Shih Ching* we can everywhere discern through it the conditions of the chivalrous period and its transformation to the bureaucratic State (600–300 B.C.). The *Book of Historical Documents*, therefore, provides us with examples of one branch of literature, the only one which the Chinese valued besides lyric poetry, namely rhetoric as the art of political oratory and official writing. And it contains masterpieces of this type, instinct with moral fervour, artistic in form, and expressed in a lofty style, rhythmic prose which often falls into verse. The contrast with the wiles and over-subtleties of Sophist political orators, with their theories of doubtful morality and their arts of persuasion, is elaborated with conscious purpose. The words stand side by side like blocks of marble, short, to the point, moral, inspiring, when Yao considers whose virtue is best proved in all the empire, and who, therefore, is called to succeed to the throne, or when Wu calls upon the men of the west in the name of God to join him in holy wrath and execute the sentence of Heaven upon the unworthy Shang emperor and his degenerate consort. We must look for what is nearest akin to these counsels and popular speeches in the proclamations of the Jewish prophets and men of God of the coming judgment of Yahu, or perhaps in Sparta; and once more the Chinese outlook based upon the claims of reason and virtue and upon conscious art in oratory is closer akin to the Greeks than the Jews.

The lyrics of the *Shih Ching* date from the first prime and the revolutionary period (600–400 B.C.). During the second prime they were supplanted by a new school of lyric poetry which proudly stressed and displayed its characteristic quality, like the Alexandrian school following the classical poetry of Greece. The father of this "Alexandrian" school of poetry in China was Ch'ü Yüan (born

332 B.C.) who, in his capacity of minister to two kings of Ch'u, experienced all manner of troubles—neglect of his advice, calumny, and banishment—and is said at last to have put an end to his life voluntarily because he would not expose the white robe of his virtue any longer to sullying contact with the world—this is one of the romances that has been transformed into history. We may compare him with Callimachus, who was as much a scholar as a poet, and whose work is full of baroque vigour and bombast. Like Callimachus he endeavoured to revive religious poetry as well as secular; besides his *Li Sao* we have sacrificial hymns in a similar style. The *Li Sao*, or *Falling into Trouble*, formed the model of a new school of literary lyric poetry both in form and subject. It was the earliest elegy, a school sprang up after it in Ch'u, and it excites admiration to this day. The poem was an innovation in form, for it was written in long lines with an irregular number of syllables (freer epic lines ?) and consists of ninety-four stanzas of four lines each—this was not poetry to be sung, but to be read, although each second line ends with the exclamation O ! As to subject, it is the poetry of reflection; the ancient lament that frivolous kings will not take advice is clothed in new, more individual, and more artistic garb. Formerly ministers complained that the empire was falling to ruin because of the frivolity of the princes; Ch'ü Yüan lamented that *he* must die lonely and discouraged and would rather end his life than continue to live in this age of degeneration. He was filled with philosophic pessimism because the calumnies of his enemies had defeated his devotion to duty, his frankness and ability, and even his posthumous fame was in jeopardy. Lamenting, he makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of the ancient King Shun and there prays for compensating justice and punishment for the king who has deserted the path of duty, and cries out for a worthy master. He lies weeping by the tomb when he suddenly feels himself raised aloft, and a chariot drawn by dragons and accompanied by the charioteer of the Moon and the god of the Winds carries him to the gate of Heaven. He resolves to find and win the " maiden " in Heaven, but the porter is hostile and refuses him entry. Next day he climbs the mountain of the gods where the god of Thunder promises to woo her on his behalf. They find the maiden, but although she is beautiful and the daughter of the mythical Fu Hsi, she does not know how to behave with propriety; he sees that in Heaven, as on earth, that which is good is not to be attained. The soothsayers and magicians of antiquity declare that the oracles are favourable to him when he consults them on his

wanderings. So he flies up to Heaven once more, but his horses flag. Then he abandons his search—there is no single man in the empire who knows how to value his services. He resolves to drown himself like P'eng Hsien who died thus, grieved because his prince would not hear him. Compared with earlier times, there is here a marked growth of appreciation of the value of personality. Ch'ü Yüan, dutiful and sincere, feels like an Indian penitent that he is worthy of calling Heaven and Earth to witness of his just claim. He ascends like a god, and the whole machinery of theophany—the dragon-drawn chariot and Nature gods, primeval emperors and magicians with their host of spirits—is at his behest. The whole spirit world is concerned for the just man. But in the end he does not attain his goal, in Heaven the hostility of a courtier prevents his access to the " maiden " (justice, or merited honour ?), and even the daughter of Fu Hsi cannot satisfy his claim to perfection. All, therefore, that remains for him is a pure and innocent death. Together with the change to a freer appreciation of personality and susceptibility to sorrow based upon moral pessimism, there had emerged an æsthetic and intellectual power of playing with imagery. The great ascent to Heaven reminds us of Parmenides, though it does not attain his clarity in the allegorical field. Every stanza is smothered in endless metaphorical and scholarly allusions, packed with ingenuity and learning.

The Ch'u elegies, with all their allegorical bombast and display of learning, continued to exercise an influence right on into the Han period. There are echoes of Ch'ü Yüan's ascent to Heaven in the philosophy of Liu An (died 122 B.C.). Even Ssu-ma Ch'ien said of the hymns composed by the Emperor Wu's Musical Board that they could be entirely understood only by the co-operation of a number of scholars. It is striking how closely akin these hymns are in content—for instance, the hymn celebrating the winter solstice—with the poems of Callimachus (the description of the festal gathering, the theophany). Moreover, the greater stress laid upon personality in the rising literary lyric poetry encouraged the revival of song composition at the court of the Han emperors, whereby natural manners once more became the fashion. Thus imitations of the *Shih Ching* acquired a certain freshness and individuality, descriptions of landscape came to include more personal features, and Ch'ü Yüan's philosophic grief developed into sentimental laments for the brevity of life or lovers' sighs and complaints. Amongst the poets who occasionally succeeded in producing a genuine song amidst many courtly exercises in their art were emperors like Wu Ti and women like the Princess Hsi Chün who was married in a barbarian land. But for the most part people copied the ancients.

The Han period, like the Alexandrian period in Greece, produced a flourishing crop of poetry descriptive of court festivals, and of didactic poetry. There are variegated and lengthy descriptions of court hunts, decked out with the apparatus of allegory, and of royal castles ; and the *I Ching* was re-written in verse. In this field, too, where form and subject was fixed, women wrote for women, as is everywhere the case.

Corresponding to the model speeches and decrees of the *Shu Ching*, the Han period produced the numerous speeches, decrees, petitions, and letters in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's (145–90 B.C.) great historical work, especially in the biographical section. They show that a simple, clear, and beautiful prose style had developed, somewhat on the model of Mencius, in which important questions were debated in all their pros and cons, backed by examples from history and reasons of humanity and morality, free from heroic and moral pathos and yet impressively and with dignity. Irony, too, was employed to refute unjust accusations. Epistolatory literature was also prominent, which supplies additional proof of the greater value attached to personality and its utterances. Li Ling's letter from the barbarian land to his friend Tzu-ch'ing at home is a model of dignified assertion of personal and human claims against the imperial house ; it expresses in vigorous and moving terms the writer's manly defence in a very dubious legal position, and his sorrow for the loss of his home and family.

Nothing has survived of the writings which were not included in the canon of the Confucians, completed in the later Han period, or of the poetry and prose which were not stamped as true literature by being linked with the chief works of the canon, such as lyrics and the works of the political rhetoricians and their followers (e.g. letters). People did not think the rest worthy of being recorded in writing, at any rate not for general academic use, and so, for the most part, it was lost.

It does not seem, however, that there was a lost dramatic literature, for it appears that in the first Chinese civilization no such literature existed. There were plays, survivals from the solar cult, New Year plays, and doubtless others as well. In the *Li Chi* we hear of performances on " historical subjects ", representing the fall of the Shang dynasty. Wen Wang must have appeared as a faithful admonisher of the degenerate royal couple before the avenger Wu Wang executed the divine punishment and the deposed couple sought death by fire. Perhaps, at any rate at a later date (after 400 B.C.), a few speeches of Wen and Wu in the *Shih Ching* and a few songs in their honour were derived from these plays. So, too, the marriage ceremonies (Wen Wang and T'ai Ssu) and the funeral rituals had their origin in the solar myth, as well as the sacrificial dances in which axes and shields, feathered wands and the tails of oxen played a part. There were also puppet plays on the subject of the persecuted sun-child. But all that was the débris of ancient things, and not a rising drama. On the Chinese evolutionary plane people concentrated upon the reconciliation of opposites, not upon contrasting them. With Lao Tzu all antithesis had vanished in the One; with Mencius and his opposite, not upon contrasting them. With Lao Tzu antithesis had vanished in the one; with Mencius and his opponents the cleft reappeared without any desire being felt to unite the parts once more; one only, and not both, was held to be right and just. In the first Chinese civilization it seems that drama was wholly lacking, as with the Indians and the Greeks at the time of Xenophanes and Pythagoras. It did not arise till the second civilization, in the T'ang period.

On the other hand there can be no question but that the fables and the proverb flourished during the first civilization. Use was made of them especially in philosophical works, but no collection has been preserved dating from the Chou and Han periods. It was in Buddhist circles before and during the T'ang period that collections of fables and proverbs, largely of Indian origin, were compiled and preserved as a branch of serious literature. The Confucians of the first civilization as well as the Taoist philosophers regarded fables and proverbs as a poor form of wisdom. A man who had perceived the fundamental truths and could express the fundamental principles had no further need of individual perceptions with their inevitable ambiguity, which, indeed, is inextricably linked with imagery. Such devices were only useful within limits where he wished to speak to the populace, but even then a practical example from history or life would be preferable to a beast fable. Thus fables and proverbs were degraded to the position of popular literature; in the canon and in serious literature there was no place for little tales about animals, and for proverbs.

As for other stories (tales and romances), whatever seemed worthy of preservation was embodied in history, as was the case with

Herodotus, in so far as the disciples of Confucius thought it humanly and morally instructive, and in magic in so far as it appealed to the Taoists as marvellous and applicable for magic purposes. Not all that remained can well have been lost ; a large part of it probably survived in a popular form on into a later era, like the fables and proverbs.

Poetic composition did not cease altogether during the period of transition between the end of the first Chinese civilization and the first prime of the second (100 B.C. to A.D. 700). Lyric poetry as the art of the cultured classes continued in high esteem ; it was confined to the forms (subjects) of the Han period, with an increasing mastery and artistic elaboration, and yet with occasional freshness and spontaneity. Prose, too, often assumed a lyrical character, in miniature essays, ingenious reflections on philosophical problems and questions of the day, or charming and intimate descriptive pieces. There is no mistaking their derivation from the philosophical classics, orators, and letter-writers ; but the larger form has been broken up, and the very brevity of the fragments, their personal and poetical inspiration, confers fresh charms. At this point we must mention T'ao Yüan-ming (A.D. 365–427), for he was a capricious character, aloof from politics, absorbed in writing, growing flowers, and wine, and in all this he reminds us of Li T'ai Po, though the poetical power of his little prose pieces does not rise to the heights of Li T'ai Po's lyrics.

During the Sui period and the first T'ang period (A.D. 550–700) the second Chinese mixed race reached its first cultural prime (700–800) ; its youthful powers were concentrated so that the seeds sown in the Han period, which had not then reached their full growth, received the stimulus and sap needed for their development. As in India, the second Chinese civilization did not actually rise to a higher plane than the first, but it produced some things which the first had failed to develop because its force was already spent when the time was ripe for their growth. Chinese lyric poetry reached its culmination in the T'ang period and Chinese landscape painting in the Sung period ; and the two were closely linked.

The lyrics of the *Shih Ching* have come down to us anonymously, although poets' names were known. To the authors of the canon, poets did not seem worthy to be named beside prophet philosophers. In the succeeding centuries poets' names were preserved—not only those of philosophic elegiac poets like Ch'ü Yüan, but others who wrote the occasional poems which attained distinction in the society sport of writing poetry. It was in the T'ang period, however, that great poetic figures first emerged who aspired to be nothing but poets and who, as men of genius, were petted by the emperors and fully recognized by society. The greatest of them was Li T'ai Po (A.D. 699–762), the first great classic of the second Chinese civilization, corresponding more or less to Kalidasa in India. He left thirty volumes of his works, mainly songs and other poems. Everything that met his eye moved him to write poetry. As a royal favourite at the imperial court and as a boon companion who was always welcome at a carouse or revel, a perpetual wanderer, he lived the gay life of a poet, constantly stimulated to mould and form, and saved from destruction only by his utter indifference to politics. In the first instance Li T'ai Po perfected the form of Chinese lyric poetry. His creative spirit completed the strict rules of the art which had been in process of growth since the Han period, imposed their authority, and mastered them in all their subtlety by his consummate skill and taste. The subject matter of his poetry springs from a general outlook which is akin to Anacreon and Horace. The great era when moral and political ideals were in process of formation lay far in the past, and philosophy, even the philosophy of enjoyment, had spent its creative force. The empire had been re-established, and the strife between Confucians and Buddhists was a forgotten tale. Li T'ai Po left all the affairs of State to those whose business they were, and all theories of right conduct and faith to the learned, whom he despised from the depths of his heart. In the new empire he lived for himself, occupied with amiable yearning and the enjoyment of Nature and of wine, of the thousand variegated impressions and moods which everywhere thronged around him, of cultured society and of his own capriciously witty or coarse sallies. He enjoyed to the utmost his own humour as well as his power to see and mould. Constantly reminded by the ruins of the ancient imperial cities and by the cycle of the years and seasons of the transitoriness of all earthly things, he lived for the passing day, absorbed by drunken revelry, by his subtle receptiveness and the moulding of his impressions. Li T'ai Po composed a rich variety of drinking songs; he developed the whole ingenious philosophy of wine in a somewhat godless spirit, with humour and self-irony; we must drink because it is spring or some other season, because we are alone or in company, because the old, long-dead emperors and sages remind us that life is fleeting, and because intoxication plunges us in the Tao and so we attain sainthood. In a charming song he portrayed himself drinking in company with the moon and his own shadow, and in others the merry arrival of a company of horsemen at the inn, or the joys to be found there in love, dancing, and song. He was no less a poet of war: in countless colourful strokes he depicted the autumn campaign in the north, the appearance and habits of the free barbarian tribes on Lake Baikal, the battle, and the misery of the ceaseless wars of defence. The frontier guard rides across the prairies, good comrades meet and part; we see the warning bonfires flaring up from the frontier to the imperial palace, we shiver in the frost in the night after battle, hear the roll of the kettle-drums and the clanking of swords thrust back into their sheathes after they have done their work. These are not the civic drinking and marching songs of the *Shih Ching*; the poet's eye and ear are drunk with colour and sound, and his heart with wild, romantic and passionate emotions, whether or not they may prove seductive and morally harmful. Present day feats are dated back to an earlier age, to the Han period, just as the ideals of the era of the *Shih Ching* were dated back to Wen Wang and Wu Wang; but what was a moral and political myth in the *Shih Ching* was with Li T'ai Po the alluring romance of heroes and ruins. He was the author of the romantic ballad of the "wandering guest" from the Land of Chou who, brave and convivial, faithful and always successful, saved the State of Chan. He painted in glowing colours the glories of the Chou Yang palace, with its parks and its peaceful women's chambers where love dwelt. He depicted Nanking, where six empires had flourished, with its fallen citadel and its silent streets—the moon hangs over the Hao Ku Lake, and the Yang Tze flows past to lose itself in the eastern sea. From a series of tiny, unconnected, picturesque impressions which he strings together, he produces really forceful moods of Nature and the human soul, by means of an artistry in arranging and economizing words which is yet not in the least artificial: a turtle on a lotus leaf, a bird in a water lily, a girl singing as she rows a boat—"the notes of her song follow the flow of the water"—three dainty creatures in the reeds, and a sound from across the water—that is how the poet conveys his impression of the Tan Yang Lake. Or take his home-sickness: the moonlight falls beside the bed of the restless wanderer like snow; he looks up to the moon and droops his head again, stirred by grief. Even in the *Shih Ching* moods of Nature grow out of similes borrowed from Nature, though they are never carried into full detail, as, for instance, in Homer. This now evolved into a personal art of perception and expression capable of portraying every mood independently in delicate strokes, in the language of landscape or psychology. The images are confined to a restricted chosen sphere, like the whole of Li T'ai Po's experience: spring and autumn, moonlight, sunshine, mountains, steppes, ruined cities, and water, such is his cycle: but within these narrow limits they are colourful, fresh, and magical in their emotional force. Anacreon is subtler, Horace more varied, but Li T'ai Po is more direct and emotionally forceful than either.

The second great classic of this period in the lyric sphere was Tu Fu (A.D. 712–770), a little younger than Li T'ai Po, and his intimate friend, although he was a totally different character, shy, melancholy, and a helpless victim of his consciousness of the fleeting quality of life. He was utterly without Li T'ai Po's delight in pleasure; in depicting war he saw only the starvation and sufferings of the people, and his marvellous landscapes are all mist and instinct with the foreboding of old age; even in re-union with an old friend he thought only of the sorrow of the next parting. He had a stronger tendency than Li T'ai Po to introduce historical memories and philosophical reflections.

Side by side with the great lyric poets, who have remained models to the present day, the T'ang period produced prose writers of distinction. Han Yü (A.D. 768–824), the champion of Confucianism against Buddhism, not only set new and more personal standards for petitions to the emperor (in a bold protest against the worship of a bone of the Buddha) and for "sacrificial offerings" (laments for dead relatives and friends), but also wrote clever parables. The Buddhist Liu Tsung-yüan (A.D. 773–819), philosophically his opponent, practised the same artistry in miniature prose pieces on various didactic subjects. Corresponding with the poetical descriptions of the Han palaces and battles there were works written in rhythmical prose, like Tu Mu's description of Shih Huang Ti's palace, and Li Ho's temperamental picture of an ancient battlefield of the ninth century. Long after lyric poetry had undergone petrefaction, in the eleventh century, landscape painting revived in prose. Ou-yang Hsiu (A.D. 1007–1072) sketched a charming picture of daytime in his description of the pleasure-house that he had built himself in the forest near the fountain of wine, amidst the noisy stir of guests and holiday-makers, and Su Shih a picture of night, philosophically luminous and spectrally romantic, in his description of two nocturnal expeditions to the Red Wall when the moon was full; both give literary expression to the lively susceptibility to natural landscape which characterized the Sung period, and which elsewhere found expression in plastic art. Both writers were high officials, scholars, who wrote other historical, antiquarian, and political works, as was customary in this period when the sciences were undergoing a process of systematic summing-up. But in these cultured representatives of an aging second civilization there still pulsed the Taoist yearning for Nature which had found realization and transfiguration upon the heights of metaphysics in the withdrawal of wise monks to mountain and forest hermitages and was later conceived and enjoyed individually through the medium of subjective poetry. To these writers the Taoist monk, as the builder of a forest hermitage long ago, and as one who exercised magic powers over Nature and could assume the shape of a crane, had himself almost become the romantic image of a mood, a dream figure.

As in India, so in China, the drama only came into being during the course of the second civilization. The T'ang Emperor Hsüan Tsung (A.D. 713–755) is said to have founded the first dramatic school in the "Pear Garden". Possibly Indian influences acted as an incitement, but in any case the youthful vigour of the new civilization transformed them creatively in its own spirit. Drama thereby came to be accepted at court, but it was not yet a fit subject for literary treatment. The earliest piece that has been preserved belongs to the latter part of the Sung period, about 1200, and is entitled *The Story of the Western Pavilion.* Not till the Mongol era was drama, as well as the novel, recognized as good literature and fostered. As scholarly literature underwent a process of petrifaction, the more popular forms came to be esteemed under alien rule as an instrument of national cohesion. Chinese, like Indian, drama was devoid of tragedy. Wherever, as in the doctrine of the Tao as well as in Confucian teaching, the aim is unity, the reconciliation of opposites, the harmony between the "ideal men" and the populace in workaday pious custom and morality, there is no basis for great tragic conflicts. There are, therefore historical dramas and bourgeois dramas; great heroes of antiquity and moving lovers and bandits played their superhuman and human parts, and soon petrified into types. As in Greece, music was part of the drama, and the arias seem to have had something of the character of the chorus through which the poet himself spoke. No dramas have been preserved in China which bear comparison with the best Indian work; apparently there was no Li T'ai Po in the dramatic field. By the end of the Sung period the race was senile and weary. We do not know the relation between drama and novel, of which the first important example that has been preserved also dates from the Mongol era; it is entitled

The Story of the Three Kingdoms. Novel literature may have flourished for a long time unrecognized, like the drama, but it may have been the outcome of the dramatic treatment of historical and moving, adventurous bourgeois subjects. We can prove that there was such a thing as the short story in the T'ang period ; in metrical form there are all kinds of moving and strange tales—the girl who goes to the wars as a man, the miserable end of a faithful married couple, and others ; there were also tender fairy-tales of love in prose.

From the first classical period (600–500 B.C.) onwards, music played a great part in China. Doubtless all the songs in the *Shih Ching* were sung. The division of recognized classical literature into a book of odes and a book of historical documents pre-supposes the separation of spoken and sung declamation, as with the *aoidoi* and rhapsodists in Greece. That led on to the further distinction between sung and spoken lyrics : the literary lyrics of the Han and T'ang periods were meant to be spoken, though they may have preserved a more musical intonation than was involved in the mere necessity to distinguish between the syllables. Since the Chinese reached an evolutionary plane more or less corresponding to that of Pythagoras, they came to conceive of the multiplicity of musical tones in scientific terms : they held that the basic scale contained five or six tones, and the interval of our octave (f–f′) was divided into five whole tones (f, g, a, c, d, f ; the semi-tones, e and b were omitted). All that has survived of ancient music is based upon this pentatonic scale ; the construction and tuning of the principal instruments is adapted to it ; and Chinese musical theory is rooted in it. Chinese, like Greek, music is invariably univocal, without harmony in our sense. But within its own limits it is clear, dignified, and charming in its delicacy. Like Pythagoras, the Chinese theorists linked all manner of speculations with their pentatonic scale, some metaphysical and mathematical (the symbolic meaning of the numbers 1 to 5), some cosmological (the five elements), some political (f is the emperor, g the ministers, a the people, and so on), and some ethical (the cardinal virtues). They never attained to the full Pythagorean concept of " harmony ". Like the Greeks, they applied ethical standards to music, regarding it as a means of education or seduction, and consequently made a severe selection of permissible and forbidden melodies (the *Shih Ching*). It may be that this is the actual cause of the purely pentatonic character of all the ancient Chinese music that has been preserved. If Plato had had the power to banish the soft, alluring modes from Greek music, he would certainly have made use of it. The Confucians had that power, and did make use of it to " cleanse " all the myths and destroy all " bad " songs. It is conceivable that during the first civilization China had a scale with seven tones, and a chromatic scale with twelve (made up of six " masculine " and six " feminine " notes), and there may have been songs and instrumental music written in those scales, as some Chinese declare. If so, such music must have fallen a prey to the severity of the philosophers. Only theory worked, at least at a later date, with the seven- and twelve-toned scale. People distinguished eighty-four scales, seven with different beginnings, and each transposable to every one of the twelve notes of the chromatic scale. This may have been under the Indian influence of the Buddhists, subsequently restricted to accord with Chinese character. For the Chinese were more systematic than the Indians and never indulged in their dalliance with hundreds of scales, nor did they adopt the division of tones into thirds. Only pentatonic music is genuinely Chinese ; in its severe unity and simplicity it is the counterpart of their metaphysics and moral theory based upon unity. Within it the Chinese made an attempt, though an inadequate one, to work out something like the tonic and the dominant (f was the emperor and d the totality of things). They seem, also, to have attempted something like a cycle of fifths, a return through a cycle of scales (five) to the original scale. But they lacked the mathematical " harmony " and the wealth of scientific observation of the Greeks.

Learning

Chinese learning, like Chinese philosophy, approaches in all fields close to the Greek evolutionary plane ; but the small difference of plane involves, in this case, a great difference in achievement. For just as Chinese monism and philosophic criticism stopped short of fully scientific analysis and logic, so the whole of Chinese learning remained somewhat below the fully scientific plane, it was " pre-scientific ", though in the highest grade of pre-science.

Chinese writing must have originated, like Sumerian, as picture writing consisting of characters in simple outlines, but cut in wood or bamboo instead of clay. Even in its finished form many of the characters still record the conscious memory of an originally purely pictorial significance (sun, moon, human being ; also combinations, such as two trees designating a wood, a human being and a mouth

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Chinese writing must have originated, like Sumerian, as picture writing consisting of characters in simple outlines, but cut in wood or bamboo instead of clay. Even in its finished form many of the characters still record the conscious memory of an originally purely pictorial significance (sun, moon, human being; also combinations, such as two trees designating a wood, a human being and a mouth meaning " sincere "). In Babylonia the development was directly towards a phonetic script, and the pictorial characters, which had always been pronounced phonetically, were transferred to a purely phonetic use and soon became solely phonetic and syllabic characters. They were merely classified by pictures designating general terms (determinatives) which still retained their pictorial sense ; e.g. " tree " stood for trees and for everything made of wood, and so on. China pursued the same course, although of course there is no question of borrowing from Babylonia. Phonetics arose—to-day there are about 1,500—and also " radicals ", of which there are to-day about 200. But the outcome, instead of being a simple syllabic phonetic script, as in Babylonia, was a system of writing consisting of about 40,000 symbols designating words. The reason is to be found in the nature of the Chinese language and the high scientific standard attained, at any rate from 700 B.C. onwards. The Chinese language contains only a few hundred syllables which, with differences of length and tone, constitute its whole wealth of uniformly monosyllabic, uninflected words. Because so many of the words are phonetically the same, it would be difficult to read it if written phonetically in letters or syllables ; in fact, confusion would be practically inevitable. But unequivocal clarity was required by scholars on a plane above that of the Babylonians, such as the Chinese of the first civilization (700/600–200/100 B.C.). They secured it by making the phonetic characters indicators of classification. The whole world of objects, creatures, activities, and qualities—i.e. of words—was classified under 200 pictorial general terms, and so rendered capable of survey and presentation in categories. The phonetic characters, of which there are to-day some 1,500, representing a syllable, were combined with them. In this way combinations of radicals and phonetics were produced, and it was possible to discover their precise meaning. For instance, the syllable " kung " may mean indiscriminately " to carry, strife, impatience, bridge " ; combined with the radical " hand " it must definitely be read " to carry ", with the radical " mouth " it means " strife ", with " heart " it is " impatience ", and with " wood " it is " bridge ".

In its finished form Chinese writing is a lofty achievement, and bears comparison with any other, including the alphabet ; possibly it owes its completion to Li Ssu, the minister of Shih Huang Ti. It was nowise picture writing like the primitive secret codes or the purely pictorial element in Egyptian writing. Such pictorial elements as it does contain are quite consciously made to serve the purposes of a uniform phonetic system of ideographs, which is so perfectly in harmony with the genius of the language that even to-day the introduction of the alphabet seems almost impossible. Even if signs were devised to distinguish the different intonation of identical words, and were added to the alphabet, the simplified system would meet with a great obstacle in the great variety of dialects. And in the process the Chinese would not only lose the association with their ancient characteristic and homogeneous literature, but also much of their power over neighbouring peoples. For, as a system of ideographs, Chinese writing is read to-day just as well in Japan and Korea as in China itself. Just as our musical scale is called " ut, re, mi " in Italy, and among ourselves " c, d, e ", but is used and understood in precisely the same way, and just as the picture of a fish is called " fish " by us and " poisson " by the French, but suggests the same idea, so the Japanese scholar or merchant pronounces Chinese characters quite differently from the Chinese, but they mean the same to him. Cultural influence, community of culture, and trade depend upon the ancient system of writing ; so, too, do æsthetic values, subtleties of imagery and of the choice and order of the characters in poetry. The system is hard to learn, but even that was a merit in the eyes of its creators, the Chinese of the first civilization. It was to be reserved for the nobility, the cultured, the leaders of the people. Chinese civilization had an aristocratic bias, like that of the Spartans and of Pythagoras. Chinese writing is altogether in harmony with the great philosophy of the Chinese. As in Lao Tzu's idea of the universe, all contradictions are contained in it and reduced to unity ; the pictorial and phonetic significance of the characters combine in a single visual and yet intellectual survey of the universe in ideographs. When Buddhism conquered China, and Indian learning and Indian alphabetical and numerical characters were introduced together with Indian gods, even a religious movement supported by the masses and bent upon democracy and utilitarian propaganda had no choice but to leave Chinese writing as it was.

All that we know of the learning of the Chinese in the Shang period is (if the bronze vessels, oracles, and bones attributed to that period are genuine) that the writing in use was in process of transition from the pictorial to the phonetic system, and that a science of divination had developed. Both these facts would be in keeping with the assumption that civilization had reached the Babylonian level. During the Chou period, as we have seen, the two philosopher prophets arose who stamped the character of Chinese civilization, Lao Tzu about 600 B.C. and Confucius about 550 B.C., succeeding a number of nameless predecessors. They were followed by a series of other philosophers who may be compared with the Socratic school in Greece. Like them—in this connection I do not include Plato—they were wholly engrossed with practical philosophy, for which they provided a hasty theoretical basis, but did not elaborate it in systems. All varieties of ethical doctrine emerged, sharply opposed to one another—doctrines of sanctification and of charity, as well as those of crude egotism, and political compromises between the two extremes. It was not till the third century B.C. that systematic efforts were made to construct systems. The canon emerged from Taoist and other theories and from Confucian criticism and practical wisdom, and was completed about the second century A.D. It included natural philosophy expressed in numerical formulas, embodied in the *I Ching*, and a religion at once monotheistic and polytheistic in the *Li Chi*, clothed as ancestral rites. But this theory of the universe was veiled in agnosticism in the spirit of Confucius. The most important part was the practical doctrine, of which the *Lun Yü*, the *Analects of Confucius* as preserved and transformed by his disciples, formed the core. The *Books of Historical Documents*, *of Odes*, and *of Rites* (*Shu Ching*, *Shih Ching*, and *Li Chi*) presented the great teaching of the Master in tangible form, as the history of past generations and the songs and rites of antiquity, to the perceptions and feelings of the unthinking populace. Finally in the *Commentary to the Annals of Lu* that teaching was once again deduced from contemporary history. In all these forms, whether as philosophy for "ideal men" or as rites and moral precepts for the people, as ancestral history (together with documents and speeches) or as contemporary history, one and the same doctrine was taught: the revelation of Confucius. Therein the Chinese canon was just like the Jewish; we may compare the *Li Chi* with the Law, the *Shu Ching* with the older historical books and the *Annals of Lu* with the later ones, the *Shih Ching* with the *Psalms* and the *Lun Yü* with the Prophets; such a comparison throws into relief the superior scientific achievement of the Chinese and the critical reflection which led them to reject useless theories and aim at producing documents, making virtuous conduct the goal as being alone pleasing to God. We see that this canon was very nearly a true scientific system, based upon strict science and appealing solely to reason, no longer to revelation; it was more nearly so than the Vedic canon, even in the Vedanta philosophy; for its rejection of theory was scientific and included, as appears from the *Lun Yü*, the *I Ching* and the imperial religion, which was retained in practice as having stood the test of experience.

Philosophy compounded with the older practice of medicine-men and agriculturalists, soothsayers and magicians, and from it separate sciences evolved in China even during the first racial mixture : books on politics and strategy by Kuan Tzu and Sun Tzu have been dated back by the Chinese to the time of Lao Tzu and Confucius. At the burning of the books in 213 B.C. the separate sciences which served a practical purpose were expressly spared. About that time China was in process of transition to the " Alexandrian Age " ; the separate sciences were coming to flower, including such abstract branches as mathematics and astronomy, grammar and history. And at the same time, just as among the Greeks, all the medley of divination and magic sciences, which had doubtless lost much influence owing to the spread of enlightenment, came to the fore once again. The astrology and magic of Shang and pre-classical Chou periods were scientifically studied with strong interest in their personal bearing and their value as systems. At the point when the empire was established anew men's minds swung round from their scientific, political, and ethical bias to a preoccupation with religion and the personal element, from philosophy to the irrational, and this change led to the dominance of Taoism ; counterbalancing influences did not make themselves felt until the dangers involved in it had been displayed in social and religious revolutionary movements.

In the second Chinese civilization learning did not advance much further. The Sung period gave birth to the first uniform philosophical system, theoretically based upon the *I Ching*, a system in which the Confucian canon was subjected to comment and elaborated with maturer logic. This same logical ability, together with fresh and individual observation of Nature, must have benefited the separate sciences from the T'ang period onwards. But what was most important was that alien scholarly influences penetrated with the entry of Buddhism, and doubtless also with other intellectual movements once the great Chinese empire of the Han period had come in contact with the Seleucid and Roman empires ; these influences have left their mark upon Chinese mathematics and astronomy.

At the origin of Chinese learning we have the monism of Lao Tzu, the union of all antitheses and all multiplicity in the One which is God and Nature, the law of thought, of Nature's course, and of moral and political action, the law of the primeval emperors and of history, the principle of all Being and Becoming. The *Tao Te Ching* is at once philosophy and religion, an undivided and indivisible profusion. The whole civilization of the Chinese continued to be based upon this monism and upon the corresponding agnosticism and ethical outlook of Confucius, halting somewhere between religion and philosophy. The Chinese did not attain to the fully fledged science of the Greeks. Nevertheless, a philosophy was the focal point of Chinese learning, and all the parts of a philosophical system were sketched out and more fully developed than in India. People sought and found a philosophical method. But all remained in trammels, as with Lao Tzu; people were conscious of the contradiction and antithesis, and the consequence was a disruptive tendency; but in the main the point of analysis was not reached. The whole did not develop organically and did not break loose from religion—i.e. it remained dogmatic. The parts remained separate where they were sufficiently elaborated to conflict; thus metaphysics was repudiated by the protagonists of ethics and politics. Philosophy did not freely and gracefully liberate the perfect, separate sciences.

The philosophical sciences remained dominant in the field of Chinese learning, that is metaphysics as moulded by Lao Tzu and the doctrine of right conduct—ethics and the theory of non-ethical values in one—as established by Confucius. They were further developed, and systems of natural philosophy and of the philosophy of history sprang from Lao Tzu's teaching, whilst that of Confucius gave birth to a whole series of possible ethical and non-ethical views, some of which rested upon a philosophy of the soul (the goodness or badness of human nature). A philosophy of justice and politics also evolved; but no true science of Nature, or jurisprudence, or politics arose; we can, however, speak of a science of history side by side with a philosophy of history, but in no other field did the two appear.

I have treated of the metaphysics and ethics of the Chinese in the chapter on philosophy and religion; here I must say something more concerning logic. Confucius and his disciples, and especially certain Sophists, occupied themselves with it as a theory of " names " and their "rectification" and order. When Confucius undertook to " rectify " the names " child, prince ", he meant that children should practise piety and princes paternal care. To Confucius what is and what ought to be, Nature and the ideal, were inseparable, and it was only in the field of ethics, not in the world of Nature, that the problem of the relation between notion and object, designation and thing designated, interested him. But the Sophists, whose

" names " were only designations of natural objects, also failed to solve these questions. They barely touched upon the problems of the Greek Sophists, who asked what is justified by Nature and what by principles. Similarly, Chinese logic stopped short halfway in the development of dialectic method. The *Analects* of Confucius are merely the germs of discussions, little more than sayings of the Master, with one, or at most two, exchanges of question and answer. Chuang and Mencius do examine questions raised in lengthy discussions, and contradictory opinions are clearly grasped and supported. But we see the limitations of this dialectic in the length at which examples, always concrete, are cited in proof of simple facts (for instance, the relation between the great and the poor in the matter of power in Mencius), and in Chuang's partiality for concrete illustration by means of scenes. When Chuang represents Confucius as being refuted by an old brigand or Mencius proves the goodness of human nature by refuting Kao Tzu's theses one by one, we have at work before us literary and logical powers which, on a higher evolutionary plane, would have produced Platonic Dialogues, but they did not attain to Plato's level. They missed the full scientific quality. There are long chains of inference in Chinese philosophy, but they lead by long and roundabout ways, and by steps which touch only externals, to simple truths, which often do not follow as corollaries from them at all. There are no clinching syllogisms, no mutually exclusive opposites, no sharply outlined definitions. Imagery and concepts are confused perpetually ; the relation between word and meaning is not elucidated. The Chinese never got beyond pre-Socratic Sophist exercises. Indeed they did not separate image, sound, and concept in their writing, but then in compensation we have the delight of not only listening to a poem but of seeing it at once with the eye and the intellect in the balanced order of the written characters and the separate pictographs, and so of enjoying special subtleties.[1]

The ideal of Confucius, the " ideal man " or " noble " who loves wisdom and virtue and wills that they should reign upon earth, is an educational ideal and requires universal popular education in the service of morality and the State. Every man who had a vocation, thanks to his talents and good will, was to be able to rise to the ruling class and become an " ideal man " or " noble ", one of those called upon to direct the State by their understanding and virtuous will; and everybody else was to learn at least enough to be able to cleave with conviction to ancestral custom by following the example of " ideal men ". Thus a uniform system of education grew up in China, not maintained by the State, but desired and regulated by the State. Every man could become an official, and even a minister, by passing the State examinations. Without passing the requisite examinations neither birth nor money could secure admission to the ranks of the officials. It is true that in the process of adapting the system to the masses it came about that a knowledge of the Confucian canon literature, knowledge which could be learnt by rote, dominated the examinations, and " ideal men " came to be mere " officials ". But Confucianism certainly went far to realize the ideal of a *carrière ouverte* advocated by Pythagoras and Plato, thanks to a kindred basis of principle. The science of pedagogy developed in China. The philosophy of Chu Hsi (1129–1200) includes a theory of education ; keeping a clear aim in view (the suppression of the pupil's appetites, the enlargement of his knowledge, taking into consideration his power of comprehension and his tendency to fatigue, and the encouragement of virtue through example), Chu Hsi enumerated and discussed the faults of teacher and pupil. It is true that this part of this teaching remained embryonic and scholastic.

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[1] The poems depicting a mood in which Li T'ai Po's device is adopted of ranging two or three little pictures side by side and then linking them together in the final line, are likewise logical exercises : in each picture, occupying one line, the noun, verb and adjective are in the same position ; and these similarities lead on to another and higher similarity or contrast. This art of epigram in images became a society amusement and corresponded more or less to the dialectic of the Greeks, which was also a society amusement in Athens at certain periods.

The Chinese, like the Greeks, had an inventor of everything, who lived in the Golden Age, recorded with name and date ; only their fabrication was much more obvious. What was logically first was always for them, being first, earliest in time. They traced their mathematics, like all the inventions and fruits of science, to an emperor of antiquity. In actual fact it was the work of the classical period (700–200 B.C.), and received its consummation in dialogue form about the second century B.C. Geometry was not, of course, developed to Greek perfection and Euclidian form, but it was divided into theories of the triangle, the quadrilateral, and the circle, and into a series of propositions of which the theorem of Pythagoras, proved by means of the quadrilateral, was probably the most important ; indeed that theorem appears to have been discovered independently everywhere at the stage of evolution which Pythagoras represents in its culmination. As regards the theory of the circle, the ratio between circumference and diameter was first fixed roughly at 3, but later was defined with much greater accuracy. Geometry seems to have interested the Chinese for practical reasons, as the art of measuring land areas, and here they seem to have discovered everything independently, but in algebra Indian influence played a large part. The Buddhists, like the Christians (Jesuits) at a later date, brought other things besides a religion of salvation ; they introduced the scientific knowledge of their native land as a weapon of proselytism. As early as the third century A.D. there are obscure verses in which indeterminate equations are referred to as " the great extension ". During the T'ang period a Buddhist priest, I Hsing (died A.D. 717), covered the whole field of arithmetic with a view to scientific revision. But here, too, we see the logical superiority of the Chinese to the Indians, though only in small advances in system and substance. During the same period a new system of numeration arose beside the Chinese, which was a decimal system without 0, and written downwards ; this new system obviously came from India ; it was written horizontally, had 0, and the value of a figure depended upon its position. During the Sung and the early Mongol periods the theory of equations was perfected.

But to the Chinese the chief value of mathematics lay in the fact that it could be used in the speculative survey of the universe. Quite in a Pythagorean spirit it was made to serve a system in which numbers exercised a determining influence ; use was made of the numbers 1, 2, 5 and 8, but also of 7, 9, 10 and 12. These numerical speculations dominated the doctrine of the Yang and the Yin, as well as the five-number doctrine (5 elements, 5 planets, 5 senses, 5 colours, 5 notes, 5 internal organs, 5 principal moral relations of human beings, etc.) and the *I Ching* (8 oracular symbols).

Chinese astronomy began as the science of reckoning the calendar.[1] They never seem quite to have abandoned the practice of determining the beginning of the year by the heavens in favour of a purely numerical calculation of 365 days. The surplus quarter day could not, therefore, affect their calendrical calculations, the solar year remained correct, and there was no need to substitute the lunar year as a more accurate method of calculation. They did, however, study the astronomy of the moon and planets in their classical period, and, thanks to the high abilities proper to their evolutionary plane, they discovered that the exact solar year was 365¼ days, and that nineteen solar revolutions of 365¼ days each were equal to 235 lunar revolutions. As usual, they dated these calculations back to the days of the emperors of antiquity, but in actual fact they were made between 500 and 100 B.C., during which period people also learnt to foretell eclipses; the first notification of an eclipse that was observed, but not reckoned in advance, was in the year 775 B.C. In the Chou Li, which dates from the same period, the Office for the Observation of the Heavens is elaborately organized as one of the most important, so proud were people of their new astronomical knowledge and its influence upon the destiny of the empire. And stories are introduced in the *Shu Ching* of the Hi and Ho tribes who got drunk and omitted to calculate the date of a coming eclipse, and this in the year 2154 B.C. Astronomers were principally interested in astrology, besides calendrical calculations. With their great talent for system in the concrete and visual field, the Chinese scholars made the sky, and, of course, especially the zodiac, an image of the empire and the particular States, also of the imperial court; herein they resembled, though they were inferior to, the Greek scholars (Ptolemy was an astronomer and an astrologer).

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[1] The Chinese method of designating years is singularly free from the human element, and dominated by Nature ; they do not name their years after emperors, or according to the birth of Confucius, but after the " ten annual branches " and the " twelve terrestrial branches ", the symbols of which are combined in pairs (from the time of Wang Mang onwards, A.D. 9) : the same name does not recur for sixty years, and by then confusion is impossible, or at least of no importance.

In the field of natural philosophy, which emerged from Taoist metaphysics, especially under the leadership of Lieh Tzu, the main concepts of a science of physics arose, but it was a purely speculative science. All the processes of Nature were explained by means of two fundamental forces, the Yang and the Yin, the masculine, creative, bright and hot, hard and dry principle, and the feminine, receptive, dark and cold, soft and damp principle. The sun and earth, still clearly recognizable in these abstract, scientific polar antithesis, had been exalted to material forces in a materialist sense, as with the Ionian natural philosophers. The two forces are represented graphically as an unbroken (Yang) and a broken (Yin) line, combined with the even and uneven numbers. Just as the Yang and the Yin were only the outcome of a cleavage in the Tao, from which they emerged, as two from one, without losing their connection with it, so they combined to form elements, eight in number (heaven, earth, sea, mountains, fire, water, thunder, and wind) as in the *I Ching*, or five (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water). In the realm of natural philosophy people learned to conceive of the earth as floating in space, borne up by the air, with wind and cold beneath it, heat above it, air and water around it; in the Feng Shui doctrine the influence of wind and water is more accurately defined. But none of these germs were scientifically developed; they were used instead for the purposes of divination and the choice of days and places. The beginnings of a cosmogony emerging from Chaos in Lieh Tzu also remained undeveloped. Chinese geography, moreover, made a good start in freeing itself from the trammels of ancient myths (of the Kingdom of Night in the west and the Kingdom of Light in the east), and even from the idea of four seas and mountains, and did finally accomplish the task of describing and mapping the Chinese provinces well—and that was a great achievement—but the measurements were only approximate.

The Taoist search for an elixir of life and of gold involved the beginnings of chemistry. It, too, started from the doctrine of the One and the primal forces, and made speculative use of pharmaceutical experience. Cinnabar was an important substance, as also the ginseng root. Associated with these researches was a science of magic which revived ancient religious ideas of gods and spirits, systematized them scientifically, and maintained their vitality even in the teeth of occasional protests by the Confucians, who had invented a comparatively unsuperstitious primeval age.

The anthropological sciences of psychology and physiology, anatomy and pathology, also remained within the realm of speculation. A beginning was made in distinguishing the "spirit", a soul akin to the divine and revered as divine in ancestors, from the "shade", an earthly, transitory, and uncanny type of soul, but there was no definite distinction between the spiritual and the bodily soul, as in Aristotle. On the other hand, the body was made to fit into the system of elements and forces: the Yang and Yin, the five elements, the good and evil influences of wind and water, explained life and death, all physiological and pathological processes, health and sickness. Even these theories did not attain perfect clarity, neither those which concerned the soul and the body nor the circulation of vital forces through the blood and air. The actual anatomical foundation was not very sure, though better than that of the Indians. In the fourth century B.C., that is during the transition to the Alexandrian age of the first Chinese civilization, an enlightened governor did indeed cause the bodies of forty beheaded criminals to be cut open and their internal organs drawn, but he went no further. What was discovered was used in a purely speculative manner as the basis of a theory of the five internal organs (the heart, lungs, kidneys, liver, and spleen) and of the system of ducts connecting them. Meanwhile the medical science of the same period developed an empirical theory of the pulse and the " five hues " of the body and its excretions which at first showed hopeful signs of sober objectivity but was soon ruined by speculation. During the Ch'in and Han periods (250 B.C.–A.D. 20) there was a general advance and spread of the sciences of divination and magic and this influenced all branches of medicine. Besides philosophical treatment with the elixir of life (the medium of unification) and with juices, there were magical methods of treatment which were never quite suppressed by rationalist tendencies, and both kinds were united in a combined system.

To the list of natural sciences we must add theories of agriculture and arboriculture, cattle-breeding and silk-growing; these were developed and fostered during the golden age of science (400–200 B.C.) with great zeal and objectivity, and with a considerable foundation of experience. Shih Huang Ti expressly excepted them from the great judgment pronounced upon useless learning in 213 B.C. But even these sciences did not continue as pure rational empiricism, like their counterparts in Greece and Rome. Taoist speculation (the Feng Shui theory and others) seized upon them and dragged them into the realm of natural philosophy and spiritualism, and, in spite of the constant need that they should stand the test of practical experience, they were almost smothered in these attempts to force them within the four walls of a system.

Amongst the humanities, history and politics were the most highly developed in China. The Chinese boast that they possess an unbroken historical tradition, supported by documentary proofs, covering a period of nearly five thousand years. In actual fact Chinese history, in so far as it is recorded in annals, begins about 800 B.C.; all that is earlier is merely sham tradition, myth, legend, a few historical names, and a great deal of ethico-political invention; in other words a philosophy of history dressed up in the guise of annals and historical documents. Even so there is an historical tradition covering 2,700 years which contains few gaps and records with a sober sense of reality all that seemed worth preservation to the Chinese Confucians. For Confucius (551–478 B.C.) was likewise the author of this scientific history in China, as he was of ethics and politics. History is still written in China in his spirit. It is quite possible that the oldest historical work that has been preserved, *The Annals of Lu*, really was written by him, that is, edited as a model of scholarly historical writing. If we set aside the legend of the documentary basis of the *Shu Ching* and the histories of the Shang and earlier

Chou emperors as a pious forgery, these *Annals* evince themselves as a considerable achievement of scholarship. The material at the disposal of Confucius consisted of annals and chronicles of the particular States, which were kept partly for the glory of the royal houses, partly for mere business purposes ; the former type contained genealogies, mythical stories of ancient days full of marvels, and a selection of such as were acceptable at court about more modern times ; the latter were carefully recorded in the matter of chronology, but they were dull, and merely jumbled together, without system, whatever had interest as being commercially useful or marvellous. The whole was fragmentary. Confucius simply cut out the period of antiquity, the myths and genealogies ; he began his book with the year 722 B.C. ; evidently he did not consider that the available sources for an earlier time were of any value. Of the existing *Annals of Lu* from 722–481 B.C. he further eliminated whatever seemed to him false or superstitious, set aside the purely commercial part, and possibly supplemented from other annals, taking whatever he thought of importance for his general purpose. In this way he obtained a brief list of authentic facts which concerned the empire as a whole and men's moral and human relations. It was dry but true, complete and valuable from the point of view of his critical method and his reforms. In the matter of form the age set no very high standard ; his disciples' admiration is proof that nothing better in form was to be found amongst contemporary annals. Ssu-ma Ch'ien states quite plainly that, according to tradition, the achievement of Confucius consisted in this labour of critical elimination and selection. True, he believed —influenced by the legendary age of the *Shu Ching*—that this critical labour consisted in improvements of style, whilst in fact Confucius set to work like a Greek logographer and purified what he found in a spirit of humanity and rationalism. " The duties of the king were made clear and the interests of humanity promoted"—such, according to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, was the object of the selection and the basis of the work of scholarly elimination ; it was a moral and political aim. The *Commentary* illustrates this aim ; it appends to the brief statement in the *Annals of Lu* detailed stories representing the misdeeds of princes and ministers, their evil consequences for all, and also the struggle of men of noble mind for justice and the country's welfare, all in the spirit of Confucius. Thus the history of his own age offered proof of the truth of his teaching ; living actions and speeches were used as examples of good and evil and their consequences, and the first history of the empire from 722 to 481 B.C. was written. The work, therefore, could be included in the canon as a pattern of scholarship and morality and beauty of style for future historians.

And it did in fact become the model for a school of history at once, though unhappily we can trace its influence only in Confucian literature ; all the rest has been lost. The *Annals of Lu* and the principal commentary upon it were the source of two styles of historical writing which grew up in the age of philosophers and Sophists : there were naked annals of fact and more prolix history full of speeches and events, illustrative of moral and political principles. Both dealt not only with actual historical material, but also with the myths and legends of antiquity, and a philosophy of history was constructed in the form of annals and " historical documents ". From the *Bamboo Books*, which were completed in 299 B.C., we can see that about this time the " history of the earliest times " had been invented back to the Emperor Huang Ti (2704–2595 B.C.). It was probably about the same time that the " historical documents " in the *Shu Ching*, from the time of Yao (2357–2258) down to the beginning of genuine records at the opening of the seventh century, were invented. *Counsels to the Warring States*, which must have been written in the third century, treat of contemporary history and supplement the *Commentary on the Annals of Lu* down to the time of the union of the empire with moral and realistic stories of rulers and their advisers—with Mencius morals and political realism were one and inseparable.

At a late date, when the Alexandrian age was nearing its close, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145–after 90 B.C.), appeared in the reign of Wu Ti, the greatest ruler of the Han dynasty. In Ssu-ma Ch'ien Chinese historical scholarship reached its culmination ; like Herodotus, he endowed his people with their first national history, and like Livy he wrote in the revived empire that history which was designed to give concrete form to the spirit of revival and reform, the spirit of Confucius, to make it palpable to all by means of examples, to educate and consolidate the empire. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Historical Record* (*Shih Chi*) is not a homogeneous work, like that of Herodotus or Livy's *History* ; the artistic and logical power necessary for complete mastery over so vast a subject was lacking ; and the spirit of Confucius' *Annals of Lu* acted as a hampering influence. The *Annals* were still taken as a model, and were only greatly extended, both in subject and chronologically. The " fundamental section " consists of annals of the empire, recording the principal events in Chinese history from the earliest times to the accession of the Han dynasty, following the list of emperors chronologically. By means of genealogies the " Annual Tables " trace the branches growing from this main stem, and events are recounted synchronously instead of simply in succession. A third book of annals gives the history of the particular feudal States, following the several lists of their princes. Therewith the historian had covered his whole historical material in chronicle form, in so far as it was of political interest. But Ssu-ma Ch'ien was not content with that. In the *Eight Chapters* he wrote on cultural history ; he recounted the history of Rites, Music, the Pitch Pipes, the Calendar, the Heavenly Bodies (Astrology), Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the Watercourses, and Trade. Finally comes the crown of the whole work : a collection of " Traditions concerning remarkable Persons and Things ", comprising six books of geographical and ethnographical facts and seventy books of the lives of princes, politicians, thinkers, and writers. This last and longest part of the work (the whole comprises 130 books) contains the moral and human didactic material which the *Commentary* had provided for the *Annals of Lu* in a modern and more personal form. Here we find the model petitions, speeches, and letters of great statesmen which rivalled the *Shu Ching*, but here also an account of the great intellectual achievements of thinkers and writers of which a civilized empire was justly proud. The whole work is an encyclopædia of useful knowledge in historical form. If we seek to determine its place in the evolutionary ladder, we realize at once that it is not quite equal to the greatest achievements of the Greeks, for instance Thucydides ; it lacks the requisite character and depth of practical insight. It is among the Greek logographers, perhaps in Hecatæus of Miletus, that we shall find Ssu-ma Ch'ien's closest of kin ; among them we find the same dominating rationalist and critical and ethical interest, the same delight in scholarly annals and in geographical and cultural subjects. But Ssu-ma Ch'ien lived in an age when a civilization was near its end, an " Alexandrian " age, which took an exaggerated interest in the personal, the precise, and the encyclopædic ; therefore he was a biographer, a strict annalist, and an encyclopædist. Herodotus is superior to him in his ability to present a great world event as a single whole ; but Ssu-ma Ch'ien is complete and accurate as an annalist. Herodotus is more vivid as a historian of civilization, Ssu-ma Ch'ien more scholarly in the arrangement of his material, inspired by a stern objectivity ; with his gallery of great and famous men he approaches to Plutarch's mighty work. He is not the equal of Plutarch ; his characters are somewhat rigid and are rather examples of statesmanlike, humane, and virtuous thought and action, such as would be pleasing to Confucius, than living individuals; they are ideal portraits viewed in the light of a certain philosophic pessimism. But it is just that which brings him close to another great man, Livy, whose aim it was to educate heroes by means of historical ideal characters. Ssu-ma Ch'ien stands between Hecatæus and Herodotus, on the one hand, and Livy and and Plutarch on the other, that is, among the great figures of classical antiquity. His work is grandly planned and grandly executed, though soberly and in a spirit of severity even towards his own trend of thought.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien's work was and remained the foundation and model for all Chinese historians. It is true that in the early T'ang period the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan Tsang (A.D. 602–664) interspersed Buddhist legends and historical notes on his journey to India (629–645) with certain ethnographical descriptions based upon his own observation which are, perhaps, more vivid than Ssu-ma Ch'ien's chapters on cultural history. It is true, likewise, that in the Sung period Ssu-ma Kuang (A.D. 1019–1086) wrote a companion work to the *Shih Chi*, the *Mirror of History* in which, at the close of the second civilization, he set out to present the history of China from A.D. 403 to 959, and to cover the whole course of events in a single, uniform, unbroken stream. But the representatives of China's second civilization did not succeed in making any real advance beyond Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

All the great Chinese works on politics, as well as on rhetoric, are contained in historical or philosophical literature. The *Shu Ching* and the *Commentary on the Annals of Lu*, the *Counsels to the Warring States*, and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's biographies of statesmen are, together with the *Discourses* of Confucius and Mencius, text-books of politics and rhetoric. All that we know of the Sophists and practical politicians who stood for and carried out the most ruthless policies in pursuit of power and the accomplishment of their own aims in the fourth and third centuries has come to us through those who opposed them on moral grounds. The Chou Li gives an ideal picture of the rational State (fourth to second centuries B.C.).

There is a book on *The Art of War* ascribed to General Sun Wu, a contemporary of Confucius (about 500 B.C.). It appears to me to be the work of a later period, as also the book on the direction of the State ascribed to Kuan Tzu (before 600). The logical treatment under headings, " Instruction, Heaven, Earth, The General, and

Discipline " is not suggestive of an old blade, and stronger stress is laid upon humane consideration for non-combatants than is absolutely necessary ; on the other hand, the general counsels on the subject of strategy obviously embody the fruit of practical experience. Possibly the book underwent revision in a philosophic spirit in order to preserve it as a useful, though anti-pacifist, manual for times of imperial need.

Philosophy supplied jurisprudence with principles governing the natural relation between the prince and his people, between parents and children, and so on ; the result was a philosophy of justice which must in the course of time have influenced legislation. It is recorded that in the sixth century statesmen in various places set to work on the construction of legal codes. Does the ancient fragment of legislation in the *Shu Ching* date from this period ? In the fourth century B.C. the Sophist innovators who demanded modern written codes found themselves face to face with a school which insisted upon the literal application of the ancient laws. Clearly Sophism had given rise to an art of legal interpretation and misconstruction which aspired to become a recognized branch of learning. The great Han emperors did, indeed, revise the laws. Wen Ti is said to have established the purely individual responsibility of criminals and mitigated corporal punishments. The Chinese had sufficient logical ability to construct and arrange great collections of laws, but they lacked the power to develop a science of jurisprudence in the Roman sense. Neither the Confucian point of view, which laid stress upon natural humanity and virtue, nor the Buddhist, which tended to make men flee from the world and turned their minds towards salvation, favoured the development of a science of jurisprudence commanding general respect. Faced with the ideal of a primitive Golden Age, or with that of illumination, it could only be regarded as a makeshift.

The main achievement of the Chinese in the field of philology could not be grammatical. Where each word is monosyllabic and written by a single character, and each stands isolated and uninflected beside the rest, no study of roots and no theory of inflection can grow up, as in India, nor a theory of the parts of the sentence and the methods of predication, as in Greece. In practice the Chinese evolved laws governing the position of the words : the word that is used as the subject precedes that which is used as the predicate ; a word used as an active verb precedes that which stands for the object, and a word used for the purpose of definition precedes that which it defines. There are in addition a number of little auxiliary words which make the construction clearer. But although people adhered strictly to these simple rules, the outcome is often ambiguous, and in any particular case it is not always plain whether a word is meant substantivally or verbally, transitively or intransitively, adjectivally or adverbially. Language here acted to some extent as a check on progress—though in compensation it offered opportunity for skilfully constructed parallels in poetry—but to some extent it was a case of powers insufficient to solve the problem. In a like position the Greeks would have managed to attain clarity. The Chinese achieved great things in the production of dictionaries of written characters and words (including dialects) and the collection of ancient inscriptions and other literary curiosities. From the second civilization onwards the art of writing commentaries on ancient works and collecting anthologies was widely practised ; but even here Chinese scholarship failed to attain supremacy : the commentaries were scholastic, and the editions uncritical, in spite of a display of criticism, and slavishly dominated by ancient authorities. In their philology the Chinese displayed the zeal and pride of the Alexandrians, but not their powers.

Plastic and Pictorial Art

The oldest monuments of plastic art are, according to Chinese tradition and according to the inscriptions which they themselves bear, the bronze sacrificial vessels, honorific gifts of the emperors, which are said to date from the Shang period and the first half of the Chou period. At the first glance it seems most natural to accept the dates which these vessels bear ; we should then have before us a uniform and almost unbroken development of decorative art from the Shang period right on into the Han period, and also, within limits, the development of writing on these bronzes which bears the direct stamp of probability. But on closer examination I cannot suppress certain doubts which tell against this " natural " chronology. There is no other example in the history of civilization for such a uniform development lasting over a thousand years (1700–700 B.C. and later), without interruption, even when the country suffered invasion by barbarians, for such the Chou were. On the other hand it fits admirably into the later Chinese legend of their uniform culture since the days of Huang Ti. The people who between the fifth and third centuries B.C. transformed mythology and legend so ruthlessly into "history", until nothing was left but their own ideology, were of course perfectly capable of pressing the great bronze art of their own time into the service of that ideology, attributing its work to the newly created primitive Golden Age, and making inscriptions upon the vessels to fit a scheme of the development of writing (it was a very simple one), and so providing tangible proof of the simple grandeur of their ancestors' religion and State organization (in accordance with the *Shu Ching*) and of the living reality of the Shang and Chou emperors of whom hardly anything remained but lists of names. There were plenty of people to buy these "monuments of antiquity" and pay a high price for them; for they proved the great age of the noble families and their claim to feudal power at a time when the empire was falling into decay. Perhaps that is the explanation of the unique combination of sacrificial vessel and honorific gift. It seems to me quite possible that these bronze vessels all belong to the first prime of the first Chinese civilization, and therefore that those which are ascribed to the Shang period and the early Chou period should really be dated in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C., the period which produced the *Shu Ching* and the Shang and Chou annals. In that case we know of the Shang period hardly more than of the civilization of the pre-Aryan Indians, also of a high level; but artists must have made use of its surviving system of writing and speech.

The quality of the ornamentation on the bronze vessels accords well with this hypothesis, for it has developed from a style of decoration that was geometrical and in bands, and that points to the realm of solar civilizations. A civilization on the Babylonian or Egyptian level, such as the Shang period must have possessed, could hardly produce anything so primitive in its maturity. But in the solar civilizations of the Bronze Age (from 2000 to 700 B.C.) we find everywhere the beginnings of such ornamentation. The Chou made their appearance in China about 1400–1200 B.C., coming from the west, in an epoch, therefore, when Bronze Age solar peoples—pre-Indo-Germans (Shardina, Etruscans, Philistines, and Achæans) and Indo-Germans (Perso-Aryans and Indo-Aryans and Dorians)—were everywhere surging into civilized countries and conquering them. It is very natural to suppose that they brought this style of decoration with them from the realm of solar civilizations and then, when they themselves attained cultural maturity, developed it further on the vessels with their own original powers. We have seen how these peoples from a Bronze Age solar civilization often brought with them gods of light and war of a relatively high type, though still somewhat shadowy—frequently, like the Aryans, a Trinity. It would now seem that we can produce examples of the decorative art of this phase of evolution dating from the Chou period, and on the other hand we should be justified in inferring that the Chou, too, brought a Trinity with them, perhaps Yao, Shun, and Yü. I have already said that these gods were worshipped on mountains and that the dead were laid to rest in burial mounds.

The Chou religion, doubtless assimilated to an unknown Shang religion, prevailed till on into the seventh century B.C., when a new, monotheistic-monist trend of religious thought set in, the Chinese classic religion; the Chou religion survived on into the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., when the new faith of the classics swept it and its memories away in a spirit of enlightened piety. From the Bronze Age solar religion there sprang a scientific, natural, and moral worship of Heaven and ancestors which supplanted stone circles by observations of the heavens with improved metal instruments and the natural mountain-tops by artificial steps and terraces, but all still in the open air. The burial mounds survived, but they were embellished with superior decoration of which we have certain examples dating from the later Han period (stone slabs with pictures). The ancient custom by which vassals voluntarily followed their prince into the grave survived down to the reign of Shih Huang Ti (died 210 B.C.), a relic of the fervent faith in resurrection which gave rise to cremation in the north about 1200 B.C.; but Shih Huang Ti's vassals died for their own honour.

The solar religion of the Bronze Age did not do much to inspire plastic art. The philosophical religion which supplanted and transformed it was monotheistic-monist, aiming at oneness, purity, intellectuality, and morality. Like all monotheistic-monist religions, it acted as a check on the development of the plastic and pictorial arts. It created sanctuaries but no temples; it swept away the fetishes of the old religion and taught a non-idolatrous worship of Nature, and the adoration of ancestors and spirits before written tablets. It must have been borne onwards on the wings of a passion for the pure worship of God in Nature and in the home (family). The people were on a high enough plane not to fear the temptation of idolatry in every image of a human being or animal, as did the Jews, but for centuries they were fully occupied with moral and natural reforms, scorned everything else, and suppressed severely whatever might turn men away from goodness.

Only in the sacrificial vessels could the new religion provide fruitful soil for the plastic arts. The bronze vessels of the classical Chou period, which can hardly have attained their finished form earlier than 500 B.C. but were being moulded in classic shape between 400 and 200 B.C., were the plastic medium through which both the spirit of Confucius and his disciples and of Lao Tzu found their purest expression. These vessels are characterized by a marvellous grandeur and simplicity of form, a wealth of diversity which is yet almost always harmonious in each individual vessel. The Chinese did not succeed in producing the complete poise of a few absolutely perfect single shapes attained by the Greek vases about 500 B.C.; but that is counterbalanced by the greater wealth of variety and by some entrancing marvels in the forms of the vases. The ornamentation, too, was highly developed, in spite of its primitive, geometrical, and band-like character which, indeed, must have appeared highly estimable to the Nature monotheists and devotees of written symbolism of the period, just because it was so unplastic and lent itself to intellectual interpretation. In the finest examples the ornamentation was confined to a few well-chosen parts, where there was structural justification for its presence (the neck, the base, the narrowest point, or the point of fruitful branching), and thus laid stress on the delicacy of the structure and form. Where it covered the whole surface, it showed richness governed by simplicity and order. The vases with decoration which seems quite primitive—circles, meander lines, double spirals, flowers, eyes, and other solar symbols—can often be recognized as of late date by the delicate balance of their shape and ornamentation. There seems to be no end to the wealth of the decorative lines and designs. The moulded animals' heads[1] which we often find on handles and points where rings are attached prove that the "primitive" ornamentation with geometrical patterns and fabulous creatures was intentionally retained because it was understood as having symbolic meaning, and was esteemed as belonging to antiquity. The style of decoration, its simplification, and the way it is used, is likewise a clear indication of kinship with the Greeks ; but here, too, the Chinese did not evolve a canon of beauty in line, determining what parts of the vessels were structurally suited for decoration. They started on the road leading thither, but did not follow it to the end.

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[1] These are proof that people had the ability to draw and carve natural animals. None the less, they adhered to the conventional and fabulous, thanks to an understanding amongst artists which we also find in the art of the Persian and Spanish Arabs, and which suggests the idea of a prohibition of imagery in divine worship. So, too, the elaborate fabulous creatures of later Chinese art have been judged as symbolism; such were the sun-dragon and sun-bird, the unicorn and others. The dragon, a composite of five animals, retained its character as a beneficent creature only in China, perhaps because people remembered its origin as the solar gryphon, or perhaps enlightened thought subjected it to a change and turned it from the chief enemy of God into God himself, as the One who is All in a thousand images and contradictions.

The sacrificial vessels of the classic period (500–200 B.C.), which were attributed to the Shang and Chou periods, had the same significance for the first Chinese civilization as the vases for the first Greek civilization ; it was the great art in which memories of the solar religion were rendered fruitful in the spirit of a higher civilization and religion. The spirit of Homer and the Cyclic poets was other than that of Lao Tzu and Confucius ; it called into existence a wealth of human figures and scenes, whilst in China human and animal figures were eschewed on religious principle and value was attached only to symbolic and archaic designs, geometrical patterns and those constructed with fabulous creatures. But alike the Greek vases and the Chinese bronzes were dominated by the same aspiration after clear and simple form and decoration, after organic structure, which in Greece led to the goal of a few canon forms but stopped short halfway in China.

The Great Wall may perhaps have been designed as well as built in the reign of Shih Huang Ti (250–210 B.C.) ; it was a vast undertaking covering an immense distance ; built for a utilitarian purpose, it impresses us by its grandeur, its simplicity, and its homogeneous beauty, with its vaulted gates and mighty square towers, and the ease with which it surmounts the difficulties inherent in the lie of the land. Shih Huang Ti likewise built himself the first palace that was regarded as a world wonder and has been described in poetry, like the later palaces of the great Han emperors. In the " Alexandrian " era China was technically (from the engineer's point of view) and artistically ripe for the construction of great edifices. Though there were no stone temples to be built, yet men could construct terraces and stairways of stone, they could level the peaks of mountains for religious purposes and raise artificial hillocks, or could build royal residences. People did not live in stone houses ; even for rulers the small, wooden houses had always been customary and were warm or cool according to the varying climate. There were numbers of them together on the terraces of the royal residence, a multitude uniformly grouped according to a great plan round an axis running from north to south (just as in the universe there is multiplicity in the One), and scattered about great gardens and parks with lakes and pools. Even at that time the royal city was doubtless surrounded by a wall, and there would assuredly be gates and towers for purposes of protection and decoration.

The Chinese palace dwelling, which later developed into the temple hall, originated in the ancient dwelling-house of the princes, a hall resting upon wooden pillars. It stood upon a stone base approached by several steps, with a wide facade facing as nearly as possible south. Strong and intentional stress was laid upon the wooden structure of the building, and the parts which bore weight, filled vacant space, or served decorative purposes, were clearly indicated. There were the strong pillars upon which the roof rested, the walls which bore no weight but were merely to close the building in, thick and heavy on the north, west, and east, thin and light on the south, and finally the rails and lattices of the inner walls and verandahs, only intended for purposes of decoration. With its curiously curved, single or double tiled roof the Chinese palace and temple is a homogeneous, wholly consistent, and perfectly constructed architectural achievement, like the Greek temple. Everything is clear and logical, alike the whole and the parts are suitable for their purpose, in harmony with the character of the country, with the Tao and the inhabitants' sense of beauty ; it is simply and yet subtly variable. The technical and artistic problem was not equal to that which confronted the human mind in the Greek stone temple, but for that very reason it could be solved equally perfectly with lesser logical and artistic powers. The Chinese palace dwelling, with its manifold and stately decoration, and the Chinese garden house with its lightness and dainty grace, represent a supreme practical and æsthetic achievement, like the Greek temple.

In the second civilization the Buddhist movement added a third architectural type to these two, the pagoda tower, which seems to have developed from designs for the stupa, having a number of storeys. In this first bell-tower, too, the Chinese genius completely assimilated a foreign innovation and produced a complete and harmonious edifice, perfect in every part, which rose aloft as lovely and stately as the palace in its broad extent and suited the landscape as well, at one with the religious speculations centring in the Tao and with the winds and waters, an æsthetic part of a natural scene. The T'ang and Sung periods, with their sense of landscape, learned the art of laying out a stretch of country with great tombs and triumphal gates, statues of animals and heroes bordering the avenues, and mausoleums ; of planning temple and palace grounds with a number of buildings, squares, and pools in extensive parks ; and of leading the eye and men's speculative thoughts far afield and then back to the central point of the whole design ; they displayed their skill even in small things, in discovering the best place for a pleasure house by the forest or the water, or for a view over river and mist, waters and winds, from the peak of a rock or mountain. The three principal types of edifice were regarded as successfully completed and were no longer altered or enlarged, but were used for more individual purposes and in a wider expanse. It was by such means that this art could gain a wider scope and greater delicacy without sacrificing the perfection that it had attained within a small compass.

Great architecture reached its prime in China in the Han period. As men's minds turned towards Taoism, towards the variegated world of ancient, banished gods and heroes, and towards Nature regarded as a romantic world of emotion, their powers were liberated for the service of the other plastic and pictorial arts. Natural ornamentation suddenly appeared ; tendrils of vine with leaves and grapes, flowering plants, four-footed animals and birds made their appearance upon metal vessels, bowls, and mirrors instead of geometrical lines and fabulous creatures ; they were presented from every imaginable aspect, mobile and lifelike, and occasionally there were even human figures. It has been suggested that Greek influence was at work. It seems to me that all that had happened was the removal of an obstacle to free artistic activity presented by the severe monotheistic religion of the classics ; when that was gone all the powers of perception of an evolutionary plane a little lower than the Greeks were released. Perhaps development was assisted by one external circumstance : people were beginning to paint on silk and, after A.D. 100, on paper, which had recently been invented.

We possess a number of reliefs (lithoglyphs) of the second century A.D. taken from burial chambers in Shantung, which illustrate what was being produced at that period in the provinces by a fettered, archaic art, the only kind tolerated by funeral customs. These reliefs break up all the events depicted and present them in strips, one above the other (just as Ssu-ma Ch'ien breaks up history) ; some of them are severe in style and confined to side views and a few full-face figures ; in others there are half-profiles of human heads and full-face views of horses. In all the action is presented either in a background of landscape, amidst trees and hills, or in houses stripped of the front wall and open to show the interior. There are ceremonial receptions and sacrifices, hunting and battle scenes, potters and cooks at work, but also mythological scenes with sea animals and sea spirits, and historical scenes, like the meeting of Confucius and Lao Tzu. The artists show equally great powers of clear and conscious design, presenting everything that has to be told, and of depicting human and animal figures in a severe style moving freely and naturally ; horses are sketched in outline in every kind of action, sometimes in most vigorous movement, correctly and true to life. Clearly the draughtsmanship corresponding to these lithoglyphs would be able to master every aspect of every movement of individual creatures, if it were free to work unfettered by the tomb and the stone medium.

During the succeeding centuries Indian art penetrated into China together with Buddhism. Indian influence introduced cave temples, images in the round of the Buddha and the Bodhisattas, and scenes from the lives of the saints in relief and paint. The Chinese evolved the pagoda tower from the stupa ; they endowed the boneless Indian figures with well-defined anatomical proportions and firm movements. In the sphere of sculpture in the round they produced in the T'ang period (A.D. 618–906) vast figures of world guardians, and dainty little figures for tombs, instinct with the liveliest mobility. In the realm of painting they completely assimilated the foreign saints. But the most fruitful field of their labours was not the lives of the saints, but landscape painting.

During the T'ang period Chinese plastic art attained full independence and mastery. To the redeemer types, especially the Buddhist divine man descending to earth, which had already been brought to perfection, they added new and vital figures, full-blooded and vigorous, inspired by the new sense of vitality and the fresh powers of observation of the rising second civilization. The Bodhisatta Avalokitesvara evolved into a supreme female divinity, the gracious hearer of all prayers. The type of a beautiful, kindly, and majestic woman which the painters made of her and plastic artists perfected, was something very close to the noble repose and harmonious poise of the Greeks. In the figures of heavenly Lords and guardians of the world the artists succeeded in depicting complete mobility of mind and body ; these defenders of the work of the Buddha display tense vigour, ready for action, and mighty outbursts of anger. The facial movement is doubtless exaggerated but nevertheless very impressive, and the bodily movements are poised, however stormy and violent.

Indian gods also move violently, but all the time they remain stationary and do not reach any goal, whilst the Chinese gods not only threaten and move violently, they leap up and strike. What we have here is plastic art in the round with its problems fully solved, still fettered by religious considerations and mature archaism, yet just about to shake itself free. But for this art beauty and movement never presented themselves as problems; the artists caught each movement, but they did not study its laws in the nude. Sculptures of miniature figures also displayed full mastery of form and movement in man and animals, producing a counterpart of Tanagra also in dainty elegance and variety of subject. Coquettish ladies, female musicians and dancing girls, vassal warriors, wrestlers, and other attendants followed the dead lord to his grave. All kinds of animal shapes, natural and lifelike, moving freely and rhythmically or in repose, are mastered with ease. During the revolutionary period (A.D. 800–900) religious art suffered petrifaction, and Buddhism tended to return to Indian forms and distortions. Then, in the Sung period, China's own religious life revived, but its trend was all towards oneness with Nature and therefore only incidentally benefited plastic art, especially in the sphere of religion; it tended, for instance, to produce greater delicacy in facial movements and the delineation of the features which yet, for all their natural character, retained a certain impersonal quality.

The great art of the T'ang and Sung periods was not sculpture but painting. We have external evidence of that merely in the fact that the names of painters, like those of poets, have been handed down. Whilst the sculptures remained nameless craftsmen, the painters were gentlemen, acceptable in society like Li T'ai Po. It was part of the education of those who belonged to society to paint and write poetry. Indeed, there was an imperial painter, Hui Tsung (A.D. 1101–1126) who founded an academy of calligraphy and painting. To the Chinese the arts of writing and painting were inseparable. The same individual and yet somewhat conventional moods expressed themselves in poems whose skilfully ordered ideas made their appeal also to the eye, and in pictures wherein the greatest artists expressly avoided colour and aspired to a pure black and white style. To us the most impressive achievement of Chinese painting is the landscape expressive of a mood, which made its first appearance in the world about A.D. 1000; the Greeks doubtless approached near to it, but it was not their creation.

Even in the lithoglyphs of the late Han period the figures were placed in a kind of landscape; trees, hills, houses, and bridges appeared amongst the people and animals. It seems that the same treatment of landscape was customary in painting. Wang Wei (A.D. 699–759) was the great master who deliberately turned his attention to " the relation of objects ", that is to say he established a definite connection of trees, houses, persons, and animals in front of a mountain or river and the sky. He was exactly contemporary with Li T'ai Po and studied the several component parts of a landscape throughout the seasons with precisely the fresh observation of Nature which is characteristic of the poet; he painted and taught others to paint trees in rain, in the wind, and in snow. He created all the pre-requisites of landscape painting with a strong subjective element, and laid down the conventions governing its perspective and the relation between objects and moods. And he knew what he had accomplished, for he wrote a manual of landscape painting. He was the originator of a school which depicted whole districts (e.g. the middle reaches of the Hwang-ho) accurately and in all their beauty, using long rolls and working topographically in black and white, in strips parallel to the lower edge. We cannot positively ascribe to Wang Wei any genuine subjective pictures, corresponding, for instance, to Li T'ai Po's poem on the Tang-yang Lake, although he clearly felt the poetry of the seasons and the moods inspired by particular trees. Painting had still to create the elements of a first " art of impression and expression "; it developed later than lyric poetry.

It was in the second prime of the second Chinese civilization that the time was ripe for the subjective picture. The Chinese world had passed through another revolutionary period, the bold *joie de vivre* of the T'ang period with its background of melancholy lay far behind in the past, and order had been restored at home and abroad in the empire, but people had not confidence in its permanence, no delight in political labours. The tendency to withdraw from the everyday world of action assumed new, Buddhist and Taoist, religious forms. The holy forest hermits of ancient days were now joined by sages who retreated into the solitude of Nature in full possession of all the advantages of culture. It was, in fact, the most cultured who followed this impulse. Active prefects in the service of the State, learned men, not only rhapsodized with friends in a forest retreat but loved to lose themselves utterly in Nature on moonlight nights, to revel in views over mountain and lake or in boating on the river by night, in reality and its imitation, in poems and paintings. Painters now mastered the technique of portraying a three dimensional distance. Kuo-hsi (before 1100) contrasted rocky foregrounds with the mountains and rocks of the distance; mists served a useful purpose in concealing the intervening parts, for it was the moods of evening and night that these adorers of Nature loved best. People looked to them for peace and romantic allurements, recreation and enjoyment for the intensified consciousness of personality which revelled in the contrast between warm life and death, the sense of home and the awfulness of night. It was about A.D. 1200, at the end of the reign of the Sung dynasty, that the two masters in black and white appeared, Mu Hsi and Liang K'uei, who consummated this subjective art. They abandoned the painting of long rolls and presented single scenes with simple themes, compositions complete in themselves with a central perspective which, taken from above, is quite unmathematically uniform. There are mottoes accompanying these landscapes reminiscent of poems, and it was a favourite device to interpret them by means of a poem. Mu Hsi calls one of his principal pictures " Evening Bells from a distant Temple ", in which mountain peaks, tree-tops, and simple roofs rise out of masses of mist. Another picture depicts the homecoming of sailing boats in a stormy, misty twilight. Besides the wide, misty landscapes with rocks and valleys, lakes and rivers, shimmering moonlight and twilight, inspired by adoration of Nature in her grandeur, there are little landscape miniatures representing a group of animals or people in forest or meadow, but especially single trees, animals, or boughs; these are instinct with whole-hearted worship of Nature in miniature. Mu Hsi painted monkeys in the forest and a hen with chickens and puppies, a wild goose by the water's edge, or a group of lotus leaves, with the same loving care and the same delicate and light, suggestive brush; but he was also famed as a painter of dragons and tigers. Liang K'uei was particularly fond of painting people, as well as landscapes and animal pictures of the kind just described; he shows us fat, laughing priests and wise, lean forest hermits, the poet Li T'ai Po, pot-bellied, witty, and merry, and the poet couple, Kanzan and Ittoku. He sketched types of human character with the same subjective power as his animal portraits, all in a few strokes.

The painting of the T'ang and Sung periods, like their lyric poetry, considerably outstripped the classical civilization of Lao Tzu and Confucius. But though it was more personal and vivid, it yet remained within the bounds set by those two great men for the Chinese genius. Lao Tzu's adoration of divine Nature and Confucius' worship of Heaven and Earth were transmuted in the songs and pictures of the second civilization into absorption in Nature and emotional religion; they assumed a personal character; whilst the somewhat featureless emotional power of the imagery in the *Shih Ching* and the bold vigour and aptness of the similes used by Mencius survive in the merits and defects of the landscapes of the Sung period. Lao Tzu's monism was instinct with ardour for God and Oneness, and yet pulsing with the concrete and vivid Many, but for all its richness it lacked the scientific consummation of Greek monism which would have been essential if it were to have sufficient analytical force to fructify science and art. If we compare a simile in Homer with one in the *Shih Ching* or Mencius, it strikes us at once that Homer sees more fully and exhaustively, and every simile in the *Iliad* is expanded to an independent picture. About 500 B.C. the Greeks had reached a phase in the development of their plastic art and painting at which it was akin to Chinese art, and helps us to understand it; sculpture was dominated by a mature archaism and painters had completely mastered the technique of lifelike reproduction of every movement, every type of human being and animal. The emotional force of a new kind of lyric poetry, full of personal and contradictory impulses, gave birth to tragedy; but here a stronger analytical and scientifically exhaustive force drove men to perfect plastic art, which awaited its consummation. In painting it left the human figure as the central theme and solved the problems of expressing the inner soul, of the single group, and of the complete portrait—the Chinese succeeded in painting very lifelike character types, but not real portraits. Landscape, too, was attempted, and the aim was to execute it with the same consummate scientific thoroughness as human portraiture; that aim was not attained, but the outcome was a great art of scenic and interior decoration at grips with the problems of perspective which, however, the artists failed to solve scientifically. There were extensive pictures from the *Odyssey* and intimate pictures of animals, but they always remained an inferior branch of art. Just because the Chinese approach to the objective world was not so thorough and all-embracing, so closely and so widely perceptive, they achieved greater and more lasting results in this field; the breadth of Lao Tzu's love of Nature and its strength even in small things persisted and inspired their subjective art. Their very inadequacy in the scientific field here proved their strength, for they confined themselves to what was within their power and made a virtue of their inadequate perspective and imperfect observation by concentrating on misty landscapes and delicately conventionalized pictures of single objects; and in so doing they produced something that was perfect in its own kind and beyond the reach of the Greeks.

SUMMARY

In her greatest thinkers China rose to a completely monistic and ethical philosophy of life; thereby she surpassed the Indians and, of all the civilizations of antiquity with the single exception of Rome, she approached nearest to the Greeks. Chinese, like Greek, civilization ended in monotheism embellished with polytheistic features. Like that of the Jews, Persians, and Indians, it was the creation of great prophets, not poets like Homer; but these prophets may be called philosophers just as truly as the founders of religions. The outcome of their labours was, therefore, a number of sacred books which did, indeed, constitute a canon, as with the Jews, Persians, and Indians, but it was a scientific canon, though not a complete scientific system like those of Plato and Aristotle in Greece. The constitution of the Chinese was an enlightened, but paternal and religious, absolutism. controlling a bureaucracy chosen from the ranks of the people by means of schools and examinations and intended to represent an intellectual and spiritual aristocracy. The dominant class was that of the educated bourgeoisie. In poetry the epics which once existed are lost, and the drama was untragic, historical, and bourgeois, and developed very late. Lyric poetry was the dominant literary form, and the only other type that could flourish beside it and enjoy equal esteem was the essay, which treated didactically and pleasantly of philosophical, æsthetic, and lyrical subjects. Every scholar was expected to be master of both forms of literary art. Fables and proverbs were no longer regarded as serious literature, the parable was tolerated, and epigrammatic phrases were popular in philosophy. Chinese learning included metaphysics and an ethical theory which was simultaneously a theory of non-ethical values, but it was at a late date (1200) that the two were united in a single system, although Lao Tzu's teaching systematically embraced ethics and politics. Logic produced a form of Sophism, but failed to evolve a perfect theory of definition and inference. Of the separate sciences it was those with a practical bearing that flourished in particular, as with the Romans: history, politics, rhetoric (the *Shu Ching*), and the theory of agriculture and economics, and a scientifically worked out art of divination. The plastic and pictorial arts partially escaped from religious trammels, but were not insensible to religious feeling. In architecture a few perfectly formed types emerged (the hall and tower), whilst sculptures attained to complete mastery of human and animal forms and movements, and painting to character types and subjective pictures which revealed the profoundest emotional harmony with Nature in landscape and delineations of single persons, animals, and plants. But the Chinese did not attain to a canon of eternal beauty in sculpture or to fully individual portraiture and perspective in painting.

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